

*MASTER
NEGATIVE
NO. 92-80689-1*

MICROFILMED 1992

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from
Columbia University Library

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States -- Title 17, United States Code -- concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material...

Columbia University Library reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

AUTHOR:

WACHSMUTH, WILHELM

TITLE:

**HISTORICAL
ANTIQUITIES OF THE ...**

PLACE:

OXFORD

DATE:

1837

Master Negative #

92-80689-1

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

886
W11

Wachsmuth, Wilhelm ~~i. e. Ernst Wilhelm Gottlieb~~, 1784-1866.

The historical antiquities of the Greeks, with reference to their political institutions. By William Wachsmuth ... Tr. from the German, by Edmund Woolrych ... Oxford [etc.] D. A. Talboys, 1837.

vol 2
lost

-2 v. 22^{cm}. v. 1

1. Greece—Hist. 2. Greece—Pol. & govt. 1. Woolrych, Edmund, tr.

Library of Congress

DF81.W11

4-35174

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm

REDUCTION RATIO: 1.1x

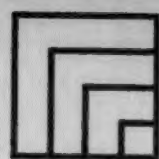
IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA IIA IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 8-19-92

INITIALS M.P.C.

FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

VOLUME 1

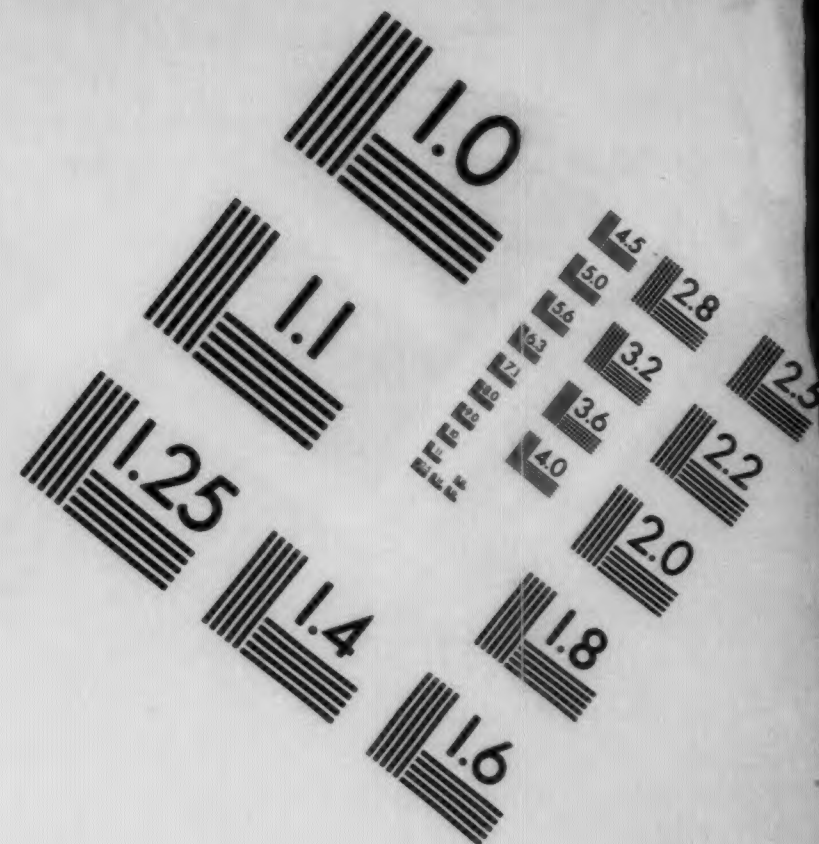
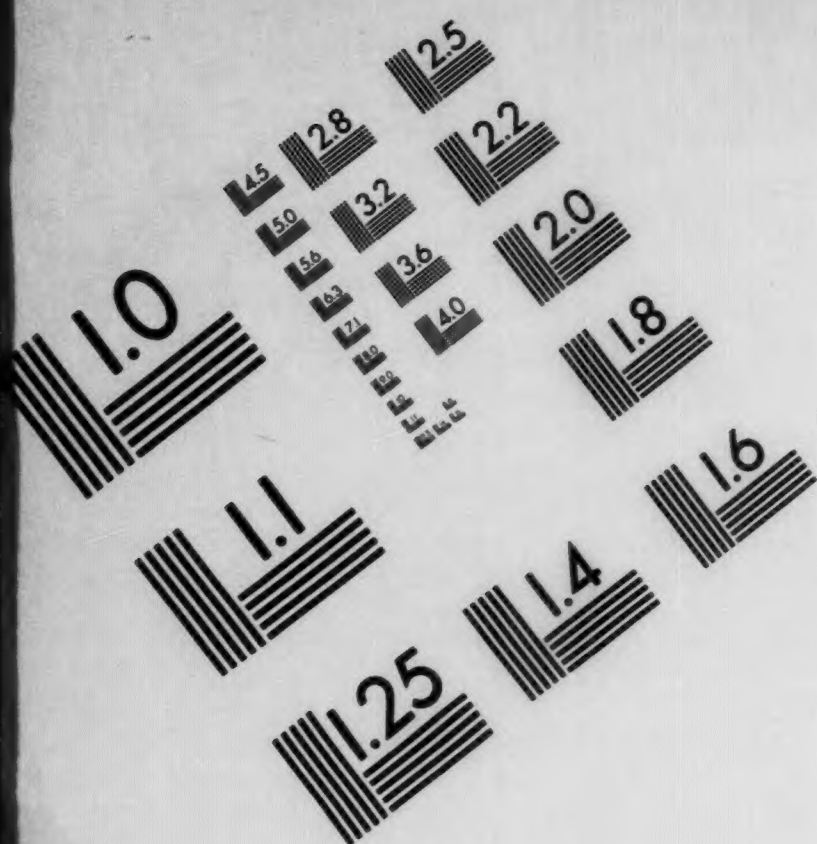


AIM

Association for Information and Image Management

1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

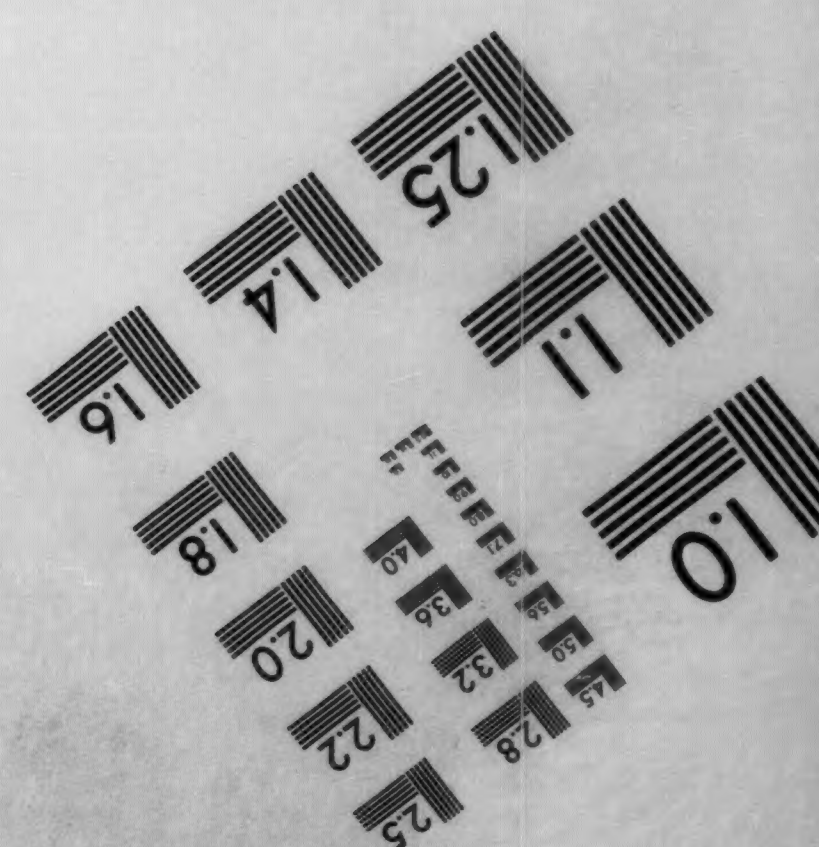
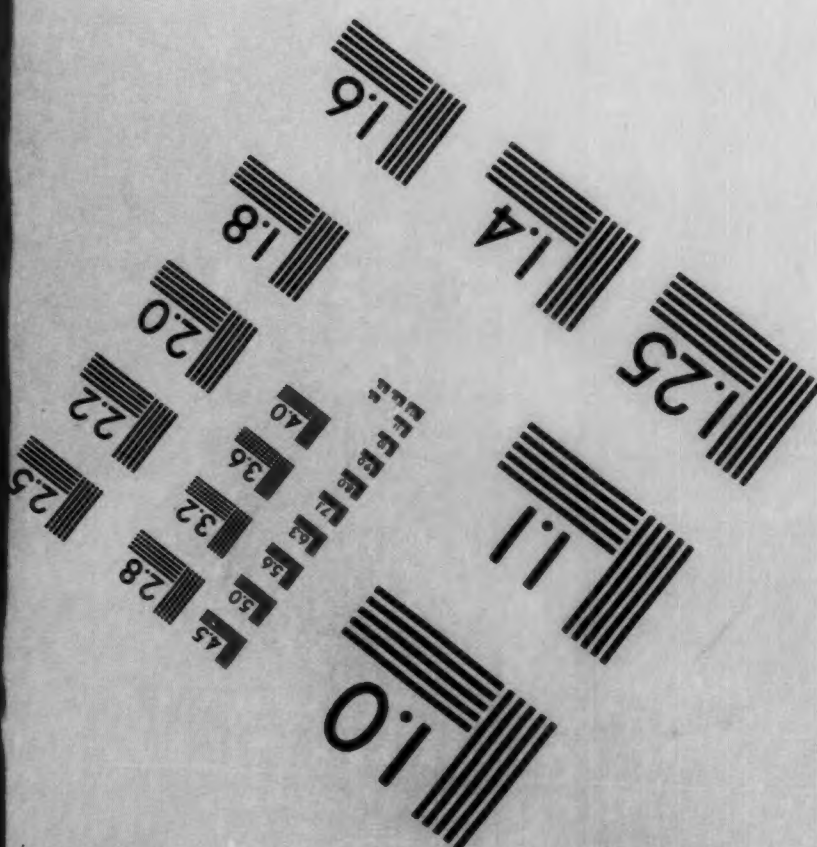
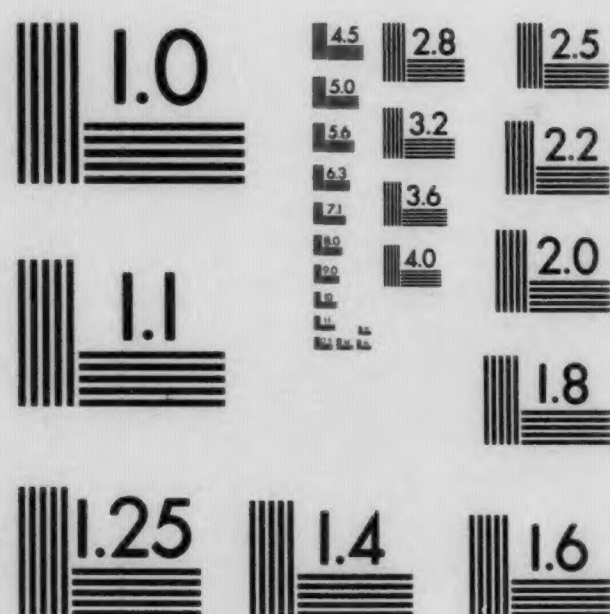
301/587-8202



Centimeter



Inches



MANUFACTURED TO AIM STANDARDS
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.

THE HISTORICAL
ANTIQUITIES OF THE GREEKS

WITH REFERENCE
TO THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

BY WILLIAM WACHSMUTH
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY EDMUND WOOLRYCH ESQ.

VOLUME I.



OXFORD D A TALBOYS

AND 113 FLEET-STREET LONDON

M DCCC XXXVII.

25
70

THE two volumes of which a translation is now offered to the English reader form the first part of Professor Wachsmuth's treatise on Grecian Antiquities, a work which occupies a distinguished place in the estimation of the learned in Germany, and has been mentioned in terms of high commendation by eminent scholars in this country. In the execution of his task the translator has adhered to the form of the original, as closely as appeared consistent with perspicuity, but whilst he has cautiously abstained from making alterations which involved any departure from the sense of his author, he has not considered himself precluded from giving a free translation of passages, where a literal version would have been ambiguous or obscure. How far he has succeeded in rendering the translation clear and intelligible must be left to the judgment of the reader; but he hopes that in the estimate that may be formed of the manner in which he has acquitted himself of his task, some allowance will be made for the difficulties he has had to contend with—difficulties arising no less from the character of many of the disquisitions contained in the work itself, than from the peculiarities of the author's style, which occasionally is not readily intelligible even to German readers.

A general index will be published with the fourth volume. The second part of the work, in two volumes, will appear as soon as the translation is completed.

London, June, 1837.

80341

PREFACE.

THE investigation of the history, political condition, and monuments of ancient Greece, has for some time past been prosecuted with the greatest ardour and success: the labours of able enquirers in Germany and other countries have awakened the warmest interest in the learned world generally, inspired the proficients in antiquarian science with the desire of imitating their example, and raised the demands of those who are qualified to judge of such researches. Hence it becomes more than ever incumbent upon the person who undertakes a new work upon the subject, to form to himself a clear and definite notion of the object he has in view, whilst it is no less natural that the author should wish to guard against misconception in others as to the nature and intention of his performance.

Since the regeneration of the study of Grecian antiquities, various portions of the ample field of enquiry which that science embraces, have been cultivated with a zeal and assiduity that have borne the choicest fruits. But much still remains to be accomplished; and a painful and discouraging contrast to the fresh beauty of those more favoured portions of the antiquarian domain, is presented in the dreary aspect of those which have not yet been visited by the fostering and renovating care of culture. Under such circumstances, what can be more natural in itself, or more calculated to promote science by its results,

than for the antiquarian to devote his attention to those branches of the subject, which stand most in need of elucidation? But, on the other hand, it may be asked, will not the attempt to produce a general picture of Grecian life, before its individual parts have been thoroughly and satisfactorily explored, be pronounced rash and premature? And will not the writer, who is bold enough to undertake such a task, be sternly reminded, that he thereby proves himself ignorant of the true nature and real demands of science? To this I reply, that not only may the want of the requisite means and opportunities entirely cramp and defeat the efforts of a writer, however desirous he may be of entering into an exhaustive investigation of particular subjects—but it is moreover essentially opposed to the nature of the human mind, to consider itself prohibited from examining a scientific structure as a whole, because certain parts of that structure may have been thrown down and built up again, while the rest remains in its imperfect and now incongruous state. Aristotle has observed that the whole must necessarily exist before the part¹; and it may be affirmed, that whilst the individual parts of a thing undergo various modifications according to the particular stages of development through which they respectively pass, the image of the whole firmly and abidingly exists in the human mind. Moreover, unless the spirit of enquiry has become altogether extinct, it would be as absurd as the expectation of the rustic at the river's side, to wait for the

¹ Τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ μέρους, Aristot. Pol. 1. 1. 11.

arrival of an all-sufficient harvest, before we arrange and distribute our provisions. Will any one assert, that no general history of Germany ought to be written, until an equal degree of research shall have been employed upon all the particular histories which it embraces, or till all the sources shall be published? If, lastly, in the mental world, the individual mind be entitled to assert its natural freedom and independence, then an author is at liberty to pursue that train of enquiry to which his feelings impel him; and his scientific labours must be estimated wholly without reference to the wants and demands of the age.

Accordingly the work, of which the first part is now offered to the reader, and which is designed to exhibit a view of the whole civil and political life of the Greeks, I have undertaken from the interest I feel on the subject. And as I have followed the bias of my own mind in the principles by which I have been guided in this survey, without reference to the demands to which I have adverted, so it has been equally foreign from my purpose to endeavour wholly and absolutely to satisfy the opposing claims of those who loudly insist upon the necessity of compiling all that has been effected in the various departments of Grecian antiquities; though it must be confessed, that the want of such a compilation has long been sensibly felt.

I have elsewhere observed² that the method in which the study of antiquities has hitherto been treated is an unscientific one. Though repeated

² See my plan of a Theory of History, 1820, p. 16.

attempts in academical lectures to carry into execution the plan which I then contemplated, namely, to blend history and antiquities into one great picture, by removing the barriers by which they were divided, have convinced me that it is not practicable; still my opinion with regard to the want of scientific unity in the antiquarian structure remains unaltered. In former works, some of which have been distinguished by the praiseworthy care and diligence with which they have been compiled, antiquities have been treated as an auxiliary science, solely destined for the illustration and explanation of the ancient authors: but the circle of the subjects included in them has been more and more enlarged, and in every new work the materials have been arranged in as scientific a form as their extent and diversity would admit of. Still the manifold imperfections of these performances, arising from their encyclopedic character, are obvious to every one.

That branch of these so-styled antiquities in which the dwellings, dress, furniture, and implements of the ancients are treated of is eminently defective, and these dull compilations forcibly remind us of the spiritless banquet of Athenæus. It would perhaps render these subjects more instructive and attracting, if they were considered in an archæological point of view, and if the description of them were made subservient to, and connected with the illustration of existing monuments. The severe censure which Ruhnkenius³ passed

³ Oratio de doctore umbrat. Opusc. 119:—pædagogorum ingeniis relinquendæ sunt insulsæ de veterum calceis, annulis, fibulis et pœnulis compilationes.

upon the older treatises on these so-called antiquities was by no means undeserved, nor do I feel the least inclination to prolong their existence.

On the other hand, many important and extensive departments of Grecian antiquities have long since assumed the character of distinct and substantive sciences, and have recently had the most sedulous care and attention bestowed upon them. But this has not only had the effect of still farther loosening the frail band by which the fabric of Grecian antiquities was formerly held together, but has increased the difficulty of treating this subject according to the ancient method; for a mind bent upon searching and comprehensive investigation, must now more than ever despair of being able to grasp it in its whole extent and diversity; whilst encyclopedic abstracts and compilations only tend to destroy an inclination for original research, and do not at least in real science advance us a single step.

Hence, in order to produce such a picture of ancient life as should accord with my own views on the subject, and possess that unity of design which is essential to a work of science, it was necessary that it should be considered under an entirely new aspect. This is indicated in the title, and requires a few words of explanation here. I have endeavoured to consider Grecian antiquities with reference to the state, i. e., in a political point of view. Now, if the state were merely to be regarded as the outward form which includes within it the various phenomena of the life of the Greeks as men, and these phenomena were treated as though they were destitute of all inward con-

nection, and merely as held together by an outside frame, then, it must be confessed, we should gain but little by selecting it as our point of reference: but view the state in its living, fertilizing, creative, and preserving activity, and then we shall have the unity of conception we require, and be enabled to separate that which properly falls within our field of enquiry from that which is foreign to it. The former comprises everything that pertains to, and is an essential ingredient of the governing power of the state itself, or that is controlled, penetrated, and modified by that power. Under the latter is included everything that appears as the result of chance or caprice, all that is detached and insulated, forming no part of a connected political system, not referrible to the state, and exerting no reactive force such as to modify its form or influence public life in general:

Thus defined, the whole subject resolves itself into two main branches.

I. Those constituents of the state, from which its ordering and fashioning power is derived—the Constitution.

II. The life of the members of the state, so far as it is determined by the agency of the state—the Government.

The first branch comprises a description of,

1. The personal rank and rights of the members of the state, with reference to their share in the supreme power.

2. The supreme power itself, and the public authorities in which it is vested.

The second contains the three principal duties of the government.

1. To provide for the physical subsistence and well-being of the state—political economy commencing with the measures for ensuring a supply of the first necessities of life, and for the regulation of the simple trades, and ascending to the artificial machinery of finance—the monetary and fiscal systems.

2. To preserve legal order and security, and internal and external independence—law—police—armed force.

3. To promote mental culture and civilization in general—public education, health, strength, virtuous relation between the sexes, the rational use of the products of nature, science, art, moral feeling, religion.

In the application of this scheme to any particular state, the enquiry must be preceded by an historical account of the material and personal constituents of the same, namely, its land and people, as it is only thereby that we can become acquainted with the peculiar circumstances under which a state was constituted and gain a correct notion of its nature. Again, the filling up of the preceding outline depends in a great measure upon the peculiar character of the people to be described. The character of the Greek nation, which was composed of various single states, possessed of a common nationality, but standing in very slight political connection, will render a two-fold method of treatment necessary, inasmuch as the consideration of that which was peculiar to individual states must be prosecuted coincidently with that which was common to the whole nation, and care must be taken not to suppress the general principle by

giving undue prominence to the particular characteristics of the individual states, as well as not to set up as a general principle that which does not hold good in every particular—whence it has so often happened that Attic usages have been represented as common to the whole of Greece. Hence, in treating of the first branch of the subject, namely, the ordering power in the state, we have not only to regard the internal constitution of the single states, but also their external position with respect to each other; and again both these must be examined in their relation to the predominant power in the state-system.

Whilst thus considering the differences arising from local circumstances, it is equally important that we should describe the development of the political systems of Greece from their commencement to their close in regular historical succession. But this does not necessarily imply that the consideration of Grecian political life must be prosecuted, in conjunction with the regular history of the Grecian states: for the province of the former is to describe that combination of phenomena which constitutes a political order of things; that of the latter to narrate actions and events; still the two are so blended and interwoven that it would be an absurdity to draw a broad line of distinction between them.

Such are the outlines of the task I have undertaken, and hence we shall be able to deduce the rules to be observed in filling them up, for instance as regards the measure of fulness to be expected in the narrative, etc. On the other hand, there is no independent or invariable standard to de-

termine how far it may be necessary to enter into details; the proportion of the parts must be regulated by the dimensions of the whole, and these may be varied according to the particular object with which an enquiry may be conducted. I have made it an invariable rule to refer to the sources themselves for the materials of my investigations. But as this work is not designed to resemble a magazine or general repertory, I have not always considered myself bound to adduce all the authorities upon a question. According to the maxim of Plato⁴, that it is not the number, but the knowledge of the judges which should decide, I considered it sufficient to refer to the most conclusive passages, and when these appeared decisive of the matter in hand, I saw no utility in bringing forward a host of others.

It will also be found that I have frequently referred to the passages in ancient authors only, without noticing the modern writers who may have treated of the subject under discussion. I trust that this will not be regarded as an indication of presumption and self-sufficiency on my part. This also arose from the peculiar character of these investigations, in which it was less my intention to collect all that has hitherto been accomplished in this field, than to give the results of my own enquiries. However, I myself have not always been able to distinguish between that which I have derived from a perusal of the originals, and that with which I may have become acquainted through the researches of others. At the same

⁴ Laches, 184. A.: ἐπιστήμη—δεῖ κρίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πλήθει τὸ μέλλον καλῶς κριθήσεσθαι.

time I do not attempt to conceal, that upon many subjects I set out with the intention of referring to the sources themselves as though they had never been consulted before, and when I had made what I looked upon as a valuable discovery, I did not always think it incumbent upon me to exercise the suicidal courtesy of anxiously enquiring whether another person had not said the same thing before me. In fact, can any one so entirely divest himself of all previously acquired knowledge as to be able conscientiously to lay claim to the merit of entire originality? I therefore frankly avow, that I am fully sensible of my obligations to the distinguished enquirers as well of former as of our own days; and whenever I have omitted to give a reference to their works, I trust my silence will not be construed into a design to conceal their merits. I have seldom contested the views of others, beyond the simple statement of my own opinion, and never in a controversial or acrimonious spirit, and as I have not always mentioned those whose remarks may have coincided with my own, so I have intentionally refrained from stating those views which differ from mine, unless a special mention of them was indispensably required by the nature of the enquiry. This silence may occasionally subject me to the suspicion of having wished to pass off my own disquisitions and remarks as entirely new and original; but this can only be mischievous, when it can be perceived that the author supposes his readers to be unacquainted with the works of former writers. Lastly, as I have purposely avoided expressing any opinion as to the particular views

of others, so I have thought it equally presumptuous to praise or to censure individuals. In science everything ought to stand upon its own merits, and be approved of or condemned without respect to persons.

Meanwhile I venture to hope that the reception of the first portion of this work may be favourable to the continuation of it. No one is more sensible than myself of its imperfections; but it does not always follow, that those who may perceive an author's faults, are also able to correct them: there is an instructing, awakening, and animating criticism, to whose judgment I shall bow, and whose suggestions will not be without advantage to my scientific labours.

W. WACHSMUTH.

Leipzig, March, 1826.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

	PAGE
Preface.	vi

INTRODUCTION. LAND AND PEOPLE.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

a. Sea and Coasts, § 1—4.	1
b. The Interior, § 5—7	13
c. Climate and Natural Productions, § 8.	29

II. THE TRIBES OF GREECE.

a. The Pelasgians, § 9.	34
b. The other Ante-Hellenic Tribes, § 10.	40
c. The Foreign Settlers, § 11.	49
d. The Hellenes of the Heroic Age, § 12.	53
e. The Hellenes as the Collective People of the Historical Age, § 13.	59

III. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HABITATIONS OF THE GREEKS WITHOUT THE MOTHER-COUN- TRY, § 14.

70

IV. CHARACTER OF THE GRECIAN NATION, § 15.

86

CONSTITUTIONS AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

CHAP. I. THE HEROIC AGE.

1. Rise of the Grecian States. The various Classes: Citizens, Slaves, Aliens—Nobles—and Com- mon Freemen, § 16.	111
2. The Princely Office, § 17.	119
3. The Political Authorities, § 18.	126
4. The External Relations amongst the States, § 19.	137

	PAGE
CHAP. II. THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS AMONGST THE STATES FROM THE DORIC MIGRATION TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE PERSIAN WARS.	
I. WHAT DIVIDED THE GRECIAN STATES.	
a. Political Character of the Migrations, § 20.	143
b. The Grecian Communities in a state of separation, § 21.	147
II. WHAT UNITED THE GRECIAN STATES.	
a. Festal Communions, § 22.	154
b. Union of States with a Federal Council, § 23.	167
c. The Amphictyonic Council, § 24.	172
d. Mutual Hospitality and the Interchange of Civil Rights, § 25.	180
e. Associations for the purposes of United Agency, § 26.	186
III. THE STANDARD OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION, AND OF THE PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED THEREWITH.	
a. Character of the Individual Grecian States in their political intercourse with each other, § 27.	197
b. Political Relation of the Greeks to the Barbarians, § 28.	208
CHAP. III. THE CHANGES EFFECTED IN PERSONAL RANK UPON THE TERMINATION OF THE HEROIC AGE.	
1. The Princely Office in its Decline, § 29.	214
2. THE DOMINANT CLASS.	
a. The Hereditary Nobility, § 30.	223
b. The Rich, § 31.	234
3. The Common Freemen, § 32.	237
4. Citizenship in General, § 33.	243
5. The Condition of Slaves and Aliens as opposed to Citizenship, § 34.	252
CHAP. IV. ARISTOCRACY (TIMOCRACY) AND DEMOCRACY IN DIFFERENT STATES.	
1. The Governing Class, § 35.	263
2. The Ancient Aristocracy generally in its Relation to the Demus and the subsequent Oligarchy, § 36.	270

	PAGE
3. The Council and the Popular Assembly, § 37.	277
4. The Officers of State, § 38.	283
CHAP. V. CONSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY LAW.	
1. The Relation of Law to Custom, § 39.	293
2. The means which brought about the authority of the Laws, § 40.	303
3. Fundamental Laws of Constitutions generally, § 41.	315
4. THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN CONSTITUTIONS.	
a. The Constitution of Lycurgus, § 42.	321
b. The Constitution of Athens.	
a. a. Before Solon.	
1. The Four Phylæ, § 43.	332
2. The Subdivisions of the Phylæ, § 44.	342
3. The Political Authorities, § 45.	355
b. b. The Constitution of Solon	
1. Personal Rank, § 46.	365
2. The Political Authorities, § 47.	378
c. c. The Constitution of Clisthenes, § 48.	390
CHAP. VI. THE TYRANNY.	
1. Survey of the Tyrants till about the time of the Persian Wars, § 49.	401
2. The Tyranny in alliance with the Lower Orders, § 50.	409
3. Tyranny in the light of Despotism, § 51.	415
4. Downfal of the Tyranny, § 52.	421
APPENDIX.	427

CONTENTS.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

	PAGE
CHAP. VII. MERIDIAN OF DEMOCRACY.	
I. INTRODUCTION. THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR, § 53.	1
II. DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL, § 54.	21
III. THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY.	
<i>a.</i> The Character of the People, § 55.	32
<i>b.</i> Rank of Persons, § 56.	38
<i>c.</i> The Political Authorities, § 57.	56
<i>d.</i> The States dependent upon Athens, § 58.	86
IV. DEMOCRACY WITHOUT THE EMPIRE OF ATHENS, § 59.	104
1. ARGOS.	106
2. MANTINEA AND TEGEA.	111
3. ELIS.	113
4. MEGARA.	114
5. AMBRACIA AND LEUCAS.	115
6. CORCYRA.	116
7. EPIDAMNUS.	117
8. SYRACUSE.	118
9. AGRIGENTUM.	122
10. TARENTUM.	123
11. THURI.	123
V. THE OLIGARCHY, § 60.	125
1. SPARTA.	129
2. BÆOTIA.	133
3. THESSALY.	134
4. STATES IN ALLIANCE WITH SPARTA IN THE PELOPONNESUS AND ON THE ÆGEAN SEA.	136
5. CRETE.	137
6. HERACLEA ON THE PONTUS.	137
7. THE GREEK STATES ON THE WESTERN SEAS.	138

CONTENTS.

xxiii

PAGE

CHAP. VIII. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND OLIGARCHY IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREECE.

FROM THE FLIGHT OF XERXES TILL THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREECE TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, § 61.	139
II. STATE OF PARTIES IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, § 62.	150
I. TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS.	
A. ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY.	
<i>a.</i> The Synteleia.	160
<i>b.</i> The independent confederates of Athens.	162
B. THE PELOPONNESIAN CONFEDERACY.	
<i>a.</i> The Peloponnesian Symmachia properly so called.	165
<i>b.</i> Other Members of the Confederacy without the Peloponnesus.	166
II. FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TILL THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY.	170
III. FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY TILL THE END OF THE WAR.	179
III. THE CHARACTER OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE GREEK STATES IN GENERAL, § 63.	181
IV. THE INTERIOR OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATES DURING THE WAR.	
<i>a.</i> Athens.	
<i>a. a.</i> The Athenian Democracy in general, § 64.	189
THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY AND THE DEMAGOGY.	194
THE COURTS OF LAW AND SYCOPHANCY.	201
THE OLD COMEDY.	203
<i>b. b.</i> THE DEMAGOGUES AND THE CHANGES WHICH THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY UNDERWENT DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, § 65.	227
CLEON AND NICIAS.	230
ALCIBIADES WITH HIS FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS.	236

THE CABALS OF THE OLIGARCHS DURING THE THIRD AND LAST DIVISION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.	
THE FOUR HUNDRED AND THE FIVE THOUSAND.	251
THE FIVE THOUSAND	261
b. Sparta, § 66.	266
c. The other independent States of Greece, § 67.	274
1. ARGOS.	274
2. BŒOTIA.	276
3. THESSALY.	277
4. CORCYRA.	278
5. MEGARA.	280
6. THE STATES OF THE EASTERN ISLANDS AND COASTS	282
7. THE SICELIOTS.	283

CHAP. IX. THE PREDOMINANCE AND DECLINE OF OLIGARCHY WITH THE HEGEMONY OF SPARTA; THE NEW DEMOCRACY AND THE TYRANNY.

FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TILL THE TIME OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

A. ZENITH OF THE OLIGARCHICAL SYSTEM UNDER THE HEGEMONY OF SPARTA.

I. The Political System of Greece till the liberation of Thebes from the Spartan yoke, § 68.	290
II. The Constitutions established by Sparta, § 69.	312
1. ATHENS. THE ANARCHY.	315
2. ELIS.	322
3. MANTINEA.	323
4. PHLIUS.	323
5. CORINTH.	325
6. THEBES.	326
III. The interior of Sparta, § 70.	328

B. THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY OVER THE HEGEMONY AND OLIGARCHICAL SYSTEM OF SPARTA.

I. The new Democracy of Athens from its restoration to the time of Philip, § 71.	338
--	-----

THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY.	341
PERSONAL RANK.	345
THE DEMUS AS THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWER.	348
THE MAGISTRATES.	350
THE DEMAGOGY.	352
THE DEMAGOGUES SINGLY.	355
II. The Democracy of Thebes and its Contests with Sparta, § 72.	361
III. The Constitutions of the other States which took part in the struggle, § 73.	381
THE ISLANDS.	382
THESSALY.	383
THEBES.	385
ARGOS.	386
CORINTH.	387
SICYON.	388
ELIS.	388
ACHAIA.	389
MESSENIA.	389
PHLIUS.	390
ARCADIA.	390
MEGARA.	391
EUBŒA	391
CORCYRA.	392
ZACYNTHUS.	392
THE EASTERN ISLANDS.	392
IV. The Nationality of the Greeks in general after the end of the Peloponnesian War, § 74.	393
C. The New Tyranny, together with the Republics in the West, § 75.	405
1. THE TWO DIONYSII AND THE REPUBLICS IN THE WEST.	407
2. THE TYRANTS OF PHERÆ	418
3. THE TYRANTS ON THE PONTUS.	421
4. LESS POWERFUL TYRANTS.	423

CHAP. X. COMPLETION OF THE INTERNAL CORRUPTION AND
SUBVERSION OF THE EXTERNAL LIBERTIES OF
GREECE.

THE AGE OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

I. Internal Condition and External Political Relations in general, § 76.	426
II. Athens, § 77.	448
III. The other States, § 78.	472
1. SPARTA.	473
2. MESSENA.	475
3. ARCADIA.	476
4. ELIS.	477
5. EUBCEA.	477
6. PHOCIS.	479
7. THESSALY.	480
8. BYZANTIUM.	482
9. THE EASTERN STATES.	483
10. THE SICELIOTS.	484
11. THE ITALIOTS.	489

CHAP. XI. THE SERVITUDE, DELIVERANCE, RELAPSE, AND
POLITICAL EXTINCTION OF THE GREEKS.

THE MACEDONIAN-ROMAN PERIOD.

I. External Political Relations of the States of Greece, § 79.	491
a. THE MOTHER-COUNTRY AND THE EASTERN STATES.	491
II. The Interior, § 80.	521
1. ATHENS.	523
2. SPARTA.	537
3. THE OTHER STATES OF THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.	542
4. THE STATES ON THE EASTERN ISLANDS AND COASTS.	547
5. THE WESTERN STATES.	550
APPENDIX.	555

INTRODUCTION.

LAND AND PEOPLE.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF GREECE.

a. Sea and Coasts.

§ 1. THE land and seas of the primitive seats of the Greeks still bear the traces of violent change, and elemental convulsions appear to have raged at their origin with no less impetuosity than the human passions, which, in a subsequent age, shook the political communities of the natives. One of the traditions of the Samothracian priests recounted¹, that when the sea, which had but recently retired from the land, was not yet encompassed with firm and immovable shores, and still struggled against its ineffectual barriers, the Pontus, originally a crater shut in on all sides, overflowed with the waters of the rivers that discharged themselves into it, and that the outlet which it then forced for itself, formed the Hellespont, and separated Europe from Asia.

That those seas have been subject to irregular tides from the earliest times, is proved by various traditions, such as that of the Ogygian deluge²; the

¹ Diodor. Sic. 5. 47; Strabo, 1. 49. ed. Casaub.; Istrus ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 513; comp. Choiseul-Gouffier, sur l'origine du Bosphore de Thrace, in the Mém. de l'Institut. hist. T. ii. 484, sqq. On the subject of the land of Lyctonia, which was said to have disappeared, see Orph. Argon. 1278.

² Pherecydes, p. 218. Sturz, new edit.

struggle between Poseidon and a land-protecting deity, for the possession of a certain tract of country³; the rising of Rhodes from the sea, and its subsequent inundation⁴; of the separation of the islands Cos and Nisyros⁵; the settlement of the floating island of Delos⁶; the Symplegades, and Scylla and Charybdis⁷; the lawless current of the Euripus⁸, which had once grown into a proverb⁹ amongst the Greeks, may be regarded as a memorial of the ancient anarchy of nature. The Grecian seas are still agitated by sudden tempests and impetuous whirlpools; and even the rivers of this region partake of the instability of the ocean-waves; they overflow and stagnate by turns; and if, as it has been supposed, the contemplation of calmly-flowing streams engenders habits of study and reflection, the rivers of Greece were calculated to produce very different effects upon the minds of the natives.

The concussions to which the earth was a prey, were augmented by the struggles of the sea with subterranean fires; and the youthful race of the aboriginal inhabitants exercised their courage amidst natural phenomena, as appalling as they were unexampled, and commemorated them in fictions of the wars between the Titans and the Gods, the piling up of mountains and the burning of forests¹⁰, as well as by animated traditions of inland lakes

³ See Apollod. 2. 1. 4. on Argos; *ibid.* 3. 14. 1. and Strabo, 8. 397. on Athens; Pausan. 2. 30. 6. on Træzen, and 2. 1. 6. Corinth.

⁴ Pindar, Ol. 7. 100, sqq. ⁵ Strabo, 10. 488.

⁶ Pindar, *apud* Strab. 8. 485; Schol. in Hom. Odyss. 10. 3.

⁷ Hom. Od. 12. 59, sqq. Apollon. Rhod. 2. 320; comp. Heyne ad Apollod. 85, sqq. Strabo, 8. 378. remarks, that at one time all currents were more violent.

⁸ Τύχη Εὐριπίου. comp. the *ἀνω καὶ κάτω* Plato, Phædon, 90. Diogenian. Prov. 3. 39; 4. 72.

⁹ Strabo, 9. 403. comp. Spon. voy. p. 248. 252.

¹⁰ Hesiod. Theog. 629. sqq.

contracting into rivers; and the drying up of valleys, like those of the Thessalian Peneus and the Lacedæmonian Eurotas¹¹, which are still attested by the jagged rocks and indented ravines of the mountain-districts of Greece¹². Through the general history of the Grecian states, they are continued in a succession of earthquakes¹³, which overthrew cities, as Sparta¹⁴, Sicyon, Rhodes, together with the towns of Lycia and Caria¹⁵; or covered them with the waves, as in ancient times Arne and Midea in Bœotia¹⁶, as well as Helice and Bura in Achaia¹⁷; cast down mountain-tops, as that of Taygetus¹⁸; tore asunder islands as Therasia and Thera¹⁹; or covered them with the sea, as Chryse near Lemnos²⁰; changed capes into islands, as Atalante by Locris²¹; cast up others from the depths of the sea, as Hieria and Thia, near Thera²²; dried up rivers, like the Bœotian Melas²³,

¹¹ See below § 6 and 7.

¹² Hence Laconia is denominated "the land of the many caverns," *καυράεσσα* (another reading has *κητώεσσα*) Hom. Il. 2. 581; Od. 4. 1; Strab. 8. 367. *ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ σεισμῶν ῥωχμοὶ καυροὶ λέγονται*; comp. Eustath. ad. Hom. Od. *ub. supra*.

¹³ Strab. 1. 60. Laconia and Eubœa are called "the easily agitated" (*εὐσειστοί*); Strab. 8. 367; 10. 447. and the same on Bœotia, 9. 406; according to Aristot. Meteor. 2. 8. earthquakes were much more frequent on the Hellespont, in Achaia, Sicyon, and Eubœa; Delos was distinguished as being seldom convulsed, Herod. 6. 98; comp. Thucyd. 2. 8, Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 22. Concerning the frequency and violence of the earthquakes during the Peloponnesian war, see Thucyd. 1. 23.

¹⁴ Ol. 140. 3; Polyb. 5. 88; Pausan. 2. 7. 1.

¹⁵ Strab. 1. 59; comp. Thucyd. 3. 87. 89.

¹⁶ Ol. 101. 4; Strab. 1. 59. 8. 384; Polyb. 2. 41; Diod. 15. 48.

¹⁷ Ol. 78. 4; Strab. 8. 367. ¹⁸ Ol. 135. 4; Plin. 4. 23.

¹⁹ Onomacritus' prediction of the destruction of an island near Lemnos, (Herod. 7. 6.) implies the occurrence of earlier events of a similar nature; concerning Chryse and the volcano Mosychlos, see Choiseul-Gouffier, voyage 2. 129, sqq.; and Buttmann in the Mus. d. Alterth.wiss. vol. 1.; compare Ukert in Geogr. Ephem. 1812, December.

²⁰ Ol. 88. 3; Diodor. 12. 59; comp. Thucyd. 3. 89.

²¹ 197. B. C., and 96. A. C.; Strab. 1. 57; Plin. 4. 23; Seneca Quæst. Nat. 2. 26; Pausan. 8. 33. 2; Justin, 30. 4; Dio Cass. 60. 29; comp. Choiseul-Gouffier, 1. 23. on planche 13. On the subject of the island which rose near Thera, on the 23d May, 1707, see Philosoph. Transact. an. 1788, p. 67. 200—*an. 1711*, p. 354. In many places between Therasia and Hieria, where the land once projected, the plummet now finds no bottom.

²² Strab. 9. 407.

or converted them into volcanoes, as on Lemnos²⁴, the abode of Hephæstus, the Arcadian Lycæum²⁵, and Methone²⁶ in Argolis.

§ 2. *The Maritime Territory*, during the earliest periods of Grecian civilisation, must be described, as commencing northward at the mouth of the Hellespont. At this point terminates the Chersonese, at one time a bulwark against the barbarians¹, and afterwards a bridge, by which they crossed from Europe into Asia; and here began what the Greeks denominated "this sea," or "the sea near us²." The shores of these two quarters of the globe recede, and the waters of the Ægean expand into a spacious gulf, whilst the eye of the mariner could still descry his seamarks, Lemnos and its volcano, Imbrus and Samothrace; the first, as early as the heroic ages, the abode of the Hellenic Minyans, possessed one of the finest harbours in the whole Archipelago³, and the last, though dreaded for the breakers⁴ along its coasts, had no want of ports⁵. Towards the west, follows Thasus with its two harbours⁶; and, somewhat further, from the fruitful Thrace jut out into the sea three inviting strips of land, of which the Greeks were not slow to avail themselves, when their own country became too con-

²⁴ See note 20. Its ancient name, *Αἰθάλεια*, contains an allusion to its former heat. Comp. Polyb. 34. 11, and the Commentators on Sophocl. Philoctet. 711.

²⁵ Pausan. 8. 29. 1; comp. Dodwell's Classical Tour, 2. 380.

²⁶ Strab. 1. 59; compare at large v. Hoff Gesch. der Veränder. d. Erdoberfläche, 1822, vol. 2.

¹ It was fortified by the elder Miltiades against the Thracians, Herod. 6. 36; Pericles, Plutarch Per. 19; Dercyllidas, Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 10.

² "Ἡδὲ ἡ θάλασσα, ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν θάλασσα; Herod. 1. 1. 4. 39; Plat. Phæd. 113; Scylax, p. 34, ed. Gronov.; ἡ ἔσω θάλαττα in Polyb. 3. 39, who, according to the Roman custom, applied *καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα* to the Mediterranean, 16. 29; comp. 3. 37.

³ Kinsbergen Beschreib. d. Archip., translated into German by K. Sprengel, p. 77. ⁴ Importuosissima omnium, Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 23.

⁵ Scyl. 65.

⁶ Ibid.

finied for them. On the most easterly of these rises Mount Athos, which is visible from cape Sigæum⁷. Its shadow, during the summer solstice, fell upon a brazen ox, in the market-place of the Lemnian city of Myrina⁸; the astonishment of the ancients gave rise to marvellous tales, such as that the sun was visible upon its summit three hours earlier than in the plain⁹. From the western strip of land the Thermaic gulf winds far into Macedonia. Its coast, notwithstanding the eye may discern Olympus and Ossa¹⁰, was never considered purely Grecian. In the Greek seas were situated to the east of Thessaly the four islands of Peparethos, whence Lemnos¹¹ may be descried, Halonnesus, Scopelos, and Sciathos—the first and last containing harbours¹². The Greeks, who were accustomed to coasting, generally steered between Sciathos and cape Sepias into the channel between Thessaly and Eubœa. The northern coast of Eubœa presented the harbour of Histiaea¹³ (where afterwards lay Oreus); but a still more favourable position for commanding the adjacent region, is the Pagasæan gulf opposite. Traditions were attached to Aphetæ, the tongue of land westward of its mouth, concerning the most ancient maritime expedition to the unknown seas of the north¹⁴, the voyage of the Argonauts. Demetrias, built in its innermost creek, was destined, at a later period, to become one of the

⁷ Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 23; Clarke's Travels, 2. 1. 165; Choiseul-Gouff. 2. 139, sqq.

⁸ Plin. 4. 23; Solin. 2. 31; Sophocl. in Etym. Magn. "Ἀθως, Apoll. Rhod. 1. 604, and the proverb in Suidas, "Ἀθως καλύπτει πλευρὰ Ἀθηναίων βοός. Comp. Kästner über Höhe und Schatten des Athos.

⁹ Strab. Fragm. vol. 7, p. 331.

¹⁰ Herod. 7. 128.

¹¹ Dionys. Perieg. 522.

¹² Scyl. 51.

¹³ Scyl. 50.

¹⁴ See the passages in Müller Orchomenos, 252.

three fetters of Greece¹⁵; the second was Chalcis in Eubœa¹⁶, on the strait of the Euripus, where the coasts of Eubœa and Bœotia approach to within so short a distance of each other, that a bridge could be thrown over the channel¹⁷, and the passage intercepted, as is the case at the present day¹⁸. To the south of Chalcis, Eretria presented an excellent harbour in Bathys¹⁹, sixty stadia from the Attic Oropus, which lies opposite²⁰. On the coasts of the mainland, along the straits of the Euripus, there were ports at Cynos, belonging to the Locrian city of Opus²¹, as well as at Anthedon and Aulis in Bœotia²². These last are bounded by a spacious and secure bay²³, which once contained the whole of the Grecian fleet assembled for the expedition against Troy. The narrow sea between Eubœa and the continent, was a channel the more frequented by the Greeks, as the boldest seamen dreaded circumnavigating the external coast of Eubœa, where there was no anchorage²⁴, and which it was even dangerous to approach. Amongst the most notorious spots were the shoals of Coila²⁵, off cape Caphareus²⁶, which proved the destruction of the Grecian fleet on its return from Troy. But Scyros, to the east of Eubœa, was in a very early age connected with

¹⁵ Polyb. 17. 11; Strab. 9. 436; Liv. 32. 34.

¹⁷ Ibid. 9. 400. 403; Liv. 31. 24; Hawkins in Walpole's Mem. 539, sqq.

¹⁸ Mannert, Geogr. 8. 256. ¹⁹ Strab. 8. 403.

²⁰ Thuc. 8. 105. ²¹ Strab. 9. 426.

²² Ibid. 9. 403. 404.

²³ Dodwell, 2. 154, and Strab. ub. sup.

²⁴ Geræstus was the only spot where moorings could be found. Liv. 31. 44. says *nobilem portum*; comp. Schol. Thucyd. 3. p. 403. Bipont; Aristophanes, Equit. 561, and Schol. Strab. 10. 446.

²⁵ Liv. 31. 47; Strab. 10. 445, erroneously places them between Geræstus and Aulis, unless the last be corrupt, and the correct reading perhaps be "Ανδρου instead of "Αυλίδος (Andros is opposite Geræstus).

²⁶ Stephan. Byzan. Καφάρ. Etym. Mag. Καφηρεύς. Dio Chrysostom. 1. 222, sqq. 231. ed. Reisk. Hygin. 116. Cape Caphareus was afterwards called the Wood-devourer, ξυλοφάγος; Tzet. ad. Lycoph. 373.

Greek traditions. Theseus and Achilles were said to have resided with Lycomedes, prince of Scyros²⁷; there is, however, reason to suppose that he was regarded in the light of a foreigner, just as the Dolopes in Scyros were afterwards looked upon as dwelling without the pale of Greece²⁸. From the southern extremity of Eubœa, there is a most tempting passage marked out through the Ægean sea to Asia Minor; an uninterrupted succession of islands rendering the voyage entirely free from danger. The facility of the passage to Delos subsequently became proverbial²⁹. However, there are very faint traces of any Grecian settlement there, from the time of the Ionic migration³⁰. The navigation of these seas, which had such an extensive influence on the national character of the Greeks, belongs to a later age.

§ 3. The east coast of Attica has in Panormus¹ a harbour by no means unimportant, and the roadstead of Thoricus², which is covered by the island of Helena; even cape Sunium, the maritime confine between the Ægean and Myrtoan seas, has a port³. But the bounty of nature is most conspicuous on the coasts of the Saronic gulf, where she had placed the still noble harbour of Piræus, and near it the creeks of Phalerum and Munychia⁴, the port of Salamis (now *Koluri*), one of the best in

²⁷ Plut. Thes. 41; Hom. Od. 11. 508.

²⁸ Thucyd. 1. 98; Plut. Cim. 8.

²⁹ Zenob. Prov. 2. 37.

³⁰ Delos occurs in Hom. Od. 6. 162; but the Hellenic panegyris around the altar of Apollo on that island, did not begin till after the Ionian migration. Compare below, § 14, where also see the account of the Dorian settlements on the more southern islands.

¹ Chandler, Trav. in Greece, p. 157; Mannert, 8. 300.

² Hom. Hymn. in Cerer. 126; Kinsbergen, 53.

³ Scylax, 47. incorrectly says two.

⁴ See Meurs. Piræus, and the ample description in Mannert, 8. 808, sqq.

Europe⁵, the once celebrated port of Nisæa, belonging to Megara, formed by the foreland of Minoa⁶, and Cenchreæ⁷, belonging to Corinth; those of Ægina, situate in the channel most traversed in the maritime intercourse of the natives, but the entrance to which, as in Samothrace, was attended with great difficulty⁸; the commodious harbour of Epidaurus⁹ opposite, not far from which are the excellent roads of Trœzen, called Pogon¹⁰, covered by the island of Calauria. The communication between the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs is intercepted by the isthmus, which is forty stadia wide in its narrowest part. The advantages of such a channel were recognised at an early period, and the removal of the impediment did not appear altogether impracticable. But the attempts to cut through the isthmus belong to a later age¹¹. The passage into the gulf of Argolis first lay along the Actè, as it was called¹², and then round cape Scyl-læum, westward of which there are a number of reefs and rocky islands, such as Hydrea¹³, Tipareus (now *Spezzia*), etc., and which, though not calculated for the settlement of peaceable citizens, are by no means inconvenient stations for the shipping of fearless mariners. In the gulf of Argolis, nature has been most lavish of her favours to the bay of Argos; the port of Nauplia (*Napoli di Romania*) is, it must be confessed, shallow in itself, and only

⁵ Kinsberg. 46; Dodwell, 1. 564, sqq.

⁶ Strabo, 9. 391.

⁷ Ibid. 8. 380.

⁸ Pausan. 2. 29. 5; Müller, *Æginet.* p. 4. n. 5.

⁹ Dodwell, 2. ch. 7.

¹⁰ Herod. 8. 42; Strab. 8. 373.

¹¹ On that of Periander, which appears very doubtful, see Diog. Laert. 1. 99; concerning the attempt of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Strab. 1. 59; on Cæsar's, Sueton. 44; Nero's, Sueton. 19; Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 4; Pausan. 2. 1. 5; Lucian, 9. 266, sqq. Bipont.

¹² Paus. 2. 8. 4; Plutarch, Arat. 40; comp. Wesseling ad Diodor. 12. 43, and 15. 31; Müller, Dor. 1. 81, note 2.

¹³ Herod. 3. 59; Pausan. 2. 34. 9; Hecateus ap. Steph. Byzant. *Υδρία*.

adapted for smaller vessels; nor was it of much importance in ancient times¹⁴; but its roads, which are, by far, more extensive than was required by the scale on which navigation was in those days conducted, are large enough to contain nearly two hundred ships of the line, and are only exposed to south-easterly winds¹⁵. The east coast of Laconia only possessed the harbour of Epidaurus Limera¹⁶ (*Napoli di Malvasia*). As the inhabitants were exceedingly averse from intercourse with their neighbours, it was seldom touched at; but the southern extremity of Laconia, with the promontory of Malea, was no less dreaded than the east coast of Eubœa; and as it was owing to this circumstance that the Euripus and Chalcis attained their high consideration, so through the peril attending the attempt to double Malea¹⁷, Corinth, where the ships were hauled over the isthmus¹⁸, became the principal depot of trade¹⁹. Malea was no less notorious for its sudden and dangerous squalls, than for the violent winds that blew from the north-west, known by the name of the Etesiaë²⁰, during which²¹ vessels would not answer to their helm in the passage round the point. On the other hand, these winds seem at a very early period to have promoted an intercourse between the Peloponnesus, and perhaps the northern provinces²² and the island of Crete, only eighty miles from Malea, and whither they once

¹⁴ Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 19.

¹⁵ Kinsbergen, 25. 27.

¹⁶ Paus. 3. 23. 6; Hesych. *Λιμνρά*. Schol. Thucyd. 4. p. 476. Bipont; comp. Coronelli Morea, p. 111.

¹⁷ There was a proverb, "When thou doublest Malea, forget those at home," *Μαλεὰς δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθων τῶν οἰκαδὲ*, Strab. 8. 378.

¹⁸ *Διολκος*, see § 6. n. 49.

¹⁹ Besides this it had the advantage mentioned by Dio. Chrys. 1. 276; *ὥσπερ ἐν τριόδῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔκειτο*.

²⁰ See Append. 1.

²¹ *Διὰ τὰς ἀντιπνοίας*, Strab. 8. 378.

²² Müller Dor. 1. 31.

drove Ulysses²³. But in examining the ties which, in the remoteness of antiquity, were contracted between Crete and the Grecian continent, it must be borne in mind, that although the north coast of Crete possesses excellent harbours²⁴, their approach is rendered extremely difficult by the adjacent sandbanks, and that the sea northward of Crete was described as in the highest degree tempestuous²⁵; consequently the establishment of the earliest intercourse, as well as the dominion of that sea²⁶, would with less probability be ascribed to the strangers, whom the force of the Etesian winds drove to the island, than to its inhabitants, who were familiar with the character of the neighbouring sea, and who could from their own Ida behold Cythera and Taygetus, as well as Rhodes and Asia Minor²⁷.

§ 4. After the passage round Malea was effected, the navigation between the Laconian coast and Cythera was attended with great difficulty¹. Earthquakes several times altered the soundings, and cape Onugnathus, once attached to the mainland², afterwards became an island³. Cythera had two ports⁴; the south coast of Laconia had none, whilst that of Gytheum was formed by art⁵. The Achillean harbour, near cape Tænarus, as well as that of Psamathus⁶ opposite, are unimportant. Off the Messenian coast, near Corone, there is nothing but an anchor-

²³ Odyss. 19. 186.

²⁴ Höckh, Crete, 1. 94.

²⁵ Sophocl. Trach. 118; Horat. Od. 1. 26. 1.

²⁶ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 4; Diodor. 4. 17.

²⁷ Höckh, 1. 4.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 19.

² Strab. 8. 363.

³ Riedesel, Remarq. d'un voyageur moderne, p. 12.

⁴ Scyl. 38; Thucyd. 4. 54. has but one; comp. Zach. Geogr. Ephem. 1798, p. 50.

⁵ Strab. 8. 363.

⁶ Scyl. 37; Paus. 3. 25. 4; Steph. Byz. Ψαμαθοῦς.

age-ground; at Methone indifferent roads⁷, to the east of which is situate the unimportant harbour of Phænicus⁸. The west coast of the Peloponnesus is better provided. There is the first rate harbour of Pylos (*Navarino*)⁹, which is covered by the island of Sphacteria¹⁰; that of Cyparissia¹¹ very commodious, and further northward is Cyllene¹², the port of Elis. Some of the ancients make the gulf of Corinth¹³ begin between the promontory Araxus, and the mouth of the Achelous, which pours its waters into the sea opposite; to the east the shores gradually approach, and not far from the narrowest part of the strait are the roads of Patræ, the situation of which is one of unusual excellence, though the harbour itself is insignificant¹⁴. Soon afterwards the extremity of Achaia and Locris, Rhium and Antirrhium¹⁵, like the straits of the Hellespont, approach to within seven stadia of each other, and are not unaptly termed the keys of the Hellespont. This is the real mouth of the gulf¹⁶. Eastward, at a short distance from Rhium, projects the point of Drepanon, and between the two sweeps the double bay of Panormus¹⁷. The whole gulf was not originally called *Corinthian*, but *Crissæan*¹⁸, from its principal division, the spacious bay of Phocis: what formed its eastern boundary was named the Alcyonian sea¹⁹, and it was not till the time of Thucydides²⁰

⁷ Kinsbergen, 210. The fifth Æpytid Dotadas established a station for shipping there. Paus. 4. 3. 6.

⁸ Paus. 4. 34. 7.

⁹ Kinsbergen, 206, sqq.

¹⁰ Thucyd. 4. 8, sqq.

¹¹ Scylax, p. 36. only mentions this one; he says nothing of Pylos.

¹² Paus. 6. 26. 3.

¹³ Strab. 8. 335.; 10. 450.

¹⁴ Strab. 8. 387.

¹⁵ Τὸ ἐρεπον Πύον, Thucyd. 2. 86.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Strab. 8. 335; Paus. 7. 22. 7; Thucyd. 2. 86.

¹⁸ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 431; Thucyd. 1. 107; 2. 85.

¹⁹ See with reference to the corrupt passage in Strab. 8. 336. Mannert, 8. 152.

²⁰ As in Polyb. 4. 57.

that the gulf of Corinth became a general denomination. Off the Achæan coast there is a most violent surf²¹; its harbours at Erineos²², Ægira²³, Pallene²⁴, and even Sicyon²⁵, are unimportant; and vessels were not considered to be effectually sheltered till they had reached the Corinthian port of Lechæum. The navigation along the Megaro-Bœotian coast was endangered by reefs and violent mountain-winds²⁶. The Megarian Pagæ²⁷ and the Thespian Creusis²⁸ both had ports. The harbour of Cirrha in Phocis²⁹ was admirably situated; it is true it was filled up in the first holy war, but it still continued to be a safe anchorage³⁰. Equally commodious were the harbour of Anticirrha³¹ and that of Naupactus³² (*Le-panto*), till very recently, the chief emporium of modern Greece. However, the Corinthian gulf can never become as important as the Saronic; as the latter may be approached without difficulty or danger, whilst the narrow entrance of the former is obstructed by those imperious bulwarks, the islands of the Ionian sea, Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca³³. Especially formed for maritime warfare and for endangering the surrounding seas, is Acarnania³⁴, with its numerous ports; near the site of

²¹ Plutarch. Arat. 21.

²² Thucyd. 7. 34.; Paus. 7. 22. 7.

²³ Paus. 7. 26. 1.

²⁴ Pausan. 7. 26. 7.

²⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 3. 2; Polyb. 5. 27. The city and harbour were separate.

²⁶ Paus. 9. 23. 1.

²⁷ Thucyd. 1. 111.

²⁸ Strab. 9. 410; Creusa; Liv. 36. 21; 44. 1.

²⁹ That Cirrha and Crisa, Crissa, were in reality the same name, may be explained from the use of the σ for the ρ, and the transposition of the letters. Compare other opinions on the subject, published by Freret and Gélyon, in the Mem. de l'Ac. d. Inscr. 5. 164; Müller, Orchom. 495, and Prolegom. 275; Böckh. explic. Pind. 286.

³⁰ Polyb. 5. 27.

³¹ Liv. 32. 18; Strab. 9. 423.

³² The port is now shallow; Pocqueville, Voyages, 4. 41. Even Polybius states that there were shallows there in his time, 5. 103; comp. Thucyd. 2. 91.

³³ Concerning its three harbours, see Dicæarch. 52, and the description of the one, Odys. 13. 95.

³⁴ Ἀκαρνανία πᾶσα ἐνλίμενος, Scyl. 30.

the ancient maritime town Cēniadæ³⁵, are now Missolonghi, Natolico, and Galaxidi. The gulf of Ambracia³⁶, at whose mouth, near Actium, the fleet of the west secured to Augustus the empire of the Roman world, washes it on the north, and resembles one vast harbour³⁷, whilst the peninsula Leucas³⁸ forms its extreme boundary. But the queen of this island region, and mistress of the Ionian sea, was Corcyra, situate further north, at first the abode of the nautical Phæacians, a people at amity with, and even allied to the Greeks³⁹, but first introduced into Grecian history by the Corinthians. The Epirote regions beyond the gulf of Ambracia were not considered absolutely barbarian in the primitive ages, although the gulf was subsequently regarded as a natural boundary⁴⁰. The Ionian sea was at a very early period considered to belong to Greece⁴¹, though a Greek population did not visit the shores beyond it, those of Sicily, for instance, which afterwards gave its name to the sea that washes the Peloponnesus on the south⁴², till the migrations of the historical age.

b. The Interior.

§ 5. As the sea spread out its fairest charms to captivate the Greeks, so the mountains presented to them a no less attractive spectacle, in the bold and diversified forms they assumed in their abrupt com-

³⁵ Thucyd. 2. 102; Polyb. 4. 65.

³⁶ Scyl. 28; Dicæar. 30.

³⁷ Strab. 7. 325 ἐνλίμενος δὲ πᾶς.

³⁸ An attempt was made to convert it into an island, by deepening the narrow channel by which it was divided from Acarnania, and through which the vessels were towed. (Thucyd. 3. 81.) Liv. 33. 17.

³⁹ Compare below, § 14. n. 39.

⁴⁰ Dicæarch. 24; comp. Ephorus ap. Strab. 8. 334.

⁴¹ On the use of the words Ἰόνιος κόλπος and Ἀδρία, see Strab. 7. 325, 326; comp. Mannert, Ital. 1. 12. 13.

⁴² Strab. 2. 123.

binations with the sea, whilst from the remotest ages, they have bid defiance to its storms, and exercised their power over the rivers that gush from their heights, at one time driving them with impetuosity into the valleys beneath, and at another drying up their channels¹.

From the vast mountain-belt, which, under the name of Hæmus, Scomios, and Scardos, (Scordus, Scodrus,) extends from Pontus to Istria, a chain of hills runs towards the south, with gradually decreasing summits, and stretches its arms towards the east and west. On the east side lay Macedonia, where none but the occupants of the seacoast were susceptible of a few of the social forms of their more cultivated neighbours², whilst the intermediate mountains were inhabited by barbarians. On the west, the extremity of Illyria harboured a small number of Greek colonies. The Grecian continent, properly so called, in the opinion of the people, and, according to geographers, consisted of two principal divisions, the Peloponnesus and the mainland without it³. At the northern confines of the latter, the chain of hills, which continues its course from the north, has received the name of Pindus⁴. The way that once led from Thessaly to the Athamanes⁵, is nearly five thousand feet above the level of the sea⁶, and there is a short but very

¹ For instance, the Attic Ilissus was in winter a wide and deep stream. Aristoph. Acharn. 380. In summer its bed was dry, and there was such a drought in the adjacent country, that vegetation could not thrive. Demosth. adv. Polycl. 1225. The stagnation of the rivers is said to be more frequent at the present day, because there is less wood upon the mountains. Dodwell, 1. 475. But a number of canals now draw off the waters of the Ilissus. See Clarke, Travels, 2. 2. 588. ² Comp. Müll. Dor. 1. 2, sqq.

³ Ἡ ἔξω ἡπειρος.

⁴ Herod. 1. 56; 7. 129; Strab. 9. 434.

⁵ The great Mezzovo is about 4,500 feet in height; other points nearly 2,000 feet higher. Holland, Travels, 202, sqq. ⁶ Liv. 32. 14.

troublesome road direct to Ambracia⁷. The declivities of mount Pindus on this side cannot, in the historical age, be considered strictly Grecian. Amongst the barbarian half-brethren of the Greeks that dwelt there, the Dolopes⁸, Threspotians, Molossians, etc., whose leaders it is true, till a very late age, bore Greek names⁹, and near whom, under mount Tomaros¹⁰, was situated one of the principal seats of the oldest national worship, Dodona, the germ of the nobler Greek character, which they originally possessed, never unfolded itself. Illyrian tribes, such as the Athamanes¹¹, had forced a way amongst them, and both races incorporated in such a manner as no longer to be distinguishable, as Agræans, Amphilochians, and Apodotians¹² penetrated into the ravines of Ætolia and Acarnania. They remained collectively rough sons of the mountains, whose disposition presented features little more attractive than their own rugged rocks and precipices, and what fable records of their rivers, Acheron, Cocytus, and Aornus¹³. Their southern neighbours, the Acarnanians, Ætolians, and Ozolian Locrians, through extensive intercourse, either blended with northern tribes, or shut in by them, manifested a correspondent disposition, and with the exception of the purer Acarnanians, became more and more estranged from their brethren in the east and south.

⁷ Liv. 15. et est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam, sicut impeditum et difficile, ita spatio perbreve.

⁸ Thucyd. 2. 102. The Achelous flowed from mount Pindus through their country. ⁹ Thucyd. 2. 80.

¹⁰ Holland, p. 145; Pocqueville, 1. ch. 11.

¹¹ Liv. 32. 14; comp. Polyb. 17. 5.

¹² Thucyd. 2. 102; comp. 2. 68. The Amphilochians were barbarians, except such as ἐλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν by the Ambraciots; comp. Liv. 32. 34; Strab. 10. 455, and Poppo, Thucyd. 2. 148.

¹³ Pausan. 1. 17. 5; 9. 30. 3; Plin. Hist. Nat. 41.

Five principal rivers flow from Pindus through the above described provinces, towards the west and south, from the Lacmon, its western continuation; the Aous, which falls into the sea at Apollonia¹⁴; the deep Aracthus¹⁵, which wash the walls of Ambracia, and falls into the Ambracian gulf¹⁶; the Inachus, which disembogues by Argos Amphilo-chium into the same gulf¹⁷; the Achelous, the natural boundary of Acarnania and Ætolia¹⁸; and the Ætolian Euenus¹⁹ from the southern foot of Pindus.

The Ceraunian mountains extend over Epirus westward, as the principal range of Pindus, and the northern confines towards the most remote of the half-Greek tribes; they terminate in the rugged headland, Acroceraunia²⁰, which projects and forms a barrier between the Ionian sea and the Adriatic gulf²¹, and is fraught with the same terrors for the seaman as the notorious promontories of Greece²². The opposite eminence is mount Elias in Leucas²³, three thousand feet in height, a range proceeding from the heights of the Callidromus²⁴, and continued in a southerly direction through Acarnania, to which must be added Ithaca, a mere cluster of mountain-peaks²⁵, and the black mountains of Cephallenia²⁶, four thousand feet in height. The northern boundary of that wild land of hill and forest, Ætolia²⁷, is

¹⁴ Hecataë. ap. Strab. 6. 271; 7. 316, and Steph. Byzan. *Λακμων*; comp. Herod. 9. 93. ¹⁵ Scyl. 22; Strab. 7. 316.
¹⁶ Liv. 43. 21. ¹⁷ Strab. 7. 325; Polyb. 22. 9.
¹⁸ Strab. 6. 271; 7. 326. 327, from Hecataëus.
¹⁹ Strab. 10. 450. ²⁰ Strab. 7. 321.
²¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. 3. 26. ²² Strab. 7. 316.
²³ Horat. Od. 1. 3. 20. and the comment.
²⁴ Holland, 59. ²⁵ Strab. 9. 428.
²⁶ Strab. 51; comp. Gell, Ithaca, and the view of it in Lechevalier, *Voyages d. la Troade*. ²⁷ Holland, 35.

formed by the Callidromus, which stretches from Pindus towards Acarnania²⁸; Parnassus and Cēta adjoin the lofty and inhospitable Corax²⁹, and at the mouth of the Euenus rises the majestic promontory Chalcis³⁰. The Ozolian Locris is no less rugged and precipitous; it did not allow of an intercourse with the more cultivated of the neighbouring tribes, and the road from Naupactus to Doris was seldom trodden³¹.

§ 6. In the east the Peneus descends from the back of the Pindus; the possession of its sources was contested by the Epirot Tymphæans and the Thessalians¹. The formation of the passage through which the waters of the Thessalian crater poured themselves into the sea², as well as of a particular bed for the Peneus, which was a consequence of it, belong to the age in which those violent and astonishing natural convulsions, to which we have already alluded, took place, and the Peneus afterwards visited the country with periodical inundations³. The objects that still meet the eye in its valley, are of the most surprising character. The lofty cone-shaped Meteora on the brow of the Pindus, between Gomphi and Tricca⁴, the vale of Tempe⁵, winding through verdant meads and between perpendicular precipices, and the silver waters of the Titaresius⁶ at its confluence with the

²⁸ Thucyd. 3. 97. 98. ²⁹ See n. 26.
³⁰ Strab. 9. 417; 10. 450; Liv. 36. 30; 37. 4; Appian Syr. 21.
³¹ Strab. 10. 451.
¹ Thucyd. 3. 101; comp. Liv. ub. sup. and 37. 55.
² Strab. 7. 327.
³ Herod. 7. 129; Strab. 9. 430; Baton ap. Athen. 14. 639. The lakes Boëeis and Nessonis were considered to be remains of the inland lake. Strab. ub. sup. ⁴ Strab. 9. 430.
⁴ Holland, 231, sqq.
⁵ Ælian, V. H. 3. 1; comp. Barthélemy, *Voyages du j. Anach.* 3. 375; Bartholdy, *Fragments*, 112; Dodwell, 2. 109.
⁶ Homer Il. 2. 751; Strab. 9. 441.

Peneus, produce a sensation of mingled pleasure and awe. In the north, above the valley and the mouth of the Peneus, towers the snowy Olympus⁷, a vast eminence, which spreads its roots upon all sides, and extends to within a few thousand feet of the sea⁸, the natural bulwark of Greece, and the paternal guardian of the main tribe of the Greeks that once dwelt upon its sides, and gazed upon its summit as upon the abode of the gods. In ancient times, the chain of the Cambunian mountains⁹, which connects it with the Pindus, was included under the same denomination. The Peneus enters the sea between Olympus and the conical Ossa, which joins it on the south, and it is here that the vale of Tempe forms the principal entrance into ancient Greece, and might, in many parts, be blockaded with little trouble, and very few men¹⁰. At a short distance from this point there led a second road, over the heights and through the ravines of mount Olympus¹¹, which was, in the Macedonian times, beset with towers and fortresses; but the undaunted perseverance of the Romans opened another path in the same direction, and even a road for their elephants¹². A southern continuation of the chain, to which belong Olympus and Ossa¹³, is formed by Pelion; its base borders upon that of Ossa. Eastward, towards the last, extends the Othrys¹⁴, a central branch of the Pindus, as the southern frontier of the Thessalian valleys. Near the rocky bulwark Thaumacia, we advance from the

⁷ Ἀγανυφόρ Hom. Il. 1. 420. It is never wholly free from snow (Dodwell, 2. 105); but in summer its summit may be reached without difficulty. Holland, 303.

⁸ Liv. 44. 6.

⁹ As in Herod. 7. 129.

¹⁰ There were at one time four fortresses there, Liv. 44. 6; comp. Dodwell, 2. 3.

¹¹ See their description in Müll. Dor. 1. 20.

¹² Liv. 44. 5.

mountain gullies towards its northern declivity, and behold with delight and astonishment the fertile valley¹⁵ that winds through the Pindus and its subordinate branches. This valley slopes towards the sea on one side only, by Pheræ, in a south-easterly direction, and for that reason the Phthiotan Thebes, previous to the erection of Demetrias, was of great importance¹⁶ as controlling the intercourse between Pheræ, Larissa, and a part of Magnesia.

The branch of the Pindus southward of the Othrys, and proceeding in almost a parallel line with it towards the east, is formed by mount Œta. Callidromus¹⁷, a rock of five or six hundred feet in height, touches so closely upon the sea, that there is only a small space left, at one time scarcely broad enough to allow a single chariot to pass¹⁸. This was the second defile of northern Greece, known by the name of Thermopylæ. On the same line with this, as well as by Tempe, there were, in former ages, several paths which led over the mountains¹⁹, amongst which the Anopæa was known to the Persians²⁰, and which on several subsequent occasions rendered Thermopylæ untenable²¹. A wall near the Pylæ secured the Phocians from the attacks of the Thessalian cavalry; and Heraclea, forty stadia from Thermopylæ²², erected in the Peloponnesian war,

¹⁵ Herod. 7. 129.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Liv. 32. 4; comp. 36. 14.; Holland, 359.

¹⁸ Polyb. 5. 99.

¹⁹ Strab. 9. 428; Liv. 36. 15. 18. 19.

²⁰ Holland, 374, sqq. did not find this to be the case, but the aspect of the country has entirely changed, in consequence of the sands which have been deposited there. See Barb. du Bocage analyse in Voyage du j. Anach. Atlas, p. 20, and Dodwell, 2. 68, sqq.

²¹ Paus. 2. 22. 5; concerning the two roads now in use, see Dodwell, 2. 74. 126.

²² Herod. 7. 213. 216.

²³ On the expedition of Brennus, see Pausan. 10. 21, sqq.

²⁴ Thucyd. 3. 92; comp. Liv. 36. 15. 22.

might have proved an effectual defence under more favourable circumstances.

Still further towards the south are scattered some considerable eminences belonging to the great northern clusters, such as the towering Ocha in Eubœa²³. But the connecting height between Œta and Cylene, and the central point of the Grecian regions in general²⁴, is the mighty Parnassus, with its three soaring peaks²⁵. This vast mountain is rooted in the original seat of the Hellenic race in Doris, and from the extraordinary form of its caverns and grottoes, Corycion²⁶ and Castalia²⁷—the Phædriades²⁸ of Delphi, which rise two thousand feet above the level of the sea—its almost perpendicular rocks, and mural precipices, eight hundred feet in height—and the enthusiastic effects of its exhalations—was regarded as one of the wonders of nature, invested by the Greeks with a divine character, and marked out for the seat of the oracle and the sanctuary of the nation. Parnassus was the boundary of nations towards the east, parting off those Hellenic tribes in which the nobler faculties of humanity were still undeveloped. The valley of Phocis lay to the north, between its base and that of Œta; besides a third defile, leading from Thessaly through the mountains of Phocis to the heart of Greece, and covered by the fortress of Elatea²⁹. The sacred way³⁰, set apart for the solemn processions and pilgrimages to Delphi, extended

²³ Strab. 10. 445; Steph. Byzan. *Κάρυστος*.

²⁴ The Greeks called it *ὀμφαλος γῆς*. Pindar Pyth. 4. 7. 134; 8. 85; Plato de Republ. 4. 427. C.; Strab. 8. 419, etc.

²⁵ Two only can be seen from Delphi, therefore *biceps Parnassus*.

²⁶ Herod. 8. 36; Paus. 10. 32; 5. 12. It is 330 feet in length, and 200 in breadth. Raikes, in Walpole's Memoirs, 310, sqq.

²⁷ Paus. 10. 8. 5.

²⁸ Holland, 393.

²⁹ Strab. 7. 327; 9. 418. 424.

³⁰ Herod. 6. 34.

along its base in a southerly direction, as well as the dangerous double pass³¹ by Daulis to the Locrians in the north-east, and by Ambryssus to Bœotia, towards Lebadea. The Cirphis, separated from Parnassus by the bed of the Phæstus, is the extremity of the mountain towards the Crissæan bay³².

The north-eastern portion of Bœotia is a valley shut in by mountains on every side; it contains the fertile plain of Orchomenus, watered by the Cephissus³³, which flows from Parnassus, and runs into lake Copais. This lake did not, like the Thessalian, after the area of Greece had assumed a permanent form, retain a free outlet; its subterranean channels³⁴ were stopped up by earthquakes, and many cities were engulfed by the waters of the lake, which afterwards burst its embankments³⁵. The south-east coast of Bœotia declines towards the Euripus, and is divided from Attica and Megaris by a chain of hills, which is connected with Parnassus, along the Corinthian gulf, by the considerable heights of the well-wooded Helicon, the parent of those fountains of the Muses, Hippocrene and Aganippe. The rugged Cithæron in the south, which contains Sphragidium³⁶, the grotto of the nymphs and the springs of Asopus, opens various paths for traffic between Peloponnesus and northern Greece, besides

³¹ *Σχιστή ὁδός* Eurip. Phœn. 38; Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. 725; Paus. 10. 5. 2; likewise *πρίοδος* Æschyl. apud. Schol. Soph. ub. sup., the road to Delphi being reckoned as the third. Now *τὰ στρίνη*, Dodwell, 1. 194, sqq.

³² On the subject of Parnassus, see Müller, Orchom. 20, sqq., and the first exact description of Doris in his Dorians, 1. 35. 37. The road from Cirrha to Delphi is described by Liv. 42. 15.

³³ Müller, Orchom. 41, sqq.

³⁴ Now *Καραβοθόρα*. See on Strab. 9. 406; Wheeler, Pococke, Dodwell, 1. 237, sqq.; Walpole's Mem. 305, sqq.; Müller, Orchom. 62, sqq., and Bœotia in Ersch und Gr. Encyclop.

³⁵ See § 1. n. 16; see Steph. Byz. *Ἀθῆναι*, who states that some ruins became visible after Alexander had caused the waters of the lake to be drawn off.

³⁶ Paus. 9. 3. 5.

which the Athenians possessed the roads of Oropus and Tanagra³⁷ along the east coast, to which the Parnes and Brilessus extended from Cithæron.

As Bœotia, in spite of its striking position between three seas³⁸, was, both by means of its mountains and a profusion of the most luxuriant natural productions, as it were, confined within its own limits, so Attica, an inconsiderable and narrow strip of land, forming a sharp projection from the northern districts, poor of soil and sparingly watered³⁹, was driven by its native poverty to a maritime life. It is intersected by mountains; the Parnes joins Cithæron; to the south of this is Pentelicus, which is succeeded by Hymettus, whilst the terminating point is cape Sunium⁴⁰. No mountain in Greece offers a more beautiful prospect of the dark blue sea than Hymettus, the view towards the east extending as far as Chios⁴¹.

To the south of Bœotia lies Megaris, where mountain and sea unite with the utmost abruptness, and where, as at Corinth, but with a larger interval, there was one port to the east, Nisæa, and another to the west, Pagæ; the intermediate space is occupied by the Geraneia⁴², a rugged range of hills, in some parts as high as two thousand five hundred feet⁴³. The Oneia⁴⁴, separated from the Geraneia by the valley of the Isthmus, extend from Cenchreæ as far as the gulf of Corinth. The road from the Peloponnesus runs either over the Geraneia, along the Saronic

³⁷ See Append. ii.

³⁸ Τριθάλαττος, Strab. 9. 400.

³⁹ Concerning the Ilissus, see § 5. n. 1; comp. Dodwell, 1. 456; on the Cycloborus, see Schol. in Aristoph. Eq. 137.

⁴⁰ See in particular Dodwell, 2. 14; Müller, Attica in Ersch. und Gr. Encyclop. 6. 216.

⁴¹ Dodwell, 1. 485. 541.

⁴² See Append. iii.

⁴³ Holland, 419.

⁴⁴ See Append. iii.

gulf, by a long, narrow, and most precipitous path; the Scironian rocks⁴⁵, or by a circuit of three hours distance to Attica, over the back of the Geraneia, where banditti find secure haunts⁴⁶. Here it was customary to intercept the passage of hostile armies⁴⁷. To the south of this is the Isthmus, properly so called⁴⁸—a neck of land contracted to the inconsiderable breadth of forty stadia⁴⁹. It was there, near the harbour of Schœnus, that ships and merchandise were carried over⁵⁰; and there the Greeks built a wall to protect them against Xerxes⁵¹, which was afterwards several times restored⁵². This was joined by Acrocorinthus, calculated for a first-rate fortress⁵³, conveniently situated for closing the isthmus, and not only in modern days an advantageous position for commanding the surrounding country; it was looked upon as the third fetter of Greece, and like Ithome, accounted a horn by which the Peloponnesian ox might be secured⁵⁴.

§ 7. The Peloponnesus may be called a cluster of mountains; to the natural firmness and seclusion of this mountain bulwark of Greece¹, must be added a genuine Greek population, whereas the barbarians were at no period very distant from the higher ranges of the north. Tradition² recounted that the waters

⁴⁵ Strab. 9. 391; the Spartans closed it up in the Persian war, Herod. 8. 71; Hadrian widened it, Paus. 1. 44. 10; Pocqueville, 4. 59; but Clarke, in many parts of it, only found space enough for two horsemen, see Travels, 2. 2. 763.

⁴⁶ Now called Kake Skala, on account of the banditti that infest it, Clarke, 2. 2. 764.

⁴⁷ Thucyd. 1. 107.

⁴⁸ Thucyd. 4. 42.

⁴⁹ Strab. 7. 335.

⁵⁰ Διολεός Thucyd. 8. 7; Aristoph. Thesm. 654; Strab. 7. 335; 8. 380.

⁵¹ Herod. 8. 40. 71.

⁵² See Mannert, 8. 362.

⁵³ Clarke: The stupendous rock of Acrocorinthus, if properly fortified, would render all access to the Morea impracticable; and, as a fortress, it might be no less secure than that of Gibraltar.

⁵⁴ Polyb. 7. 11. 3; Plut. Arat. 50.

¹ Strab. 8. 334. ² Comp. § 1. n. 3.

had likewise here, at one time, prevailed over the land. The natural monuments by which this fact is attested, are the craters of the interior, the chasms and hollows of the mountains themselves, and the winding aspect of those districts that border on the sea, on that account anciently called "the hollow," "the vaulted". At the time of Aristotle⁴ the soil was in many places marshy. The whole of the Peloponnesus was covered with hills, with the exception of a small portion of the sea coast. Their root Cyllene, the highest range in the Peloponnesus⁵, and the opposite eminence to Parnassus, occupies the north-eastern region of Arcadia, whence there runs a ridge of hills to Acrocorinthus, the extreme northern link of the Peloponnesian chain; to the north-east, crossing Phlius, it terminates in a point of land near Sicyon, whilst between the two is the pass of Phlius, leading to Sicyon and Corinth, which the Sicyonians once attempted to blockade, by means of the fortress of Thyameia⁶. That ridge likewise formed the northern boundary of Argolis, and the narrow but practicable road of Contoporeia led from Cleonæ to Argos⁷, through the ravine Tretos (the perforated)⁸, in which was the den of the Nemean lion⁹; parallel with this, there were two other paths, but both arduous, and only traversed by foot passengers¹⁰. By means of the expansion of Cyllene towards the west, Achaia is con-

³ Ἡ κοίλη Ἡλίδας, Strab. 8. 336; Laconia, Paus. 3. 1. 2; the territory of Argos, Soph. Œd. Col. 378; and Schol.; comp. respecting the mountain Κοιλῶσσα near Phlius, Strab. 8. 382; Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 7.

⁴ Meteor. 1. 14.

⁵ Paus. 8. 17. 1.

⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 2. 1. 23.

⁷ Paus. 2. 15. 4.

⁸ Hesiod. Theog. 331; κοιρανίων Τρητοῖο; comp. χαραδραῖος Λέων, Zenob. 6. 39.

⁹ Pausan. 2. 15. 1; Polyb. 16. 16. 4; Schweighæus ad. Athen. 2. 43; Thucyd. 5. 58. ἡ κατὰ Νεμέαν ὁδός.

¹⁰ Thucyd. ub. sup.

tracted to a small coast-district, in which the mountains, in many places, approach so close to the sea that they leave nothing but a narrow cornice between, on which account the rivers of the country are mere torrents, the Crathis being the only one that constantly flows¹¹. A main road¹² leads from Arcadia to Patræ over the Panachaicon, which was in some parts covered with impenetrable forests¹³. Northern Elis partakes of the nature of a level country. The hilly barrier to the south of Cyllene, as far as Mantinea, has most obstinately resisted the forcible passage of the waters; water and land were frequently confounded together, so as to be almost undistinguishable; no river of consequence descends from these heights; the mountain torrents have formed themselves subterranean vents, and these not spacious ones; in the rainy season brooks swell into lakes, and the stoppage of a channel lays whole tracts of country under water. The Stymphalus, which enters the bowels of the earth and reappears as the Erasinus in Argolis¹⁴, has channels of this description, and an irregular height of water, on which account it is at one time a river and at another a lake; of a similar character are the Olbius, near Pheneus¹⁵, which, in its course underground, is supposed to unite with the Ladon¹⁶, and sometimes inundated Pheneus¹⁷, and lastly, the

¹¹ Herod. 1. 145.

¹² Now called Makeleria from the many murders committed there, Dodwell, 1. 113.

¹³ Polyb. 5. 30.

¹⁴ Herod. 6. 76; Strab. 6. 275; 8. 371. 389; Paus. 8. 22. 3.

¹⁵ Theophrast. Hist. Nat. 3. 1. 5. 1.

¹⁶ Strab. 1. 60; 8. 389; Diodor. 15. 49; Plin. Hist. Nat. 4. 10; Paus. 8. 20. 1.

¹⁷ Paus. 8. 14. 1; Theoph. Hist. Plant. 5. 4; Plut. de sera numinis vindict. 9. 205.

Ophis, near Mantinea¹⁸. The slope declining from Cyllene to the south-west, which was crossed by the great road from the isthmus to Olympia, by Pheneus¹⁹ and Thalpusa, extends along the river Alpheus, which, after flowing through Pisatis, the central district of Elis, empties itself into the sea. The Gortinius and Erimanthus, and the Ladon²⁰, inferior to no river in the clearness of its waters, flow into it from the north-western part of Arcadia. The second principal river of the Peloponnesus, the Eurotas, rises near the source of the Alpheus. Both bear the traces of a struggle with unusual geological obstacles. They flow in common a short distance from their sources under the earth²¹; then separating, are obliged to force a passage through obstructing mountains. The bed of the Eurotas is said to have been originally formed by artificial means²².

Mount Lycæum, the opposite eminence to Cyllene, and of nearly equal elevation with it, commands a view of the greater part of the Peloponnese, and bounds the declivity above described to the south-west²³. This is joined westward by the Triphylian, and southward by the Messenian mountains, which, in the heights of Ithome, possess one of the strongest barriers of the Peloponnesus²⁴, and end in the promontory Acritas; and to the south-east by the Lacedæmonian Taygetus, which terminates in the headland Tænarus. A chain stretches eastward from Lycæum and forms the line of demarcation between Arcadia and Laconia. Besides these, there extend various

¹⁸ Concerning a lake near Mantinea, see Pausan. 8. 7. 1, and Pocqueville, 4. 157. ¹⁹ Müller, Dor. 1. 446.

²⁰ Pausan. 8. 20. 1; 8. 25. 7.

²¹ Pausan. 8. 44. 3; comp. 8. 54. 1. 2, and Polyb. 16. 17.

²² Paus. 3. 1. 2.

²³ Paus. 8. 35. 5.

²⁴ See § 6, n. 53.

ridges of bleak eminences, as connecting links between Cyllene, and the southern groups from north to south, for the most part stretching along the southern confines of Arcadia, like a strong natural wall, and ending in the point of Malea. The peninsula of Argolis is studded with eminences, by which it is naturally divided into districts; these heights, which possess little vegetation and few springs of water, end at the gulf of Hermione in rugged cliffs²⁵. The Erasinus was the only river of the country that constantly flowed; Neptune was said once in his anger to have dried up the beds of all the others²⁶.

The boundary between Argolis and Arcadia is marked by the mountains Artemisium and Parthenium. They were traversed by four passes; 1. through a country called Prinos; 2. a good broad path, furnished with steps, and therefore called Climax; 3. a narrow path along the Inachus, and then between the mountains called Artemisium; all these led towards Mantinea, whose high plain, also accessible in other directions, was, like Bœotia, the arena of rival armies; 4. by way of Hysiaë, through the Parthenium to Tegea²⁷. A very arduous path, called Anigræa²⁸, led along the coast of Lerna towards Laconia, to the district of Cynuria and the city of Thyrea; the possession of this was contested by Athens and Sparta, and it was accordingly the scene of frequent and sanguinary conflicts²⁹. The adjoining natural frontier of Arcadia was formed by the Par-

²⁵ See § 3, n. 12.

²⁶ Apollod. 2. 1. 4; Paus. 2. 15. 5; compare Dodwell, 2. ch. 6.

²⁷ Paus. 8. 6. 2; 8. 54. 4; Liv. 34. 26; compare on the position of Tegea at the foot of the Parthenium, Polyb. 4. 23; and Herod. 6. 105.

²⁸ Paus. 2. 38. 4.

²⁹ Herod. 1. 182; compare Thucyd. 5. 14. 41.

non³⁰; and it is here, as well as along the whole extent of its natural barrier, only to be approached by mountain passes³¹, such as led from Argos through the Parnon, and from Tegea to Sellasia and Caryæ³²; another ran through the land of Sciritis, towards Pellana³³; there was a way from Orestasium and another from Megalopolis by Phalasiæ to Belmina, in the valley of the Eurotas³⁴; the latter was more frequented as a military road³⁵. The agricultural portion of Laconia, a tract of land that emerged from the lake which afterwards became the Eurotas³⁶, is almost exclusively confined to the intermediate valley by two chains of hills³⁷; one to the east, almost entirely unknown, and the Taygetus to the west. The Taygetus, which towers in wild grandeur, is in height little inferior to the Lycæum, and is generally covered with snow till the end of May; it commands from its summit a view of the greatest part of the Peloponnesus³⁸, and may be seen from Zacynthus. It divides Laconia from Messenia, and was approached by two passes³⁹. The last is somewhat less rugged. The Pamisus, which only flows one hundred stadia, contains a greater body of water than any river in the Peloponnesus⁴⁰, and the Neda

³⁰ Paus. 2. 38. 7.

³¹ Δυσσεμβολωτάτη ἡ Λακωνική. Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 24.

³² Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 25. This is mentioned by Diod. 15. 64, ἴσθμιν τὴν πορείαν: for an exact description of the same, consult Polyb. 2. 65; the direction towards Argolis, Plut. Cleom. 23; the Hermæ; then Paus. 2. 38. 7.

³³ The principal defile was ἐν Ἰφῇ τῆς Σκιριτίδος. Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 24.

³⁴ Paus. 3. 21. 3; 8. 35. 1; Plut. Cleom. 4.

³⁵ Plut. ub. sup. Here it would appear that the Eleans broke into Laconia; Diod. 15. 64.

³⁶ The idea of stagnation is indicated by the words Helos, Helia (Polyb. 15. 19), perhaps even Sellasia; compare Wess. ad. Diod. 15. 64; and below §. 12, n. 15; Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas, is the land of seed.

³⁷ On the boundaries, see Plut. Agis, 8.

³⁸ Schol. Pind. Nem. 10. 114, over the whole Peloponnese.

³⁹ Müller, Dor. 2. 453.

⁴⁰ Strab. 8. 361.

only second to the Mæander in the windings of its course⁴¹, both water a delightful valley, besides which there are innumerable springs⁴²; whilst Ithome and Eira⁴³ are lofty without being steep. Triphylia, from its natural situation, must be regarded as belonging to Messenia, and Nestor once ruled over a tract of sea coast which bordered both countries.

c. Climate and Natural Productions.

§ 8. As few of the Grecian provinces were entirely cut off from the sea, so few of them were deprived of that incomparable brilliancy of sky, whose tints were reflected¹ in the no less transparent waters of the blue Archipelago, and which, from its influence on the Greeks, has proved that it has the most important effect on the national disposition, when a serene sky meets the gaze of the inhabitants. In the same manner, the greater part of the country enjoys the strengthening² and fertilizing north-west wind, which, consisting of the pure mountain air, and the nutritive sea-breeze, tempers³ the heat of the dog-days; and coolness may be found upon the heights, to which it ascends from the mountain craters; so that Herodotus with justice extols the happy mixture of the Grecian seasons⁴. Attica⁵ is pre-eminently favoured by its sky, for here it is most pure, and the eye may consequently see farther

⁴¹ Paus. 8. 41. 3.

⁴² Strab. 8. 366.

⁴³ Steph. Byzant. Ἰπὰ from Rhianos.

¹ Clarke, 2. 2. 366.

² Aquilo spissiora corpora reddit. Celsus.

³ See Appendix. When the Etesian winds once ceased blowing, Aristæus was said to have preserved the country from the scorching heat. See Diod. 4. 82; Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. 630 B; Paris, 1629.

⁴ Herod. 3. 106.

⁵ On the εὐκρασία τῶν ὥρων there, vid. Plato. Tim. 24 C; Crit. 111 E; Epinom. 987 D. conf. Athen. 9. 372, and Casaub. 644.

over the sea⁶ than elsewhere. On the other hand, damp and foggy vapours hover over the valleys of Boeotia⁷ and Arcadia⁸, as well as over Eretria⁹. But the sky and atmosphere of Greece are far from being constant; the adjacent seas are agitated by frequent and violent tempests; rigorous winters and deep snows¹⁰ abruptly succeed the burning heats of summer, and hurricanes take the place of the north-west breeze. Few places were, therefore, stigmatized¹¹ as the permanent seats of epidemic influences. Corinth¹², now surrounded by a mass of deadly vapours, was once the haunt of pleasure; but the pestilent breath of a degenerating race for centuries infested this region, and impregnated the atmosphere with so much noxious matter, that malignant fevers now prevail over the whole of Greece; the plague finds ready admittance into many countries, and amongst others, Boeotia cannot be traversed without danger.

It will probably be sufficient here to enumerate a few of the chief natural productions of the country, without entering into a detailed enumeration of all the objects comprised under the heads of utility and pleasure. It is probable that through the greatest part of Greece, few productions were the spontaneous and free gifts of nature. Those tracts of country which were afterwards so fruitful, had first to be reclaimed from the lake and the morass; fertilizing materials brought to such as were placed on high and arid situations, and assiduous cultivation devoted

⁶ See § 6, n. 40.

⁷ Cic. de Fato. 9, but Dodwell, 1. 269, praises the air and water of Thebes.

⁸ Polyb. 4. 21. ⁹ Diog. Laert. 2. 133.

¹⁰ Dodwell, 1. 541; Holland, 1. 26. 27.

¹¹ Trezen; Isocrat. *Æginet.* 680. Lange's ed.; Plin. Hist. Nat. 31. 2; concerning Onchestus *πυρετός*, see Dicæarch. in Gronov. Thes. xi. 30.

¹² Clarke, 2. 2. 739; Pouqueville, 4. 170.

to all. Hence Herodotus and Thucydides mentioned it as one of the features of the Grecian character, "to produce excellence from labour¹³." But nowhere was nature plunged in the torpor of inaction; she invited the natives to apply their hands to her stores, for if mere rocks were tilled, as was the case in Megaris¹⁴, human labour was never entirely unproductive.

Various descriptions of fish filled the Grecian bays and lakes, especially the pelamys, a species of tunny, coming in countless shoals through the Hellespont into the Ægean sea¹⁵. The Laconian purple-fish was inferior in excellence to none but the Phœnician¹⁶. The eel of lake Copais was formerly¹⁷, as it is still¹⁸, celebrated through the whole of Greece as an exquisite delicacy. The choicest fruits, fragrant and aromatic shrubs, herbs and flowers, laurels, myrtles, roses, and hyacinths¹⁹, grew upon Helicon, unmixed with venomous plants²⁰; forests of oak²¹, especially in the Peloponnese; cypresses and plane trees, which still attain an extraordinary height there²², once covered the mountains more thickly

¹³ Herod. 7. 102: τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενία μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφός ἐστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐπαρκὴς ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ τε σοφίας κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ; Thucyd. 1. 123; πάτριον γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι; compare Strab. 2. 127.

¹⁴ The Megarians were called *πίτρας γεωργοῦντες*; Isocrat. Symmach. 292. The Arcadian district of Azania was in great disrepute *Ἀζάνεια κακὰ*, Zenob. 2. 54; Diogen. 1. 24.

¹⁵ Aristot. Hist. An. 8. 30; Strabo, 6. 320; Plin. Hist. Nat. 9. 18; Athen. 7. 301 E. sqq.; 303 B.; 319 A. The ancients abound in passages relating to the tunny fishery, vid. Æschyl. Pers. 430; and Blomfield's citat.

¹⁶ Paus. 3. 21. 6.

¹⁷ Aristoph. Ach. 881. *τερπνότερον τίμαχος ἀνθρώποις*. Comp. Lysiat. 36.

¹⁸ Raikes in Walpole's Memoirs, 305. Concerning the other kinds of fish as well as the birds, consult Kruse, Hellas, v. 1. 371—382.

¹⁹ See the enumeration of them in Kruse, 1. 346.

²⁰ Pausan. 9. 28. 1.

²¹ Paus. 8. 12. 1. On the importance of this kind of tree to ancient Hellas, see Creuser, Symb. 2. 476.

²² Dodwell, 1. ch. 4; Clarke, 2. 1. 198. On the subject of trees celebrated in antiquity, see Paus. 2. 28. 4.

and luxuriantly than at present²³, when barbarian hordes burn down part of a wood, to sow a single crop in the ground manured with its ashes²⁴. The bold huntsman seldom returned home without spoil; hares and deer were the objects of pursuit; and even wild boars were found in great numbers in the whole of Greece; bears²⁵, wolves, foxes, and even lions²⁶, were opposed to the enterprising vigour of their youth, who found faithful companions in their powerful dogs²⁷. The settler and the agriculturist had no want of useful domestic animals for food and labour; excellent horses were found in Thessaly and Bœotia, which likewise abounded in poultry²⁸; whilst mules²⁹, cattle, sheep, pigs, asses, and goats³⁰, were found in all the provinces. The less wooded eminences³¹ were covered with bees, and even at the present day, the Attic honey is the sweetest in the world³². In those parts where forests had been felled and marshes drained, thrived fruit trees³³, corn, and plantations, particularly the vine³⁴; these were all found in the

²³ This was even the opinion of Plato, Critias, 111. B. C.

²⁴ Pocqueville, 2. 86.

²⁵ On the Parnes, Taygetus, etc., Paus. 1. 32. 5; 3. 20. 5.

²⁶ Herod. 7. 126, and (from him?) Arist. Hist. An. 6. 28; 8. 27; names the Achelous and the Nestus as the boundary line of the region infested by lions.

²⁷ Laconian, Arcadian, Argive, Locrian, Eretrian, Cretan, Molossian, dogs are named by Pollux, 5. 38. The last, according to the "Mythus," derived their origin from a brazen dog belonging to Hephaestus, 5. 39. On the excellent Laconian breed, see Aristot. Hist. An. 6. 21; 8. 27; Pind. ap. Ath. 1. 28 A; Frag. ap. Boeck. p. 599; Paus. 3. 2. 0. 5.

²⁸ Plato. Polit. 29 B. flocks of Thessalian geese and storks.

²⁹ For one of the most humane amongst all the popular decrees of Athens, as to a mule of eighty years old, consult Theophr. Hist. An. 6. 24. Elis only had no mules, Herod. 4. 30.

³⁰ Especially on the barren (Zenob. 1. 32; Diogen. 1. 30.) Scyros, Pind. ub. sup.

³¹ Plato. Crit. ub. sup.

³² Dodwell, 2. ch. 1. ³³ See Kruse, 1. 351.

³⁴ Wine, it is true, belongs rather to those islands of the Archipelago which afterwards became Grecian, but Homer Il. 2. 561. mentions ἀμπελοεντ' Επιδάυρον (conf. 2. 507. 537); on Parnassus there was a celebrated description

greatest profusion, and, consequently, of various descriptions in Thessaly³⁵; but the most fertile were Bœotia³⁶, the marshland of Greece, Sicyon³⁷, Messenia³⁸, Elis³⁹, Argos⁴⁰, Phlius, which last derives its name from the luxuriance of its soil⁴¹, the plain of Laconia⁴², and the island of Eubœa⁴³. The less fertile regions, such as Attica⁴⁴, produced fruit of other kinds, adapted to the peculiar nature of their soil; olives and figs, both of unusual excellence in Attica, as well as corn and wine, were amongst the most important natural productions of Greece. The herds found ample pasturage in those parts where the slopes of the mountains were not fitted for the objects of tillage, as in "Arcadia, with its many flocks⁴⁵." Without the Peloponnesus, particularly in the Attic Laurion, the earth con-

of vine, Eurip. Phœn. 236; on the cultivation of the vine in Laconia, see Theog. 875; in Messenia, Athen. 1. 29; about Thebes, 1. 33; on the island of Eubœa, Sophocl. in Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 238; conf. Schol. Antig. 1126; in Attica, Aristoph. Pac. 1162; Acarn. 183. 512. 995; see at large Athen. vol. i.; Æl. Var. Hist. 12. 31. In Æschyl. Suppl. 954, the king says to the Egyptian herald; you will here find brave men who do not drink barley-mead.

³⁵ Thucyd. 1. 2; Dionys. Hal. 1. 17; compare the response of the oracle in the Schol. Theocrit. 14. 48, Γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἀμεινον.

³⁶ Βοιωτοὶ μάλα πίονα δήμον ἔχοντες, Hom. Il. 5. 710; Thucyd. 1. 2; Dicaearchus on Thebes, καθυδρόος πάσα, χλωρά τε καὶ γεώλοφος, κηπώματα ἔχουσα πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων. Gronov. Thes. 11. 25, comp. 28. For an enumeration of the articles of Bœotian produce, see Aristoph. Acarn. 874, sqq. Concerning the heavy Bœotian wheat, see Theophrast. Hist. Plant. 8. 4. 5.

³⁷ An oracle advised those who wished to grow rich, to purchase all the land between Corinth and Sicyon, Schol. Aristoph. Av. 969; conf. Athen. 5. 219; Liv. 27. 31; Zenob. 3. 57; Clarke, 2. 2. 737; Dodw. 2. 37; Müller, Dor. 2. 72. 414. To that must probably be referred ἀμῶν Κορινθικὸν Suid.

³⁸ Eurip. ap. Strab. 8. 366. In many parts it yielded thirty-fold. Sibthorp in Walpole's Mem. 60. The plain watered by the Pamisus was entitled "the blessed," Strab. 8. 361; Paus. 4. 34. 1.

³⁹ Agriculture prospered here; it was also celebrated for possessing the best byssus, Paus. 5. 5. 2.

⁴⁰ Aristot. Meteor. 1. 14.

⁴¹ Steph. Byz. Φλιῶς, Ælian. V. H. 3. 41. τὸ πολυκαρπεῖν-φλύειν.

⁴² Amyclæ was τόπος καλλιενδρότατος καὶ καλλικαρπώτατος, Polyb. 5. 19.

⁴³ Herod. 5. 31. ἐνδαίμων.

⁴⁴ Λεπτόγεως, Thuc. 1. 2; κραναός, Pind. Ol. 7. 51; 13. 52; Nem. 8. 9. See the pleasing description of Aristophanes in Ath. 9. 372, B. sqq.

⁴⁵ Εὐμηλος Pind. Ol. 6. 169.

tained veins of silver ⁴⁶, besides rich shafts of copper and iron: marble and copper were especially found in the Eubœan Ocha ⁴⁷, and in the northern mountains of Argolis ⁴⁸, iron in Laconia ⁴⁹, marble near Carystus in Eubœa ⁵⁰, whilst the Attic Hymettus and Pentelicus ⁵¹ supplied the mechanic with implements and the artist with materials.

II. THE TRIBES OF GREECE.

a. *The Pelasgians.*

§ 9. The researches devoted to ascertaining what race was originally destined to inhabit the Grecian regions, which, in accordance with the physical peculiarities of the country, must necessarily have contained the germ of their subsequent nationality, move in a field which no one has yet attempted to explore, without more or less wandering from the right path. Formerly people supposed they could find firm footing for researches of this nature in the statements of the ancients, and accordingly endeavoured to gain over to their side a majority of citations, or with the authority of some leading name, to confute those who ventured to pronounce different opinions. But an unprejudiced and intelligent estimation of the sources of early Grecian history has now called forth as many doubts, as it has produced bold and ingenious conjectures. As the

⁴⁶ On the subject of the precious metals in general, consult Boeckh, *Pub. Econ.* 1. 6. On the silver mines of Laurion, see Boeckh in *Berl. Abhandl. Hist. Phil.* 1814-15.

⁴⁷ Strab. 9. 437; 10. 446. Hence Χαλκίς Steph. Byz. διὰ τὸ χαλκουργεῖα πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀφθῆναι. Conf. Schol. Ven. in Hom. II. 10. 439, where the Cyclops are said to have first forged arms at the house of the Eubœan Euteuchius and Casaub. ad Ath. 899. ⁴⁸ Müll. Dor. 1. 72.

⁴⁹ Steph. Byz. Λακεδαίμ.

⁵⁰ Strab. 10. 446.

⁵¹ Strab. 9. 399.

vertical point of these opinions may be regarded that view, which enjoins us to behold in every thing that has been transmitted to us from the times of the Doric and Heraclid migration, nothing but a poetical fiction, and to treat that period as an age so entirely detached and included within itself, that no sort of connection can be established between it and the one by which it was succeeded ¹. Ephorus commenced his history with that migration, but he was far from considering the primeval age as a period that had vanished, and left no memorial of its existence, and reverted, in various and numerous particulars, to the ancient time. No one, in fact, who proposes to investigate ancient Grecian history, can refuse entering upon the domain of poetry and fable, in order there to seek a footing for his operations. The testimony of the ancients, it cannot be denied, would present to us little more than their view of the preceding ages, did not a glance at the universal analogy of national history enable us to divest their accounts of the garb of fable, and to discover facts in them. Amongst the numerous poetico-historical accounts of the heroic ages of Greece, fragments of traditions, concerning its most ancient population, have been preserved, and from these it may be gathered that it was composed of various races. With the generalising spirit of his nation, Herodotus distinguishes the Pelasgians, above all the others, as a widely-extended race, and contrasts them as the stationary Attico-Ionic primitive tribe with the Hellenes, whom he calls the essentially migratory tribe, and the forefathers of the Dorians ². His further account of the nationality of

¹ See Appendix iv. concerning Homer as an historical authority.

² Herod. 1. 57.

the Pelasgians³; his loose mode of reasoning back from the so-called Tyrrhenian Pelasgians of his own time, to demonstrate the barbarian character of their language⁴, and his view of the conversion of the ancient Pelasgi of the mainland into Hellenes, have been for ages the guiding, or rather the misguiding, stars of investigation; and even at the present day it is not generally considered that the Father of History was the first to explore that path, and when there were no fruits of solid discovery to be reaped, advanced a conjecture, which, it is true, resulted from a spirit of judicious criticism, but was still unable to produce a full and substantial harvest. But the hypothesis, which is chiefly founded upon his assertion, that the Pelasgians were a race of barbarians distinct from the Hellenes in language, customs, and feelings, will scarcely meet with trustworthy advocates at the present day. In lieu of this, there has sprung up an abundant harvest of conjecture, partly reminding us of the ominous signification of the word "Pelasgi," which, without any great violence to etymology, may be referred to (*πλάζειν*) to lead astray; but without pausing to examine these fanciful hypotheses, I proceed to communicate the results of my own researches.

The scattered accounts of the ancients may, in the main features, be all condensed into two traditions, which are almost diametrically opposed to each other. The one which may be called the *mountain tradition*, and which was followed by Hesiod, Asius, Æschylus, and Ephorus, described the Pelasgians as stationary, and as autoethones in various quarters, of which Arcadia has the honour of being

³ Ibid. 2. 50, sqq.

⁴ Ibid. 1. 57.

regarded as the first⁵, where "the black earth upon Cyllene produced Pelasgus⁶," together with which Thessaly was accounted one of the chief seats⁶. Argos was emphatically called Pelasgic⁷, and Attica and Achaia were said to have added a Hellenic element⁸ to their incontestably Pelasgic population; in Ion the fruitful Phlius counted a Pelasgus amongst its mythical princes⁹, and we may recognise Pelasgians in Bœotia in the Theban Cadmeans, however, these last may have been interwoven with the genealogy of the Hellenic heroes¹⁰. But according to the testimony of Strabo¹¹, Pelasgians were distributed over the whole of Greece, as well as without its limits, on the islands of Asia Minor and the coasts of the Hellespont, as far as Mycale¹², and according to Homer and Hesiod, around the seat of the oracle of Dodona¹³. The opposite tradition, however, describes the Pelasgians for the most part with the addition of Tyrrhenian, or as Pelasgic Tyrrhenians, as wandering hordes¹⁴, devoted to manual labour, as, for example, the construction of the Pelasgic citadel at Athens¹⁵, but more generally

⁵ Asius ap. Paus. 8. 1. 2; conf. 8. 4. 1; and Hesiod. and Ephor. 6; Strab. 5. 221; Apollod. 3. 8. 1; also Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί in Herod. 1. 146; and Hygin. 225 on Pelasgus, the founder of the earliest temple of the Olympic Zeus.

⁶ Hom. Il. 2. 681; Dion. Hal. 1. 17; Strab. 5. 220.

⁷ Æschyl. Dan. 253, ὁ Πελασγία, and king Pelasgus in the same tragedy. Conf. Eurip. Orest. 684. 949; Phœn. 105. 263.

⁸ Herod. 7. 94; 8. 44; Strab. 8. 383.

⁹ Diod. 4. 72.

¹⁰ Strab. 9. 410, mentions as the former inhabitants of Bœotia, "Pelasgians and other barbarians." The Minyans also bear the stamp of the Pelasgic character; conf. Müller, Orchom. 124. 243. 379.

¹¹ Strab. 5. 220, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπεπόλασε.

¹² Herod. 7. 95; Ephor. and Menecrat. ap. Strab. 2. 221; 13. 621; conf. 12. 572; 13. 661; Plin. Hist. Nat. 5. 31.

¹³ Hom. Il. 16. 233; Hes. ap. Strab. 7. 327; conf. Strab. 5. 221. On their reputed descent from those of Arcadia, see Steph. Byz. Ἐφύρα, where, however, the genealogical series is greatly corrupted; comp. de la Nauze in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. v. 7. 151, sqq. 4to. On the habitations of the Pelasgians in general, consult Kruse, Hellas, v. i. p. 404. 436.

¹⁴ Strab. 13. 621, πολύπλανον δὲ καὶ ταχὺ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἐπαναστάσεις.

¹⁵ Herodotus (1. 57; 6. 137.) does not explain how these Pelasgians were

as addicted to piracy¹⁶. This might, in some respects, be denominated the *coast-tradition*, if it were not altogether deficient in historical foundation and consistency. Ephorus¹⁷ makes a vain and fruitless approach to the genuine old tradition, when with but little critical discernment he makes bands of warriors migrate from the old Pelasgic Arcadians, like the Arcadian mercenaries of aftertimes. The account of Hellanicus concerning the Pelasgic migration to Italy¹⁸, seems to be better founded. The distinguishing marks of this opinion were the assigning them a homeless character, as, strictly speaking, it was not attempted to determine their mother country¹⁹, and the want of indigenous manners and customs, as well as the conversion of the Pelasgic name into an epithet derived from *πελαργός*, a stork²⁰, on account of the similarity in wandering—the employment of the word Tyrrhenian as a substantive—the confounding of the name with that of the people of Italy, and chiefly of the marauders that flocked from Adria in the Ionian sea—the transferring their ill-famed qualities to the old Pelasgic Tyrrhenians proper—and, finally, the extension of the appellation to seamen and pirates in general²¹. It is evident how this view was intended to apply to a single tribe of the ancient Pelasgians, and from being imperfectly understood, became afterwards extended to the whole. On the other hand, the former emanated from an old and natural

to be distinguished from the Athenians, who were themselves at one time Pelasgians (8. 44).

¹⁶ See append. v. on the subject of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians.

¹⁷ Ap. Strab. 5. 221.

¹⁸ Dionys. Hal. 1. 18, sqq.

¹⁹ See my Roman Hist. 92, sqq.

²⁰ Strab. 5. 221; 8. 397. However, a very different explanation of the origin of the name is given in the Etym. M. and Bekker, Anecd. 299, *τελαργικόν*, viz. from the *σίνδονες* which they wore.

²¹ See append. v.

source; and in adhering to it we recognise in the Pelasgi an ancient and honourable race; ante-Hellenic, it is true, but distinguished from the Hellenes only in the political and social development of their age, not in the intrinsic constituents of character. Herodotus and others take a prejudiced view of the question when, reasoning back from the subsequent Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, as they were called, a forlorn handful of people, they call the ancient Pelasgians a rude and worthless race, their language barbarous, and their deities nameless²². Numerous traditionary accounts, of undoubted authenticity, describe them as a brave, moral, and honourable people, which was less a distinct stock and tribe, than a race united by a resemblance in manners and the forms of life, and a consistent interpretation of the natural appellation may be given without recurring to artificial means. The Pelasgians namely, or originally the Pelargians (for the latter name maintained itself in Attica²³), descended from the mountains into the plain, which, in the Peloponnesus²⁴ and Thessaly²⁵, was called Argos, and are indisputably established in the character of tillers of the earth; Pelasgus in Arcadia, said the tradition, taught men to bake bread²⁶. The ancient Pelasgic Buzyges yoked bulls to the plough²⁷; Pelasgians invented the goad for the purpose of driving the animals²⁸;

²² Herod. 1. 57; 2. 50.

²³ *πελαργικόν*, Aristoph. Av. 832, etc. But the play upon the word stork must not be overlooked here. See on Pelarge, n. 30. On the reading *Πελαργικέ*, Hom. Il. 16. 233, see Heyne, v. 7. p. 287.

²⁴ *Ἄργος*, strictly the plain near the citadel Larissa, Strab. 8. 37; *Ἀργόν*, a field in Arcadia, Paus. 8. 7. 1; compare on the Attic *Ἀργάδεις*, below, § 43, n. 29.

²⁵ These were pre-eminently called Pelasgic, Hom. Il. 2. 681; Strab. 8. 372; 5. 221; 9. 431. 443. Conf. Athen. 14. 639. concerning Pelasgus there, the draining of the plain, the festival Peloria. Hither may likewise be referred *Ἠλιάσος* Larissa's father (the exuberant, from the richness of the soil), Suid. *ἀθέμιστα*.

²⁶ Paus. 1. 14. 1.

²⁷ Etym. M. *βουζύγης*.

a (Pelagic) Thessalian in Egypt taught the art of measuring land²⁹. The ancient Pelagic gods were deities of the mountain and the field³⁰; their worship simple, rustic, and solemnized with bloodless offerings³¹; beside the plain (*Ἀργος*), a fortress called Larissa³² was generally erected; writing³³ and art³⁴ were not unknown to them. Homer called them the divine³⁵, and they occasionally appear as a better race that had succeeded barbarians³⁶. It assuredly required a total revolution in their ancient and well-regulated life, and the rise of new elements, foreign to their character, to impart to them the stamp of the rude and worthless. The manner in which this was effected will afterwards be explained with the further progress of the Hellenes.

b. The other Ante-Hellenic Tribes.

§ 10. The Lelegians, Carians, Curetians, and Cauconians are mentioned as contemporary with

²⁹ Etym. M. *ἄκαινα* and Bekker, Anecd. 357. To this head must be referred the statement in the Etym. M. *Βούρα*, that this was erected by the Centaur (*κεντάω, ταῦρος*) Hexadius, and that the *βουστραία* was there.

³⁰ Etym. M. ubi. sup.

³¹ Demeter. *Πελαγίς* Paus. 2. 22. 2. Pelarge institutes her mysteries, Paus. 9. 25; 5. 6. See at large Creuzer, Symb. 4. 31, sqq.; compare on Zeus, 2. 472, sqq.; Müller, Dor. 1. 348. 354. 400. 402.

³² Concerning Cecrops, see Paus. 8. 2. 1. On the subject of Lycaon's reputed sacrifice of human victims, see Suidas *Λυκάων*, a statement of Nich. Damascenus, that differs from the common tradition, and, therefore, coincides with the above assertion.

³³ Strab. 9. 440; 13. 621; comp. Steph. Byz. *Ἀργίσα*. In addition to this, *Ἀργόλας* was the significant name of one of the founders of the Pelagic citadel at Athens, Paus. 1. 28. 3; comp. Herod. 6. 137; Kruse, Hellas, v. 1. 438, sqq.

³⁴ Paus. 3. 20. 5; comp. Herod. 2. 51, on the Phallos-Hermæ.

³⁵ Diod. 3. 66. ³⁶ Il. 10. 429; Od. 19. 177.

³⁷ Aristot. in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. Barbarians once dwelt in Arcadia; they were expelled by the subsequent (Pelagic) Arcadians. According to Herod. 1. 173, barbarians first dwelt in Crete. According to Diodor. 5. 64—79, Eteocretæans; these were joined by the Pelagians: now, Diodorus, it is true, ascribes every excellence to the Eteocretæans, but Homer's designation of the Pelagians, as *Δῖοι*, leaves no doubt that the praise belongs to them.

the Pelagians, and as considerable nations of the ante-Hellenic age; some of these maintained themselves afterwards. Frequent mention of the Leleges occurs in the "*Politics*" of Aristotle; they are represented as inhabiting Acarnania and Ætolia, Leucas, Bœotia, the Opuntian Locris, Megaris¹, as well as Laconia and Messenia², Eubœa³, and Asia Minor⁴.

The Carians were really indigenous on the islands and shores of the Archipelago⁵; but are not to be traced to the west coasts of the Grecian continent⁶. Both, however, belong to the maritime districts and islands, and were related⁷. The Leleges appear only as scattered hordes, destitute of every distinctive feature⁸; whilst a martial disposition⁹ and harsh pronunciation¹⁰ are the peculiar characteristics ascribed to the Carians: this, however, would only appear to apply to the nation under the aspect it subsequently assumed in Asia Minor¹¹. Both are enumerated

¹ Aristot. ap. Strab. 7. 321. 322; on Megaris, comp. Pausan. 1. 39. 5; 4. 36. 1.

² Paus. 3. 1. 1; 4. 1. 4.

³ Scymnus, 570.

⁴ Strab. 12. 610, sqq.; 13. 632. 635. 661.

⁵ Thucyd. 1. 8. is an authority for all.

⁶ According to Herod. 1. 171. the Carians proceeded from the islands to the mainland; the Carians, however, wished to be considered *autochthones*.

⁷ Herodot. 1. 171. Carians were at one time Lelegians; that is, those who subsequently constituted a distinct people, once formed part of the wandering hordes. Comp. Strab. 14. 661; Paus. 7. 2. 4. *Λέλεγες τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα*, and Philip. Theangel. ap. Ath. 6. 271. The Carians once employed the Lelegians as serfs. The Megarian tradition was different, Paus. 1. 39. 5; this contained a Car, and ten generations later an Egyptian Lelex; comp. 1. 44. 5.

⁸ *Μεγάδες* Aristot. ap. Strab. 7. 321; comp. *συλλεκτοῦς*, 322.

⁹ The crest, devices, and the management of the shield were considered their inventions; Herod. 1. 171. To this must be added their ancient custom of serving for pay; (Strab. 14. 662; and Ephor. Marx. 117.) Connected with their wanderings by sea, is perhaps the remark of Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 306; thus they had invented *τὴν δι' ἀσπίρων πρόγνωσιν*.

¹⁰ Hom. Il. 2. 867.; comp. Phil. ap. Strab. 14. 662.

¹¹ Aristoph. Av. particularly refers to this, when he says that the Carians lived on eminences.

among the Pelasgians¹², and sometimes mentioned *instead* of them¹³; but the latter are generally distinguished from them by an honorary epithet¹⁴. The name Curetes, like Pelasgians, was used in a twofold sense; it designated either a race of people, or a Cretan order of priests¹⁵; the first of which only is to be considered here. A mountain tribe of Ætolia¹⁶, they were driven by the Ætoli-ans, with whom they were at enmity¹⁷, and by the Thessalian Æolians to Acarnania¹⁸, and appear no longer as a distinct people. The Caucones dwelt in Messenia, Arcadia, Triphylia, and as far north as Dymæ¹⁹, and attempts have been made to discover the Caucones mentioned with the Pelasgians, the Lelegians, and the Carians in Homer, as neighbours of the Mariandynians²⁰ in Asia. Strabo reckons them amongst the barbarians, who were said to have inhabited Greece in the most remote ages; however the Caucones, as the followers of Nestor, were entitled to be looked upon as Grecian²¹, although their name existed but a short time in the historical age; this, and the circum-

¹² Hom. Il. 10. 428. 429. Ninoe, in Caria, is called, in Steph. Byzan., Νινὴ-κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν Λελέγων.

¹³ The Pelasgians on the Carian Chersonese, Diod. 5. 61, must be looked upon as Carians; on the contrary, Cornel. Nep. Miltiad. 2. has Carians, instead of Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, in Lemnos.

¹⁴ Δῖοι, Hom. ub. sup.; Strabo. 13. 610.

¹⁵ Strab. 10. 466, sqq.; Höckh. Creta. 1. 198, sqq.

¹⁶ Archemacus, the Eubœan, Strab. 9. 465, considers Eubœan Chalcis their first dwelling-place, and makes them the "shorn in front," afterwards contend with the "unshorn," the Acarnanians. The etymological point is obvious; however the Abantes ὀπίθεν κομόωντες, Il. 2. 542, and the Ætolian mountain Chalcis, offered fallacious grounds for the assumption.

¹⁷ Hom. Il. 9. 625, sqq.

¹⁸ Strab. 10. 465.

¹⁹ Herodot. 8. 148; Strab. 8. 342. 345. 387; Paus. 4. 1. 4; 4. 26. 2.

²⁰ Strab. 8. 345; 12. 542. 544.

²¹ The catalogue of ships does not record them, it is true; but in the Il. 10. 490, they are Trojan auxiliaries; the Odys. 3. 366, and Herodot. 1. 147, call the Neleids Caucones. It is worthy of remark that Caucon, Paus. 4. 1. 4; 4. 27. 4, is the transplanter of the Eleusinian mysteries into Messenia.

stance of their being mentioned as an Asiatic people, may have determined the judgment of Strabo.

The Carians alone maintained their footing as a distinct tribe; their connection with Greece was exceedingly remote, and they indirectly promoted the degradation of the Pelasgic name, which was confounded with their own.

Amongst the tribes ascribed to the earliest ages, and characterised as non-Hellenic, the Thessalian Æmonians²², the Bœotian Pronastæ²³, and Hec-tenes²⁴, are mere sounds; of the Bœotian Aones, Temmices, and Hyantes²⁵, nothing is known but the name; the Centaurs²⁶, with their inseparable attendants, the Lapithæ²⁷, partake far more of the mythical than the historical character, as well as the Phlegyæ, whom it is difficult to distinguish from the Lapithæ²⁸, but between whom and the Orchomenian Minyans an affinity has been traced²⁹; the Dryopians³⁰ had a decidedly historical existence in Thessaly and the adjacent countries, and may be discovered scattered till a late date over Argolis, the island of Eubœa, and Cythnus³¹.

In enquiring into the relation in which these, and the tribes before mentioned, stood to the Pelasgians, as the principal people, it must be observed, that the ancient national denominations are applied

²² Pind. Nem. 4. 91.

²³ Steph. Byz. Προνάσται.

²⁴ Paus. 9. 5. 1; Lycophron. 1. 212. Comp. Müller, Bœotia, in Ersch. und Gr. Encyclop. 6. 261.

²⁵ Strab. 7. 321.

²⁶ Ἀργῶν τι φῶλον, Strab. 9. 439.

²⁷ Buttman (üb. d. Minyæ. Berl. Abhand. 1820, p. 197, sqq.) opposes them as the builders of cities (the stone-persuading) to the Centaurs, as nomad cavalry.

²⁸ See the examples in Müller, Orchom. 248, sqq.

²⁹ Ibid. 134. Compare the sagacious combination of Buttmann ubi sup. 198, sqq.

³⁰ "Barbarians," Strab. 7. 321.

³¹ Herod. 8. 43; 46. 73; Thucyd. 7. 57; comp. Müller's Dor. 1. 41, sqq.

not only to tribes of a common origin, but also to hordes of mixed extraction, united by a similarity of manners and customs. The Aones, Temmices, Hyantes, Dryopes, Curetes, and others, must apparently be considered as separate races, whilst the Pelasgians themselves, the Leleges, Carians, etc., can only be regarded as mixed hordes, or even tribes, or as distinguishable by a common designation through certain external points of resemblance. It is certain that amongst the earliest population of Greece, tribes originally associated by an affinity of race, were not less numerous than in later ages; and the same may be observed of others existing separate and apart from each other. Still they were not destitute of one great national bond of union; for originally a great and widely ramified family of nations, from which the Hellenes, as the noblest offspring, subsequently issued, appears to have been spread over the whole of the region which extended from Crete and Caria along the west coast of Asia, including the Troad, as far as the Hellespont, then through southern Thrace and eastern Macedonia, over the Pindus and through Epirus as far as Acroceraunia, and none of the tribes above enumerated can be called decidedly barbarian. However, the extension of territory, and the difference in their mode of life, arising from natural causes, or at an early period resulting from political development, could not fail to render the bond by which they were united an extremely feeble one, and to prevent any decided or uniform features from becoming the characteristics of the whole mass. It must be considered as a complete misapprehension, and an unsuccessful attempt to simplify the ancient

population, when the Pelasgians are represented as the mother tribe, and their name is employed as the general designation; the Pelasgians are specified by Homer individually, and together with them he enumerates other tribes; therefore the principle of common nationality was seated above all these in a higher and unknown element. But if, according to the above, the Pelasgians are not to be considered as a single national tribe, but their name is to be regarded as the denomination for several nations of homogeneous political character, under which, however, might be comprehended distinct tribes, with their own peculiar names, then it becomes necessary to consider the relation of the races or tribes differently named to the Pelasgians, that is to say, of those who, like them, were distinguished by a collective appellation, from another point of view. Thus from the Pelasgians, as the stationary inhabitants and tillers of the plains, are contradistinguished the Lelegians and the Carians as the wandering inhabitants of the islands and coasts; in general, however, these and the other tribes stood in nearly the same relation to the Pelasgians as afterwards the ruder mountain tribes did to the Hellenes; but whilst on the one hand tradition converted many of them, like the Phlegyæ and the Centaurs into impious robbers, it on the other, represented the Centaur Chiron as a being of a more exalted order³².

Finally, mention must be made of the mythical

³² With the more familiar allusions to Chiron, compare a quotation in the *Titanomachia*, 6. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 306, viz. that he first taught justice and the fear of the gods, *δείξας ὅρον καὶ θυσίας καὶ σχήματα Ὀλύμπου*. His daughter Hippo teaches natural history, *φυσικὴν θεωρίαν, τὴν πατρὸς ἐπιστήμην*.

Thracians. Thracians several times occur in the ancient legends; occasionally as associates of the Pelasgians³³, and with attributes not barbarian, as for instance when Eumolpus is represented as initiating into the Eleusinian mysteries³⁴, the worship of the muses by Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyras³⁵, and the Pierians generally³⁶, the consecration of Helicon³⁷, and the adoration of Dionysus³⁸, with which deity they appear to have been connected much in the same manner, as the Hyperboreans were with Apollo. Such attributes as those from which Pausanias³⁹ infers that the Thracians must have been more cultivated than the Macedonians, do not apply to the barbarian Thracians of a later age. Those mythical Thracians extended from Pieria and Tempe⁴⁰, to the central provinces of Greece, Phocis⁴¹, and Delphi⁴², Bœotia⁴³, Attica⁴⁴, and Eubœa⁴⁵. The mythical opinion, however, does not seem to have established any boundary in the north; their neighbours were called the Hippomolgi, the most just of nations⁴⁶; but in all probability it did not extend beyond the country contiguous to Troy, amongst whose allies Thra-

³³ Both fight against the Bœotians. Ephor. ap. Strab. 9; Marx. 128; from which and from the Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 134. the statement of Diodor. (Fragm. vol. 4. 15. Bipont) that Thracians had expelled the Minyans, must be rectified.

³⁴ Apollodor. 2. 5. 11.; and Heyne, 337, sqq.; Creuzer, Symb. 2. 285; 4. 341.

³⁵ Strab. 9. 410; 10. 471; Paus. 9. 30; 3—5, etc. See Creuzer, Symb. 2. 284. 294; 3. 151. sqq.; Müll. Orchom. 379—390; Dor. 1. 9.

³⁶ Heyne de Musis, C. Gott. 8. 32, sqq. ³⁷ Strab. 9. 410.

³⁸ Müller's Orchom. 382. Comp. Creuzer, Symb. 3. 149, sqq.

³⁹ Paus. 9. 29. 2. ⁴⁰ Steph. Byz. 'Αλώιον.

⁴¹ Thucyd. 2. 29; Paus. 1. 41. 8.

⁴² Θρακίδαί still at the time of Philolemus, Diod. 16. 24.

⁴³ Thucyd. 2. 29; Apollod. 1. 7. 4; Strab. 9. 401, sqq. etc.

⁴⁴ Strab. 7. 321, etc.

⁴⁵ The Abantes, Aristot. ap. Strab. 9. 445.

⁴⁶ Hom. Il. 3. 5. 6. The Σίνυες ἀγρόφωνοι, Odys. 8. 394. are virtually separated from them by the epithet.

cians are commemorated as a single tribe⁴⁷, but this cannot lead us into error, with regard to the further import of the name, any more than in the case of the Germanic Suevi⁴⁸, or the old Italian Opici. Hence, whether we make the Thracians in Greece, or those about the Troad, the point from which we start, it is evident that the whole extent of country, situate between the two extremes southward as far as the foot of Olympus, and consequently including Macedonia, which was not yet distinguished by a particular appellation, was considered Thracian. Whenever the name arose, or from whatever tribe it may have been taken, the transferring of it from the Hellenic Thracians, to those around Troas, or vice versâ, could not have taken place without a certain uniformity, at least as far as concerned external indications; and even supposing the intermediate maritime districts were called Thracian, less weight is perhaps to be attached to the conjecture, that through ignorance the designation had been continued from the two extremes to the centre, than to what has been observed above, namely, that a large family of nations in the main features resembling each other, really dwelt along the shores of the Archipelago over the extent of territory specified above. This continuity of the nations of the coasts, however, seems to have been broken by the barbarians who pressed forward from the north of Thrace, in the same manner as the barbarians forced themselves amongst the Hellenic tribes on the Pindus. The remains of that old Thracian stock are perceptible

⁴⁷ Hom. Il. 2. 844. 845.

⁴⁸ Strab. 7. 321; 10. 471.

in the "bilinguous" barbarians near the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians of the southern coast of Thrace⁴⁹, the Briges in the Macedonian mountains with the gardens of Midas⁵⁰, and the non-Illyrian Macedonians of the coasts themselves, who are on that account not unaptly denominated by Justin⁵¹, Pelasgians, in the vague acceptation of the word. These old Thracian tribes, allied to the aboriginal inhabitants of Hellas, although on account of certain peculiarities distinguished by particular names, perhaps issued from the ancient Pieria in the north near Olympus; and penetrated into the heart of Thessaly, and still farther south. Like the Pelasgians, they afterwards merged in the Hellenes, without retaining the slightest trace of a foreign origin. But inasmuch as we must suppose the Hellenes to have been but little acquainted with the north of Thrace, there appear greater truth and consistency in the mythical opinion, which, with the advancing of the barbarian Thracians, in lieu of the legends of the mystic wisdom of an Abaris, Zamolxis, and the Hyperboreans, placed their primitive home still farther in the remote north, than in the seemingly historical opinion which pretended to discover on the Strymon, or amongst the Pierians about the Pangæus⁵², that which belonged to the great and but vaguely defined race, and endeavoured to identify the mythical Nysa, much in the same manner as various Pelasgic Larissas in Campania, etc. Even the assertion of

⁴⁹ Thucyd. 4. 109.

⁵⁰ Herod. 8. 138.

⁵¹ Justin, 7. 1.

⁵² E. g. Suidas θάμνρις ἐξ Ἡδωνῶν — οἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ὀδρύσεως.

⁵³ See an example in Diodor. 3. 64. Comp. Prideaux on the Marm. Oxon. 343, sqq.

Herodotus⁵⁴, that the Thracians were the most numerous people after the Indians, rather applies to the mythical than to the historical Thracians.

c. The Foreign Settlers.

§ 11. Closely connected with the preceding discussion, is the question, in what light are to be regarded the accounts of the strangers, Danaus, Cecrops, Cadmus, Pelops, etc. who were asserted to have come from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor, and of what nature was their influence on Grecian society¹? Having shown that the Pelasgians, even when considered with reference to their intrinsic character and native manners, by no means deserved the appellation of Barbarians, which has been applied to them, I next proceed to enquire, whether the noble attributes of humanity, that were found amongst them, were of indigenous growth, or engrafted on the native stock from foreign sources; a question which, after the attempted vindication of that people, becomes the more important; and the answer to which necessarily involves the character of the Hellenes. In the indispensable preliminary enquiry, whether the accounts of those strangers rest upon an historical foundation or not, it is very far from my design, after the indescribable prodigality of research and combination in this field, to attempt a gleanings of scattered notices concerning the individual strangers, their country, and age: historical criticism

⁵⁴ Herod. 5. 3.

¹ Indirectly he even testifies against himself, 1. 60: — ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἔθνους τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἔθνη καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐθηλὲς ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον.

may assume as valid the possibility, and even the probability of what has been recorded, which the historians probably derived from the poets of earlier ages, and may even support it by analogy. Greece, from its situation, presented itself to the east under an aspect too inviting, and many of the eastern nations prove themselves in the earlier ages, to have been too active and enterprising, for the neighbouring land in Europe to have remained secluded and unknown. But of more importance to this investigation than the fact itself, are the consequences it produced; and it is undeniable that the latter in their turn throw light upon the former. We therefore pass over the accounts of Herodotus who was so immoderately influenced by his disposition to refer every thing to foreigners, as well as those of his successors, and enquire, what traces of actual settlements of this description have been preserved in the most important manifestations of Grecian nationality. The most pregnant, and at the same time the profoundest evidence of original nationality must be drawn from its most authentic monument—language. The language of the Greeks, considered under its general aspect, and examined according to its inherent vital principle, instead of being tried by the false standard of single and arbitrarily selected words, bears pre-eminent marks of a genuine primitive origin, and the strength of pure and unmixed growth, resulting from it, so that the subsequent external accessions, by the side of a stock of words naturally and regularly derived from simple roots, appear insulated, and incapable of transfusing themselves into the inner essence and genius of the language.

Ancient names of places and persons of apparently foreign formation, are to be explained from the analogy of an earlier, harsher, and rougher mode of inflection, and ascribed to the parent stem of the language²; with regard to its similarity amongst the single tribes, which in consequence of a community of origin may be traced even in the modifications of the dialects, Homer's testimony³, and the inference to be drawn from his emphatical mention of the harsh language of the Carians and Sintians⁴, are deserving of particular attention. How can it be supposed, that either the simple elements of language, or a supply of already matured forms, could have been brought with them by the Orientals, and that they afterwards prevailed to such an extent as to supplant an anterior language in Greece? Or how can the resemblance between certain roots and forms be extended to universal affinity. The arguments drawn from the remaining modifications of moral and social life are less conclusive; for none of these are so closely interwoven with nationality in all its bearings as language, nor are they in their turn equally liable to be manifested in it. At the same time that it is impossible not to perceive a connection between the religion of the east and that of the Greeks in the relics of one primeval contemplation of the divine principle in nature, propitiated by a pure and innocent worship; it must be confessed that these elements are on the one side so intellectual

² Interpretation from the oriental languages is only admissible with a very limited number. See in particular the attempts of Buttmann in the dissertation: On the Mythical connection between Greece and Asia, in Berl. Abh. 1818 and 1819, p. 215, sqq. and on the Minyæ, ibid. 1820 and 1821, p. 206.

³ Il. 4. 437. The Troades had not *ἰα γῆρας*, *ἄλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμκτο*.

⁴ Il. 2. 867; Od. 8. 294.

and so general, that floating as they do above the characteristic peculiarities of single nations, they do not require to be furnished with their stamp and impress in order to propagate themselves in the minds of the people. Thus it was that chivalric feeling, as one great universal principle, associated the nations of Europe and Asia in the middle ages. On the other hand, indeed, it appears, that contemporaneously with the predominant religious system of the Greeks, which attained its popular development at a later period, there existed foreign forms of worship, to which peculiar sacerdotal races were annexed, wherein more than mere accidental and vaguely defined sketches of the oriental principle may be perceived: still they remained foreign: the barrier between them and the Grecian mind was not removed: they obtained a footing, indeed, but on a narrow and circumscribed ground, and were resolved into the Grecian worship through the force of its inherent character, which they were incapable of changing. It therefore follows, that although Greece received various incitements from without, and more especially in Crete, we perceive the native principle of advancement to have been actively and vigorously promoted by such impulses, still the main source of the Grecian character did not suffer itself to be troubled by the accession of foreign streams, but either interpenetrated them with its own crystal transparency, or proudly glided over them, like the Titaresius over the Peneus, but nowhere was any element of popular life in Greece perverted or endangered by oriental strangers. Its principal elements do not appear as a fortuitous and heterogeneous

mass, but as the native product of the soil, constituting an organic whole knit together by internal strength, and as a youthful and healthful body, which confirms its descent from a vigorous parent by the strength and flexibility of its members. Those fundamental ingredients must have originated in the time of the Pelasgians; their entire development in the Hellenic age was only a continuation from the same commencement, and the Hellenic principle cannot therefore be regarded as a new and strange element, essentially different from, and inimical to the Pelasgic.

d. The Hellenes of the Heroic Age.

§ 12. In enquiring how the Pelasgic principle was supplanted by a new one arising out of it, viz. the Hellenic, the history of the name Hellenes is distinct from, and subsequent to an account of that state of things, which though contrasted with the Pelasgic period, was not entitled Hellenic till afterwards. Postponing the consideration of the name, we therefore pass on to the fact itself, viz. that the Pelasgians were superseded by the Hellenes.

The commencement of the history of the Hellenic race, and of its predominance over the Pelasgians, may be compared to the rise of contentious huntsmen, robbers, and warriors amongst peaceful husbandmen; or, once more to use a common but appropriate analogy, the growing political ascendancy of chivalric races of heroes and princes, with military retinues, in the midst of free rural communities, or such, at least, as were only subject to the natural authority of their hereditary chieftains.

The genealogical poetry has placed Deucalion, the reputed father of the Hellenes, in Thessaly¹; and thither must be referred the origin of that system. Thessaly is described, in Grecian history generally, as the land of horsebreeding, with which oligarchy was for a long time united². The employment of chariots in battle is the distinctive feature of the heroic mode of warfare, the glory of which at length sunk before the overpowering Doric Hoplites. The "horserearing Argos³," originally pointing to Thessaly as the cradle of the heroic system, has obtained a more general⁴, almost symbolical import, which holds good in the majority of those passages in Homer in which it is mentioned⁵. To that mode of fighting may be added what the natural man most vividly conceives, the external phenomena of dress and armour. How this chivalry was formed, is indicated by the tradition, that the heroes Actæon, Achilles, etc., were educated at the foot of Pelion, by Chiron, the wisest of the Centaurs⁶. In the same manner, as the tradition represents Pelasgians as proceeding from the Peloponnesus into Thessaly⁷, it sends forth from thence, for the purpose of remodelling the Pelasgic political system, into most of the provinces in and without the Peloponnesus, chivalric princes, declared descendants of Hellen, by whose name the origin of

¹ See below, n. 18.

² Hence Aristot. Pol. 6. 4. 3, classes *ἰππασίμος χώρα* in general and oligarchy together. Comp. §. 30, n. 54.

³ *Ἀργὸς ἰππόβοτον* Hom. Il. 2. 287; 3. 75; 2. 58, etc.

⁴ See Odyss. 4. 562; where this is transferred to the Peloponnesian Argos; Pind. Isthm. 7. 17. *Ἀργὸς ἰππιον*, comp. Eurip. Orest. 1639.

⁵ So far it is with justice, that Strabo, 8. 370, says of Homer, *κοινῶς εἶρηκε*.

⁶ Apollod. 3. 4. 4; 3. 16. 6; Apollon. Rhod. 1. 555, etc. Concerning the lance of Peleus, see Hom. Il. 16. 143. In Steph. Byz. *Ἑλλάς*, Hellen, is not the son of Deucalion, but of Phthius and Chrysippe, both very significant names.

⁷ Dion. Hal. 1. 17.

the new order of things was designated. These it then represented as one family, with extensive ramifications; and whenever a prince, sprung from one of these, obtained the government of a country, the conversion of the Pelasgic into the Hellenic system seems to have been accomplished. Thucydides⁸ perceives in the Hellenes wandering military hordes. This opinion does not appear altogether destitute of foundation, and is supported by analogies from later ages, as the mercenary character of the Carians, the wandering Etruscan bands under Cœles Vibenna and Mastarna (Servius Tullius)⁹, and that which is less remote, and in reality produced changes equally extensive with those in the Mythus, viz., the Doric expedition. Still the extension of a principle is implied, by the significant traditions of the expeditions of single heroes, unaccompanied by their tribes; as Hercules does not take with him, on his adventures, a people sprung from the same race as himself, but is either represented as attended by volunteers¹⁰, or warriors of the country where he happened to be at the time¹¹, or as fighting and suffering alone. This chivalric royalty, under which footsoldiers, unknightly vassals, are led by a hero mounted on his chariot, is beheld in its perfection in the Homeric poems. But Homer did not employ the name Hellenes as a general denomination, although it afterwards became one¹²; but

⁸ Thucyd. 1. 3.

⁹ See my Roman Hist. 162.

¹⁰ Apollod. 2. 5. 8.

¹¹ As in Pind. Ol. 10. 51; comp. Apollod. 2. 7. 2. Thus Peleus took the town of Iolcus *μόνος ἀνευ στρατιᾶς*, Pind. N. 3. 59.

¹² *Ἕλληνες*, Il. 2. 684, are the followers of Achilles; see Thucyd. 1. 3. The genuineness of this verse is not wholly unsuspected; 2. 530, has *Πανέλληνες*; but this one is confessedly spurious. Comp. Strab. 8. 370; and Heyne ad Hom. vol. 4. p. 310. 364.

instead of this he borrows from the bands of the commander-in-chief the names of Danaans and Argives; however, the appellation Achæans as the conjoint designation of the majority of the Peloponnesian nations, and of a particular Thessalian race, was more comprehensive¹³, and must be looked upon as an intermediate denomination between Pelasgians and Hellenes; which explains how the latter name might still be but little diffused, after the former had ceased to be as widely extended as before.

How then are we to characterise the name and race of the Hellenes; and how did the former become extended into a designation for common nationality, after the Pelasgians had become separated from, and opposed to, the Hellenes?

Hellas was the original name of a province in Thessaly, which bordered upon the plain of Pelasgic Argos, where, towards Thebes, the latter declined towards the Pagasæan gulf, and upon the district of Phthia¹⁴, and was afterwards included in Phthiotis. The name Hellenes was at first only applied to the inhabitants of that country, the Myrmidons, the followers of Achilles to Troy, and

¹³ Thessalian Achæans, Hom. Il. 2. 684. Comp. Herod. 7. 196. 197; Thuc. 4. 78; Dion. Hal. 1. 17; Liv. 33. 32. They belonged to the province of Achilles. But that the name was indigenous in the Peloponnesus is proved by its continuance amongst the subsequent Achæans. See an attempt to trace the causes of the extension of the name in Strab. 8. 365; the Achæans accompanied Pelops to the Peloponnesus, inhabited Laconia, etc.; and by reason of their excellence, the Peloponnesus, which had been before called Argos, was denominated the Achæan Argos. Concerning Achæus, see 8. 383. Comp. Heyne, Hom. v. 4. p. 367. 368.

¹⁴ Hom. Il. 2. 681, sqq.; 9. 447. 474; Od. 4. 816; 11. 495; comp. Thucyd. 1. 3; Strab. 9. 431. The Melitæans, who dwelt in the south of Pharsalus, reported that there had once been a town called Hellas in their neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which had settled amongst them; in proof of this they pointed to Hellen's tomb in the market-place. Strabo. ubi sup. Phthia is extended to the banks of the Peneus by Hesiod. apud. Schol. Pind. Pyth. 9. 6.

the ante-Doric inhabitants of Ægina, whom the mythi of the Æacids represented as related to them¹⁵, and perhaps likewise the bands of Protesilaus and Philoctetes, whose real name was Phthians¹⁶. The root of those appellations is probably to be traced to a primeval relation in which the Hellenic race stood to Hella, the sanctuary at Dodona, and the Helli or Selli there¹⁷. But the accounts which the genealogical poetry of the Hellenes gives is very different. This was neither calculated to trace such a derivation in the proper manner, nor to leave untried an interpretation of its own peculiar kind. Hesiod¹⁸ was the first, it appears, who, losing sight of the radical signification of these words, inserted a hero, the son of Deucalion, called Hellen, who is unknown to Homer, in the early annals of the Hellenico-Thessalian history; Hellen's sons, Æolus and Dorus, and his grandsons, Achæus and Ion, likewise posterior to the Homeric age¹⁹, became the mythic founders of the Hellenic chief nations, the Æolians, Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians²⁰. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha are to be regarded as emblems of

¹⁵ Comp. Müller, Æegin. 18; Prolegom. in Mythol. 168.

¹⁶ Heyne, Il. 2. 683; and 13. 686.

¹⁷ See Append. vi.

¹⁸ See the Fragm. in Tzet. ad Lycophr. 284; comp. Apollod. 1. 7. 2; and Strab. 8. 383, who is, in this respect, still more prejudiced than on Homeric subjects.

¹⁹ Homer's Æolus stands alone, Odyss. 10. 2; the names Ionians and Dorians are seldom mentioned (Ἴάονες of the Athenians, Il. 13. 685; Dorians in Crete, Od. 19. 177,) and possess not the lustre of heroic genealogy. Comp. §. 13. n. 57.

²⁰ See the detailed accounts in Prideaux on the Marm. Oxon. 366, sqq. The now almost universally acknowledged fabulousness of these and the other heroic progenitors of the Grecian races, may be easily gathered from such examples as Andreus, (original man,) said to be the first inhabitant of the Orchomenian plain, son of the river Peneus, Paus. 9. 34. 5; Thessalus, the son of Jason, Diodor. 4. 55; Penestus, his descendant, Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1263. Compare the corresponding opinions of Buttmann, über die mythischen Verbind., etc., Berl. Abh. 1818. 1819. p. 216, sqq.; and Müller, Prolegom. 178, sqq. 216.

the Thessalian plain, from which the waters of the inland lake had retired, and into which inhabitants descended from the surrounding mountains²¹. The original merely local tradition of the earliest human settlements in the newly-created Thessalian plain, in conjunction with the increasing extension of the Hellenic name, gradually became diversified, adorned with foreign additions, and connected with other legends; and all this with a decided tendency to exalt the origin of that race, whose name had become extended into a designation for the whole nation. To this must be referred the union between Deucalion and Prometheus²², by which the history of the Hellenes was traced to the commencement of the human race, as well as the legend, which, however, more particularly appertained to the person of Deucalion, of the creation of a new race of men out of stones²³, whereby his people not only acquired a claim to *autochthony*, but also a nobility, like that of the Theban Sparti²⁴, the connection of Deucalion with Parnassus²⁵, as well as with Delphi, which afterwards became the central point of Grecian life; and lastly, the fiction of his son or grandson Amphictyon²⁶, which represented the progress of political society in the aggregation of the individual

²¹ Opus and its harbour Cunos were considered the first abodes of Deucalion after the flood; Pind. Ol. 9. 66, sqq. and Schol.; comp. Boeckh. Explicat. 190. 191. In this place, between Opus and Cunos, there was a *πεδίον ἐνδαίμων*, Strab. 9. 425; hence the Leleges, (see §. 10. n. 7,) were also called Deucalion's people, Dionys. 1. 19; and the fiction of a race sprung from stones was transferred to them. Hesiod. ap. Strab. 7. 322; Pind. O. 9. 70.

²² Apollod. 1. 7. 2; Apollon. Rh. 3. 1086.

²³ See n. 21.

²⁴ See §. 30. n. 23.

²⁵ Pind. Ol. 9. 66, sqq.; Apollod. 1. 7. 2; Apollon. Rh. 3. 187; Par. Marm. Chr. Ep. 2; on which comp. Prideaux, 343, sqq.

²⁶ Apollod. 3. 14. 5; Dionys. Hal. 4. 25; comp. Tittmann, Amphict. p. 12.

popular communities of ancient times into confederate bodies²⁷.

e. The Hellenes as the collective People of the Historical Age.

§ 13. How did it occur that the name of the Hellenes was distinguished above all the other national appellations, and eventually applied to the whole people, whereas Homer calls the collective people Achæans, Danaans, Argives, and none but the bands of Achilles, the Myrmidons, Hellenes? The answer to this question is to be deduced from this very circumstance, namely, the exalted poetical fame of the son of Peleus. For as poetry exercised so extensive and varied an influence on the Grecian character, this designation of the whole nation seems to have arisen from the practice of the epic and lyric poets, who transmitted the strains of the Iliad, and to have been established upon the basis of Homeric allusions. But that amongst the three names of the nations of Achilles, Myrmidons, Achæans, and Hellenes, the last should have obtained the preference, can scarcely be ascribed to chance, which has generally so great a share in the origination of national appellations. Although doubtful, it is not wholly improbable, that the allusion of the name to the Dodonæan sanctuary, and the dignity associated with it, was still remembered. Moreover, not without influence was the idea attached to the province of Hellas, the boundaries of which were

²⁷ The same applies to the Amphictyon in Attica, Apollod. 3. 14. 5; and in Bœotia, Paus. 9. 34. 1.

soon, and even in the *Odyssey*¹, extended beyond the dominions of Achilles. But particular stress must be laid upon the fact, that the materials of the poem derived from the Hellenes, were the more abundant, as the powerful Ajax, a descendant of Æacus, was closely allied with Achilles, the most illustrious personage of the meridian of national chivalry, both by the ties of consanguinity, and the possession of heroic attributes. The appellation *Panhellenion*, for the supposed temple of Æacus, may be very ancient²; the history of Æacus himself is associated by a sort of mythical connection with that of Deucalion; a new race of men is created for both. The migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly carried Thessalico-Æacid traditions into Bœotia; Hesiod, who dwelt in Bœotia, is said to have been the first to explain the word *Myrmidons* by "first men³;" and it is possible that he, like Pindar⁴, afterwards sang the mythical affinity between Ægina and Thebes, the Æacids and the Cadmeans; he and Archilochus first employed the words *Hellenes* and *Panhellenes* in reference to all the tribes of the collective nation⁵. But a political idea appears to have been combined with poetical gratification, for in the opposition between Æacids and Pelopids, exhibited in the Homeric poems⁶, the bold attitude of Achilles in the camp at Troy, with respect to Agamemnon, might, at a time when the royal power was limited by the nobles, gain Achilles friends as a political character.

¹ *Odyss.* 1. 344; 15. 80.

² Müll. *Æginet.* § 5.

³ Schol. *Pind. Nem.* 3. 21; Tzetz. ad *Lycoph.* 176.

⁴ *Isthm.* 4. 38; comp. *Nem.* 4. 36—39.

⁵ *Strab.* 8. 370; comp. *Hesiod. Op. et D.* 826.

⁶ Comp. Müll. *Ægin.* 36.

Moreover, this, as well as the influence of the poetical feeling, received a definite direction and a more decided character from the responses of the Delphic oracle, wherein the Hellenic name occurred⁷, and from the authority of the Amphictyonic council, which was connected with the Delphic sanctuary. How far this is from being foreign to the history of the Hellenic name, is proved by the tradition which derived it from the offspring of Deucalion, Amphictyon, and the historical enumeration of the confederate nations⁸, among which, those from the territory of Achilles occur as Achæans or Phthiotans, together with whom the Dolopians, at one time the subjects of Phoenix the Hellenic governor⁹, and the Ænians, possessed the most immediate claims to the name of Hellenes. It is true there exists no memorial to show that the Amphictyons ever called themselves Hellenes; but who will infer from this, that they did not at an early period apply the name to themselves? Or even supposing them not to have done so themselves—for it was a rare occurrence that the name of a people obtained currency from within, or by means of a formal decree—that it might not, at a very early period, have been used as their designation in poetry¹⁰? Finally, the union of the Amphictyons might operate retrospectively on the custom of applying a general name to the nations of that country, and in this

⁷ See *Plut. Lyc.* 6. *Διὸς Ἑλλανίου*, (instead of the false reading *Συλλανίου*), *Ἀθηναῖος Ἑλλανίας* (instead of *Συλλ.*); comp. Müller, *Prolegom.* 181.

⁸ Tittmann, *Amphic.* 33, sqq.

⁹ *Hom. Il.* 9, 480; comp. *Strab.* 9. 431, 434.

¹⁰ Tittmann's conjecture (*Amph.* 24.) that Homer might have employed the word *Panhellenes*, *Il.* 2. 530, in this sense, at any rate applies to the author of the interpolated verse.

instance the poetical impulse directed to the Æacid Hellenes. At the same time the diffusion of the name in the Peloponnesus became more general by means of the Dorians. Although these were not in the degree which Heródotus assumes, so strictly speaking, Hellenes, as the Ionians were Pelasgians, they still took with them inhabitants of the Thessalian plain, and the testimony that the Spartans, called the Dodonæan sanctuary Hella¹¹, affords grounds for the conjecture, that the name Hellenes was not only current amongst them, but was perhaps, as has been already shown, even invested with peculiar dignity from its reference to that institution. The establishment of the Olympic games at length occasioned more frequent meetings of the general body; and here, where the umpires were originally called Hellanodicæ, Archilochus, the national poet of that panegyris¹², seems to have given universal currency to the name, which, upon the authority of Hesiod, he employed as a general denomination.

If we once more recur to the commencement of the Hellenic period, as to a great political change, this appears to have reposed upon a groundwork laid in the Pelasgic times, whilst the Hellenes seem to have been closely connected with the ancient Pelasgic sanctuary of Dodona, and not opposed to the Pelasgians as an essentially distinct main tribe. That change must not be regarded as having been produced by the preponderance of any foreign principle over the Pelasgic; but as an event which may be traced to the internal institutions of the Pelasgians themselves. In this manner

¹¹ Hesych. Ἑλλά, 1. 1180.

¹² Pind. Ol. 9, 1, and Schol.

the purer account of the ancients becomes reconciled with the general analogy of national history, which was unable to explain how an aboriginal people in Hellas, distinguished by a peculiar character, could have been deprived of its nationality by a tribe distributed amongst its population. The commencement of the conversion of the ancient Pelasgic into the heroic system cannot be traced chronologically, and occasional vestiges only can be discerned in the accounts of poetry and tradition. For in the same manner as the Pelasgians adhered to the worship of nature, their appellation for the objects of public life were in the single provinces derived from the names of princes, wherein the personified objects of nature, river, mountain, the quality of the soil, etc., may be recognised, such as Inachus, Eurotas, Lycaon, Cranaus, Piasus, etc. With the termination of these commence the heroic genealogy, and the relationship or alliance of the princes, which, by means of the pedigree afterwards framed, were carried up to Hellen.

The consideration of the order of things in the heroic age, which appeared the more brilliant, the more remote from its character the political system of reality became, had a natural influence on the estimation of the ancient Pelasgic times. Homer, as has been already observed, makes honourable mention of the Pelasgians; the people itself he only commemorates as being settled in Asia, the Troad, and Crete; but he records a Pelasgic Zeus on the Hellenic continent. But when the glory attending what was represented as the only legitimate form of government, that of

the heroic ages, continued to derive new force from the strains of the Homeric epic, those nations which had once lived under such a government became invested with a sort of dignity, as the subjects of an ancient monarchy; whilst such as possessed no share in epic fame, therefore the Pelasgians in particular, who had never been governed by heroic princes, were considered as essentially foreign to its spirit, and opposed to it¹³.

This impression was determined by the circumstance already stated, namely, that the character of the separate Pelasgic tribe, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, who were unconnected with the Hellenic state system, was ascribed to the ancient nation. Add to this political consideration the difference in the religious character of the ancient and modern races, which undoubtedly operated to a considerable extent. The simple adoration of nature that marked the primitive ages, was superseded by the youthful and sensual worship of a race of gods framed in the likeness of humanity, so that the sublimity and purity of the earlier faith could no longer be recognised. This accounts for the prejudiced view of the subject which Herodotus takes.

But so much is certain, that the Pelasgian period resembles the dawn which precedes the full light of day. We are unable to give exact particulars of the relations that subsisted between the tribes individually and collectively, or of their public institutions. That seed which had begun to shoot in the Pelasgian, sprang up, blossomed, and ripened in the course of the Hellenic age.

¹³ This corresponds with Priam's having a daughter of the Lelegian king Altes for his concubine. Hom. Il. 21. 85. 88.

Thus admitting that these despised remnants of the once brave Pelasgic race originally possessed its virtues, we see, that upon the development of a new and more powerful principle, an anterior one, though by no means ignoble in itself, not only fails to advance, but even degenerates from its characteristic worth; and if the Greeks, at a subsequent period, in a diversity of circumstances still universally retained one uniform national impress, this proves that their nationality attained its full strength and maturity upon the development of the Hellenic element.

Before we accompany the hordes, which, in pursuance of the three great migrations, viz., of the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Dorians, quitted their home upon the continent into their new settlements without the mother country, let us once more direct our attention to the races, which in the historical age constituted the Greek nation, and were partakers of the common name; in which survey, however, we can propose nothing more than to establish a basis, whereon the ensuing account of their political progress may repose. The task of ascertaining in detail the original character and habitations of the single races, must be left to those who are eminently versed in researches of such a nature.

The migration of the Thessalians into the plain of the Peneus, appears to have been the event that marked the commencement of the historical time, and indirectly to have given the first impulse to the radical change that pervaded the whole political system of Greece; they were a Threspo-

tian people¹⁴, half-brethren of the genuine sons of Greece, and were afterwards looked upon as forming part of the general nation. In the mountains around them to the south, along the Spercheus, dwelt the Æteans or Ænians (*Enienes*)¹⁵; the Malieis or Melieis from Thermopylæ along the Maliac gulf¹⁶; the Phthiotan Achæans to the east of them, in the former territories of Achilles¹⁷, as far as the eastern coast of the Pagasæan gulf; the Magnetes by Pelion and Ossa, along the coast¹⁸; the Perrhæbians in the northern Thessalian mountains, down into the plain below, with unsettled boundaries¹⁹, and finally near the sources of the Spercheus, at the confine of the Othrys and Pindus²⁰; and westward of the Pindus the Dolopes²¹, who are likewise subsequently found on Scyros²². These tribes were all in existence at the time of Xerxes, under whom they performed military service²³, and the greater part of them could still be assembled, by the call of the Roman Flaminius, to grasp at the semblance of liberty²⁴. Their relation to the leading people of the plain, the Thessalians, as well as the subject of their slaves, will be treated below. Lastly, on the heights of the Pindus, not far from the source of the Peneus, dwelt the Æthices, mentioned by Homer, and afterwards considered as belonging to

¹⁴ Herod. 7. 176; comp. Hygin. 225; Thessalus, founder of the sanctuary of Dodona.

¹⁵ On the two names being designations for one race only, see Tittmann, *Amph.* 41.

¹⁶ Strab. 9. 429; see their three tribes, Παράλιοι, Ἰερῆς, Τραχίνιοι, Thuc. 3. 92.

¹⁷ Herod. 7. 196—198; comp. Tittmann, *Amph.* 42.

¹⁸ Strab. 9. 429. 442. ¹⁹ Strab. 8. 439—444.

²⁰ Strab. 8. 434. 437. ²¹ Thuc. 2. 102.

²² Thuc. 1. 98. As Pelasgians, they are called pirates by Scym. 583.

²³ Herod. 7. 131. 185. ²⁴ Polyb. 18. 29. 30.

Epirus²⁵. The Opuntian Locrians, named after the mother city Opus²⁶, dwelt about the Eubœan sea; the Epicnemidian, from the mountain Cnemus, were not distinguished from the mother tribe, as a separate community, till afterwards²⁷. The Dorians resided to the west of them, in the valley of the Upper Cephissus, and to the north-west about Parnassus; and the Phocians in the northern, eastern, and southern parts of Parnassus, as far as the Crissæan sea. The former still maintained themselves, after the migration of their bravest kinsmen, as a free mountain race, and never became wholly estranged from them; the Delphians were distinct from the Phocians, both by extraction and character²⁸. The district of Phocis separated the eastern from the Ozolian Locrians²⁹, who, together with their neighbours the Ætolians and the Acarnanians, mixed with the northern Epirote half-Greeks³⁰, as the northern Thessalian races did with the Macedonians.

The Bœotians pressed by the Thessalians, quitted their abodes in Thessaly and Arne, and occupied Bœotia, which was thereupon named after them, where, according to tradition, or rather because Homer names some Bœotians in the Grecian camp at Troy, a portion of them were supposed to have resided at an earlier period³¹. They expelled as many of the Theban Cadmeans as did not prefer a state of servitude in their own

²⁵ Hom. Il. 2. 744; Strab. 8. 326; 9. 430.

²⁶ Str. 9. 416. 425.

²⁷ Strab. ub. sup. 424. 425. Compare the accounts in Schol. Pind. Ol. 11. 13; and in Steph. Byz. Ὀζόλαι, which must be emended from Strabo.

²⁸ See § 36. n. 6. ²⁹ Strab. 9. 425.

³⁰ Concerning the tribes of the Locrians, see Thucyd. 3. 101; of the Ætolians, 3. 94; comp. § 5. n. 11.

³¹ Thuc. 1. 12; Müller, *Orchom.* 391, sqq.

country; the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, who at that time forced their way into Attica, and thence proceeded to Lemnos and Samothrace³², appear to have belonged to their tribe. Other bodies joined the Æolic and Ionic migration, and their descendants maintained themselves in Tenedos and Priene³³; the Ægidæ in Laconia, and the Gephyræi in Athens, were single Cadmean tribes³⁴. The Orchomenian Minyans and the Cadmeans in the Bœotian migration experienced a similar fate; a portion of them took part in the Ionic migration, and founded Teos³⁵. But the Minyans, who had been resident in Lemnos from the earliest ages³⁶, were expelled by the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, wandered to Laconia, and thence obtained permanent footing in Thera, Cyrene, Melos, Gortys, Crete, and Triphylia³⁷; after that time the Caucones disappeared from the last-mentioned place; but the Minyans are afterwards respectively named Lepreatians, Macistians, etc., from the cities they founded³⁸; the Paroreatians are mentioned as then belonging to them³⁹, though they had originally formed part of another race⁴⁰.

The Ionians, who, together with the Achæans, by means of a fictitious genealogy, recording two

³² Herod. 6. 157, sqq.; comp. Müller, Orch. Append. i. ii.

³³ Müller, Orch. 398. 399. ³⁴ Herod. 5. 57. 62; Müller, ubi sup. 118.

³⁵ Paus. 7. 3. 3; Müller, 399. ³⁶ Müller, cap. 14.

³⁷ Herod. 4. 145, sqq.; Müller, cap. 16—18.

³⁸ Comp. § 32. n. 22. ³⁹ Herod. 4. 148.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 8. 73. When Buttmann (über die Minyæ, comp. § 11. n. 2.) differs from Müller, and advances an opinion to the effect that Minyæ was an epithet adopted previously to the above mentioned migrations by several races established in Triphylia, Thera, etc., from motives of national pride—connects the word with Menu, Manes, Minos, the Lydian Manes and Mæones, the German Mannus, etc., and regards these collectively as symbolical of man—first man, he does not invalidate the migrations in question, although he may only allow them to have been the subsequent expeditions of cognate races.

mythical grandsons of Hellen, Ion and Achæus, the sons of the fugitive Xuthus⁴¹, were numbered amongst the Greeks, appear to have had their primitive seats on the eastern shores of the Ionian sea⁴²; they occupied the north coast of the Peloponnesus, called Ægialea⁴³, and spread over the land of Cynuria⁴⁴, the Argolic Acté⁴⁵, Attica and Eubœa⁴⁶, where the Abantes⁴⁷ are no longer found in the historical times; in Attica the Ionic character appears to have prevailed from the time of Theseus⁴⁸. Those from Ægialea subsequently made way for the Laconian Achæans, proceeded to Attica, and there mixed with hordes composed of other races, embarked on the sea, and steered towards the east⁴⁹; such as were scattered over other parts of the Peloponnesus mingled with the Dorians.

The Dorians who were in Hellas, first of all neighbours of the Lapithæ in Hestiaeotis, and afterwards dwelt near the Cæta in Dryopis, which was from them named Doris⁵⁰; migrated under the conduct of Heraclid leaders to the Peloponnesus, and became the prevailing tribe in Laconia, Messenia, Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermione, and the Halieis; as well as

⁴¹ Strab. 8. 383; Apollod. 1. 7. 2; Paus. 7. 1. 2.

⁴² Were the Phæacians related to them? Amongst the former there were twelve rural divisions, Hom. Od. 8. 390. It is also worthy of remark, that the Ionians are only once mentioned in Homer (see § 12. n. 19). On the other hand see Buttmann (über d. mythische Verbind., in Berl. Abh. 1818. 1819. p. 222, sqq.), who considers the Ionian race to have been spread over the whole of the Peloponnesus, along the coasts, and northward in the interior of Greece, the Danaans, Argives, and Achæans as comprised under it; and recognises the Ionian name in Iasos, Io, Iasion, Jason, Iolchos, an opinion in which I cannot concur, at the same time that I admit its plausibility.

⁴³ Strab. 8. 383. 386.

⁴⁴ Herod. 8. 73.

⁴⁵ On Epidaurus, see Paus. 7. 4. 3; and Müll. Dor. 1. 81. On Trœzen, Ibid. 82; comp. § 43. n. 19.

⁴⁶ Thuc. 7. 57.

⁴⁷ Hom. Il. 2. 536. Are these the Thracian Abantes?

⁴⁸ See below § 43.

⁴⁹ See § 14.

⁵⁰ Müller, Dor. 1. 27. 41.

in Megaris without the Peloponnesus⁵¹. The previous occupants of these districts either submitted to, or became blended with them; with the exception of the Laconian Achæans, a numerous body of whom proceeded towards Ægialea, drove out the Ionians, and occupied the lands along the coast, which were from that time denominated Achaia⁵². The Dorians were accompanied by some Ætolians under Oxylus, who subjugated the Epeans in Elis, and became the dominant tribe there under the name of Eleans; in process of time the inhabitants of Pisatis and Triphylia likewise became subject to them, without any mixture of the tribes; the former are, however, afterwards called Perioeci⁵³.

Finally, the Arcadians maintained themselves as the pure and unalloyed sons of their native country, with which they continued in uninterrupted harmony. The Cynætheis, at the eastern foot of the Cyllene, were distinguished from the inhabitants of the other districts by their rude and uncivilised character⁵⁴.

III. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HABITATIONS OF THE GREEKS WITHOUT THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

§ 14. If omitting the consideration of the manifold causes which conduced to loosen the ties of the heroic political system, we confine our attention to the operation of a restless and unceasing pressure from without, we shall perceive that the

⁵¹ See below, § 31. 32.

⁵² Strab. 8. 385. 386; Paus. 7. 1. 3.

⁵³ Strab. 8. 357; Paus. 5. 4. 2; comp. below, § 32. n. 21. 22.

⁵⁴ Polyb. 4. 20.

principal impulse to the migrations of the Greeks from their original seats, was given by the settlement of the Thessalians in the plain of the Peneus¹; the Boeotians were the first they supplanted; but the migration of the Dorians was nearly contemporaneous. The natives were almost universally driven from their original habitations; numerous multitudes soon yielded to the inroads of conquerors, and the encroachments of want, and sought new homes beneath other skies, and on foreign ground: by which means such a multitude of Grecian settlements ensued, that the migration of nations itself, notwithstanding its numbers were incalculably greater, does not present a richer or a more diversified picture. The remark of Cicero, that a Grecian border as it were was attached to the territory of the Barbarians², may be regarded as applying to all those countries which extended from the coasts of Spain to the innermost creek of the Pontus.

Through the Ionic migration, the rocky island of Delos³, and the surrounding Cyclades became Grecian; till that event they had for the most part been inhabited by Carians and Phœnicians⁴, but were now in a great measure occupied by the associates of the Ionic migration. The largest amongst them called Naxos, teemed with abundance⁵, An-

¹ I decline entering into an examination of the traditional accounts of colonies before the Doric migration, which the primitive and unshaken faith of Raoul-Rochette has dilated into the contents of nearly two whole volumes: the Greeks were not satisfied with the almost miraculous diffusion of their race; their fictions exaggerated both time and space.

² De Repub. p. 132.

³ Κρῆνη, Pind. Isthm. 1. 3; Orpheus Arg. 1354. According to Liv. 36. 43. also Ventosissima.

⁴ Herod. 1. 171; Thucyd. 1. 5. 8.

⁵ Plin. His. Nat. 4. 12. with Strab. 10. 489; Athen. 2. 52. B; Agathemer, 1. 5. Comp. Choiseul-Gouffier, 1. 41. 42; Clarke, 2. 2. 390.

dros⁶, Tenos⁷, Ceos⁸, Syros⁹ and Cythnus¹⁰ offered arable and pasture land of the most productive description, to which Siphnus added rich veins of silver¹¹, Paros, marble quarries¹²; and honey as sweet as that of Attica came from all the Cyclades¹³; at the same time there were splendid harbours at Paros¹⁴, Ios¹⁵, and Myconos¹⁶, between which and Tenos, the seamen finds a secure channel¹⁷, whilst the sky smiles with the same cloudless serenity on Siphnus¹⁸, as on Attica.

In the north the island of Thasos which abounded in gold¹⁹, and the productions of the vegetable kingdom was furnished with inhabitants from Paros, and Thasos, Andros, Chalcis, Eretria, Corinth, and some of the Greek cities of Asia, erected on the southern coast of Thrace, and particularly upon the three inviting forelands, nearly forty cities²⁰, amongst which Potidæa was situated on one of the most fertile and commodious points²¹.

The course of the Minyan, old Achæan, and Dorian emigrants from the east coast of the Peloponnesus, was directed to the southern islands of the Archipelago. Amongst the Cyclades, Melos, which possessed a harbour²², and like the others was

⁶ Tournefort, voy. 1. 348. ⁷ Plint. Hist. Nat. 4. 12; Kinsbergen, 116.

⁸ Diodor. 4. 81, sqq.; Virgil. Georg. 1. 14; Clarke, 2. 2. 446.

⁹ Εὐβοτος, εὐμηλος, οἶνοπληθής, πολύπυρος, Hom. Od. 15. 405.

¹⁰ Κύθνιος τυρός, Steph. Byz. Κύθνος.

¹¹ Herod. 3. 5. 7; Strab. 10. 494; Paus. 10. 11. 2; Suidas Σίφνιοι.

¹² Strab. 10. 487; Plin. Hist. Nat. 36. 5.

¹³ Strab. 10. 489.

¹⁴ Scylax, 49. has two. The harbour of Naussa is renowned at present, Kinsb. 123.

¹⁵ Kinsb. 134.

¹⁶ Ibid. 118.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Tournefort, 1. 172; Choiseul-Gouffier, 1. 15.

¹⁹ Herod. 6. 46. Hence Χρυσή, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 517. On its harbours see § 1. n. 6.

²⁰ Raoul-Rochette hist. de l'établisse. etc. 3. 198—213.

²¹ Liv. 44. 10. 11.

²² A prey to volcanic fires, it is now the seat of mephitic vapours, Choiseul-Gouff. 1. 8. 11, sqq. Comp. Müller, Orch. 324.

once blessed with abundance²³, was the only one occupied by Dorian settlers. Thera, from its beauty called Calliste²⁴, lay towards Africa, and furnished Cyrene, famed for its three crops²⁵, its hides, horses²⁶, and silphium²⁷, with Greek inhabitants, for the most part like those of the mother state, of the race of the Minyans²⁸; its colony Barce, likewise had the advantage of a harbour²⁹. On Crete Dorians from Laconia and Argolis likewise found habitations; Lyctus was rebuilt, and other cities supplied with a new population³⁰; but Crete, although connected by a double tie with the inhabitants of the continent, was looked upon as lying without the range of the political intercourse of Greece, properly so called, to which it was hardly less alien, than the Epirote tribes. On the other hand, the maturity of the Grecian character was exhibited in Rhodes, where the lofty Atabyris³¹ rises, the sun shines with unclouded splendour³², the purest and most genial air is inhaled³³, and the rarest fruits abound³⁴; its harbours are of unusual excellence³⁵, and the strait³⁶ which divides it from the Carian coast³⁷ about twenty-three miles in breadth, was of the greatest importance to traffic³⁸. Crapathus situated between Rhodes and Crete, and the islands off the west coast of Caria, Syme, Nisyros, and Cos, were peopled by

²³ Kinsb. 41.

²⁴ Herod. 4. 147.

²⁵ Herod. 4. 199.

²⁶ Hermipp. ap Ath. 1. 27. E.

²⁷ τὸ Βάρτου σίλφιον, Aristoph. Plut. 926. Comp. Equit. 891; Av. 534. 1578. 1581. See at large Thrige, Hist. Cyren. 227, sqq.

²⁸ See Müller, Orchom. cap. 16. 17.

²⁹ Scylax, 109.

³⁰ Raoul-Rochette, 3. 62, sqq.

³¹ Strab. 14. 655.

³² Pind. Ol. 7. 25; Plin. Hist. Nat. 2. 62.

³³ Sueton. Tiber. 11.

³⁴ Meursius, Rhod. 1; cap. 3. 2; cap. 1, sqq.

³⁵ Diodor. 20. 85, sqq.

³⁶ Liv. 45. 10.

³⁷ Called Peræa, Liv. 32. 33; 33. 18.

³⁸ Demosth. adv. Dionysiod. 1285. R.

Greek colonists³⁹, the last of these alone, however, attained much importance. On the west coast of Caria were erected Halicarnassus, where its harbours and citadel secured it the dominion of the sea⁴⁰, and Cnidus which occupied a bold and secure position on Cape Triopium, and had two ports⁴¹. The Milesian Cape Posidium was the northern limit to the Doric settlements⁴². Beyond the straits of Rhodes the seas were considered Grecian as far as the Chelidonian isles, or the city of Phaselis, on the east coast of Lycia⁴³: although the Grecian colonies, which were for the most part Rhodian, were few in number, and none of them attained consideration. But in Cyprus, in that sea the extreme nurse of the Grecian race, which was said to have been conducted thither by Teucer⁴⁴, the nobler blossoms of human culture were never unfolded; the oriental character predominated: the Phœnicians had a preponderating influence, Amasis of Egypt sent some Ethiopians to its shores⁴⁵, and the exuberance of nature⁴⁶ served to stifle every higher feeling in sensual enjoyment. The settlements of the Ionians occupied the whole of the middle portion of the west coast of Asia Minor, from Cape Posidium as far as Phocæa⁴⁷ and the adjacent islands, on which had formerly dwelt Carians, Leleges, and Cretans⁴⁸. No region was ever occupied by the Greeks which possessed the

³⁹ Raoul-Roch. 3. 70, sqq. Concerning the supposed earlier Grecian settlements on those islands and on Rhodes, according to Hom. Il. 2. 653, sqq. see Müller, Dor. 1. 105, sqq. Comp. his Prolegom. 403.

⁴⁰ Scyl. 91; Vitruv. 2. 8; Choiseul-Gouff. 1. 96; Clarke, 2. 1. 204. n.

⁴¹ Clarke, 2. 1. 214—216. ⁴² Strab. 14. 632. 651.

⁴³ Thus in the pretended treaty of Cimon, Plut. Cim. 13; Isocrat. Paneg. 33; Lycurg. c. L. 181. R; Diod. 12. 4, etc.

⁴⁴ Pind. Nem. 4. 75, sqq.; Sophocl. Aj. 1036. ⁴⁵ Herod. 7. 90.

⁴⁶ Meurs. Cypr. cap. 4. ⁴⁷ Strab. 13. 632.

⁴⁸ Herod. 1. 146; Strab. ubi sup. and 14. 640; Diod. 5. 84; Paus. 7. 3. 1.

advantage of climate in a more eminent degree than this⁴⁹, and no less favourable were its seas and coasts. Within the boundaries of Caria was situated Miletus, with its five ports, the best of which was formed and guarded by the island of Lade⁵⁰; besides these there was the harbour of Panormus near the temple of the Didymæan Apollo⁵¹, and another by the island of Patmos opposite⁵². The sands deposited by the Mæander⁵³ have thrown forward the coast round Miletus. Lade is united to the mainland; the site of Myus, once a maritime city, is at some distance from the shore⁵⁴; and neither of the two harbours of Priene any longer exists⁵⁵. Opposite the headland of Mycale⁵⁶, once covered with forests, and abundantly furnished with game, lies Samos, from which it is divided by a narrow strait⁵⁷; its western coast, like that of the neighbouring Icarus, is protected by formidable rocks, and a dangerous surf⁵⁸; it possesses an excellent natural harbour to the north-west, and its roadstead to the south-west was once securely guarded by a dam of stone⁵⁹. It was so called from its mountain⁶⁰, the highest point in the Ægean sea, which is seldom overcast with clouds, and may be seen from Hymettus⁶¹. Natural productions of

⁴⁹ Herod. 1. 142: Ἴωνες — τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρίων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγγανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν. Comp. Paus. 7. 5. 2.

⁵⁰ Strab. 14. 635; Thucyd. 8. 17; Choiseul-Gouff. planche to 1. 173.

⁵¹ Herod. 1. 157; Paus. 5. 7. 3. ⁵² Clarke, 2. 2. 370. Now *la Scala*.

⁵³ Strab. 12. 580; Choiseul-Gouff. planche to 1. 112; v. Hoff. gesch. d. Erdoberfl. 1. 257, sqq.

⁵⁴ Chandler, As. Min. 167.

⁵⁵ Scyl. 90; Strab. 12. 579.

⁵⁶ Εὐθηρον, εὐδενδρον, Strab. 14. 636.

⁵⁷ Clarke, 2. 2. 364. asserts that a person calling from the other side may be distinctly understood.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 2. 1. 192.

⁵⁹ Scyl. 90. Comp. Liv. 37. 10. 11; Pococke, 3. 38; Kinsb. 112.

⁶⁰ Strab. 10. 457. Σάμος means height.

⁶¹ Clarke, 2. 2. 365.

the choicest kind, amongst the chief of which were wine and oil, yielded abundant, and in parts double crops⁶². In the beautifully winding gulf between Samos and Chios, which receives the waters of the Cayster, lay Ephesus on that river itself, deprived, it is true, of its once convenient harbour⁶³, by the accumulation of the sands⁶⁴, but very favourably situated for an intercourse with the interior of western Asia, and on that account afterwards one of the chief commercial stations in the world: besides Colophon with the harbour of Notium⁶⁵, Lebedos, and Teos, situated on a strip of land, which, near Cnidus, formed two harbours⁶⁶.

To the north there projects a considerable peninsula, on which the mountain called Mimas is situate. Between this peninsula and Chios there is a navigable channel, once named Embata⁶⁷, for that reason Corycus, in the district of Teos⁶⁸, on the south coast, was a notorious haunt of the pirates⁶⁹. In the channel itself, are the ports of Erythræ⁷⁰ and Phœnicus⁷¹; and on the northern coast of the peninsula Clazomenæ, to which belonged the ancient city of Chyton or Chytron⁷²,

⁶² Athen. 14. 653. F. Comp. Panofka res Sam. p. 6.

⁶³ Scyl. 90.

⁶⁴ Choiseul-Gouff. pl. to 2. 120. Comp. Mannert, 6. 3. 106.

⁶⁵ ἡ ἀνω πόλις was distinguished from the harbour town, Thuc. 3. 34; Diod. 13. 71. Comp. Liv. 37. 26. ⁶⁶ Strab. 14. 642; Liv. 37. 27. 28.

⁶⁷ Τὰ ἔμβαρα. Schol. Thuc. 3. 29; Polyæn. 3. 9. 29. The place ἔμβαρων Thuc. 3. 29. Clarke describes the prospect as exceedingly beautiful, 2. 1. 188.

⁶⁸ Liv. 37. 12.

⁶⁹ Strab. 14. 644; Liv. 36. 43; Phot. Κερυκαῖος; Suid. τοῦ δ' ἀρα, Zenob. 4. 75; Vatican App. 4. 7, etc.

⁷⁰ Scyl. 89; Strab. ubi sup.

⁷¹ Thuc. 8. 34; Liv. 36. 45; 37. 16; Poppo. Thucyd. 2. 452. Is it now Tschesmé?

⁷² To this the inhabitants fled from their city, upon being expelled by the Persians. Concerning their attempt to return to the mainland, see Thuc. 8.

erected on the adjacent island. Chios, till very recently the garden of modern Greece, communicated with the sea by means of an admirable harbour⁷³, and is abundantly furnished by nature with all the luxuries of life, and especially with exquisite wine⁷⁴.

The gulf between Chios, Lesbos, and Asia Minor, into which the Pactolus and the Hermus discharge their waters, formerly named the Hermaic gulf, resembles an extensive roadstead; whilst in its innermost bay is the beautiful harbour of Smyrna⁷⁵, the excellence of which was not fully appreciated till modern days. Of the once celebrated harbours of Phocæa⁷⁶, one still continues in use⁷⁷.

Æolis, with Lesbos, colonised by Peloponnesian Achæans⁷⁸, mixed with Æolian hordes from Bœotia and Thessaly, which settled amongst Pelasgians, and other tribes of the same origin⁷⁹, was still more fertile than Ionia, although its climate was less beautiful. The gulf to the south of Lesbos received its appellation from the town of Cyme situated on it, which was so slow in availing itself of its excellent port⁸⁰, that it became a byword to the more active and enterprising of the Greeks⁸¹. The Æolian cities in general, on the coast of Asia

14. 23. This was not accomplished till the time of Alexander; comp. Poppo. ubi sup. 440; and on the harbour, Scyl. 89.

⁷³ Scyl. 89; Strab. 14. 645; Liv. 36. 43; Clarke, 2. 1. 188; Kinsbergen, 110, has only a good roadstead.

⁷⁴ Strab. 14. 645.

⁷⁵ Kinsb. 109, sqq.

⁷⁶ Scyl. 89; Liv. 37. 31. 22.

⁷⁷ Le Bruyn. voy. trad. Franç. p. 166.

⁷⁸ Herod. 1. 149.

⁷⁹ Strab. 13. 622; comp. Raoul-Roch. 3. 34, sqq.

⁸⁰ It was the winter station of the remnants of the Persian fleet after the battle of Salamis. Herod. 8. 130.

⁸¹ Strab. 13. 622. The harbour of Elæa was not appreciated till still later, Liv. 37. 18.

Minor, were eclipsed by the power and splendour of Lesbos. This was marked out by the productive quality of its soil, the most luxuriant vineyards⁸², and its genial air, for the peculiar seat of pleasure⁸³; and adapted by its harbours⁸⁴ of Mitylene and Methymna to command the much frequented channel, by which it is divided from the mainland, as well as the entrance to the gulf of Smyrna. Amongst the northern settlements of the Æolians without the Hellespont, Tenedos, the key to that strait, is rendered of the first importance by the possession of a safe harbour⁸⁵, where those ships anchor, which are prevented by the violent northerly winds from entering the Hellespont⁸⁶.

Polybius was unwilling to write any thing on the subject of the Hellespont, because he considered that there could be no one unacquainted with its peculiar character⁸⁷, and we may dismiss the subject in a very few words. The Chersonese, in ancient as well as in modern days, a bridge⁸⁸ for the migration of nations, and originally inhabited by Thracian tribes, the Dolonci and Apsinthii⁸⁹,

⁸² Strab. 13. 617, sqq.; Athen. 1. 28, sqq.; Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 7.

⁸³ Hence once called the "blessed," the "love-inspiring." *Macaria*, *Himerte*, Plin. H. N. 5. 39.

⁸⁴ Scyl. 85, sqq. Mitylene was first built upon a small island, afterwards upon Lesbos itself. The Euripus between the two formed two havens; that to the south would contain fifty triremes, and the other was spacious and deep. See Strab. 16. 617; Diod. 13. 79; Xenoph. Hell. 1. 6. 22. The small island is now united to Lesbos. Pococke, 3. 23. Kinsbergen (90), who considers the harbours of Mitylene small, probably alludes to the eastern coast; but the entrance to the principal harbour was apparently to the south, consequently this must have been identical with the present *Porto d'Olive*, or *Port Hiero*. Kinsb. 90; Choiseul-Gouff. 2. 83. The harbour at Pyrrha, Scyl. 87. Choiseul-Gouff. ubi. sup., is now nothing but a shallow creek, which Kinsbergen passes over as a mere cipher in a nautical point of view; but port Sigro, farther westward, is important. Kinsb. ubi. sup.

⁸⁵ Etym. M. Σίγρον λιμὴν Τενέδου; Kinsb. 84.

⁸⁶ Comp. Append. i.

⁸⁷ Polyb. 16. 29.

⁸⁸ The place near Sestos, where Xerxes' bridge of boats had been fastened, was significantly denominated Ἀποβάθρα. Strab. 13. 591.

⁸⁹ Herod. 6. 34—36.

near Sestos, advances to within seven stadia of the coast of Asia⁹⁰. The passage across the rapid⁹¹ Hellespont, from Sestos to Abydos, could be effected without difficulty, as the stream flows from Sestos situated somewhat higher, towards the beautiful harbour of Abydos⁹²; but the passage from Abydos to Sestos was very troublesome⁹³. Farther northward, where the current was less rapid, there was another convenient passage from Callipolis to Lampsacus⁹⁴, which was the more traversed, as both from Lampsacus and Ephesus a great road led into the interior of Asia⁹⁵. The brightest gem of the Propontis was Cyzicus, situate upon an island, which was united to the mainland by bridges⁹⁶, and was for that reason called the Chersonese⁹⁷; it had two harbours, which might both be closed when necessary⁹⁸. Astacus, Perinthus, and Selymbria were provided with ports⁹⁹. The unusually favourable situation of Byzantium¹⁰⁰, as well as the inferior though still commodious one of Chalcedon, is attested by the passage of Polybius alluded to above; and the choice of these places for their settlements reflects great credit upon the discernment of the Megarians. Miletus was the first amongst the states to recognise a field for her traffic beyond the Bosphorus, and with unparalleled activity planted her colonies around the Pontus, on appropriate forelands, peninsulas, and in secured and sheltered creeks and

⁹⁰ Herod. 7. 33; Strab. 2. 148; eight stadia, Xenoph. Hel. 4. 8. 5.

⁹¹ Ἀγάρροος, Hom. Il. 2. 845.

⁹² Polyb. 16. 29.

⁹³ Strab. 13. 591.

⁹⁴ Strab. 13. 589.

⁹⁵ Mannert, 6. 3. 517.

⁹⁶ Strab. 12. 575.

⁹⁷ Ἡ Χερσόνησος τῆς Ἀσίας, Conon. 14.

⁹⁸ Strab. ubi. sup. comp. Etymol. Mag. Χυρῶ.

⁹⁹ Scylax, 68. 69.

¹⁰⁰ See my article in Ersch. u. Grub. Encyc.

channels ¹⁰¹, amidst Bithynians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, Bastarnæ, Scythians, Sarmatians, in Colchis, and even in the land of the Heniochi, and the wild Achæans ¹⁰². Hence that sea, which had previously been stigmatised as the inhospitable ¹⁰³, became so well known to the Greeks ¹⁰⁴, that it was thenceforward termed the hospitable by pre-eminence; no fish of prey infested its waters, which bore to Greece numerous fleets laden with every description of produce ¹⁰⁵. Heraclea, founded by Megarians, Tanagræans, and Milesians ¹⁰⁶, and the Milesian Sinope, both rose to power and opulence from their admirable position, effectually protected against, or overawing, the contiguous barbarians, and unendangered by Grecian supremacy. The latter possessed those peculiar local advantages which were universally remarked as so congenial to the Grecian taste. It was situated upon a tongue of land, firmly fortified on the land side ¹⁰⁷, holding out the greatest conveniences for navigation, and affording secure shelter in its excellent haven; in addition to this, it exercised the easy and lucrative fishery of the pelamys, innumerable shoals of which come from the waters of the Mæotic gulf, and are driven towards the shores of Sinope ¹⁰⁸. The port of Amisus ranked next to that of Sinope,

¹⁰¹ See Rambach de Mileto; Raoul-Rochette, 3. 386—400; Mannert, 4. 314, sqq.

¹⁰² Ammian. Marc. 22. 8. 25, ultra omnem ferociam sævierunt. See Vales. ibid.

¹⁰³ Ἀχαιοί, Strab. 7. 298; Æschyl. Prom. 733; ἰχθυόροφος ναύτησι μητρὶν ἀνέων.

¹⁰⁴ Εὐξεινος κατ' εὐφημισμὸν. Schol. Soph. CEd. 7. 180; Am. Marc. 22. 8. 33; Ovid. trist. 4. 4. 55.

¹⁰⁵ Amongst these there was especially corn — σιτοπομπία, Strab. 7. 309; saltfish, πάντα ραίχη, Hermipp. ap. Ath. 1. 27. E.

¹⁰⁶ Raoul-Roch. 3. 300, sqq. ¹⁰⁷ Polyb. 4. 56.

¹⁰⁸ Strab. 12, 545.

on the south coast of the Pontus ¹⁰⁹. Trapezus, founded by Sinope, and during several centuries dependent ¹¹⁰, did not become a place of extensive trade till the time of the Romans, whilst Dioscurias was the great emporium of the Caucasian nations. The ancients related that seventy, and according to some even three hundred, different languages were heard upon its marts ¹¹¹. On the Tauric Chersonese, where the corn yielded a thousand-fold ¹¹², lay Theodosia, with a harbour for a hundred ships ¹¹³; but the passage into the Mæotic gulf, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, was obstructed by Panticapæon and Phanagoria ¹¹⁴; even in the innermost creek of the Mæotic gulf, at the mouth of the Tanais, the Bosphoran Milesians founded the city of Tanais, which, like Dioscurias, became an important trading place, from the conflux of the surrounding nations ¹¹⁵. If compared with this multitude of considerable Milesian settlements towards the east along the shores extending from the mouth of the Borysthenes to the Thracian Bosphorus, the other Milesian ¹⁰⁶ plantations, Olbia, Istropolis, Tomi, Odessus, Apollonia, and Mesambria, founded by the Byzantines and Chalcedonians ¹¹⁷, appear to have been, with the exception of Olbia ¹¹⁸, of little importance, it is still a subject of astonishment that there was not a single nation dwelling around the Pontus, to which the Greeks had not found access; and in

¹⁰⁹ Amm. Marc. ubi sup.

¹¹⁰ Xenoph. Anab. 4. 8. 22; 5. 5. 10.

¹¹¹ Strab. 7. 311.

¹¹² Ibid. 7. 309.

¹¹³ Strab. 11. 497. 498.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 7. 310. 311.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 11. 493.

¹¹⁶ Raoul-Roch. 3. 312—318, and 386—388.

¹¹⁷ Herod. 4. 33.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 4. 17. 18. 74; Strab. 7. 306.

the midst of which they had not, either by stratagem or force, succeeded in obtaining a footing.

In the west, Corinth endeavoured, by means of colonies, to render the coast of the Ionian sea, where the Greek population terminated, dependent upon herself. Leucas, Anactorium, Argos, Amphilocheium, Ambracia, partly founded, or new-peopled, with the co-operation of Corcyra¹¹⁹, kept the navigation of the Grecian seas open to the trade of Corinth; but Corcyra itself, which commandingly extends along the coasts of Epirus, soon asserted, with fearless independence, the sovereignty of the Ionian sea, which was especially favoured by its three harbours¹²⁰, and checked the depredations of the Illyrian pirates, who did not infest the Grecian seas till internal corruption had impaired the strength of Greece. Still farther northward were built Apollonia, Epidamnus¹²¹, (Dyrrachium), and Epidaurus; the importance of the second increased with the gradual extension of intercourse and trade.

Chance and enterprise soon led Grecian mariners through the Sicilian sea. Italy itself, although connected with Greece by means of one of the most ancient colonies of the Eubœan Chalcidians, Cuma¹²², was not the immediate object of frequent voyages; Sicily offered greater attraction, from its superior harbours and insular character, together with which, Sardinia was, during centuries, the object of repeated and fruitless expeditions¹²³.

¹¹⁹ Raoul-Roch. 3. 183. 290, sqq.; comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 117, sqq.

¹²⁰ Scyl. 5; comp. Thucyd. 3. 72; Poppo. 2. 132.

¹²¹ On the subject of its harbour, see Appian. de civ. Rom. bel. 2. 39.

¹²² Raoul-Roch. 3. 109, sqq.

¹²³ Herod. 1. 170, and the legends of Iolaus, Diodor. 4. 29, sqq.

Corinthians found the once superior harbours¹²⁴ of Syracuse, and after the foundation of the city, Chalcidians, Rhodians, Megarians, Syracusans, etc., vied with each other in settling along the three coasts of the fertile island¹²⁵, whose original inhabitants, the Sicani and Siculi, now retired farther into the interior of the country. Syracuse was distinguished above all other places by its favourable situation; it is recorded, amongst its peculiar characteristics, that not a day elapsed on which the sun did not shine there¹²⁶. Less favoured by their natural conveniences for navigation, than by the excellence of their soil, arose, on the south coast, the Rhodian¹²⁷ Gela, and still higher, its daughter-town, Agrigentum¹²⁸; but Messana offered great attraction as a maritime place, in consequence of its harbour, and its contiguity to the straits, which bounded it in the direction of Italy, and was successively occupied by Cumæans, Chalcidians, Samians, and Messenians. But in no part of the island was the tillage land poor or unproductive, and on this account, and in some measure from the favourable shape of the sea coast, beside those capitals, Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Himera, founded by Chalcidians and Naxians, securely flourished the Megarian Hybla, or Megara and its colony Selinus; even upon the Lipari isles the Greeks found a settlement, abounding in the most luxuriant natural productions¹²⁹. But nowhere

¹²⁴ Seneca consol. ad Marc. 17; Portum quietissimum omnium—sic tutum, ut ne maximarum quidem tempestatum furori locus sit. Comp. Poppo. Thucyd. 2. 510, sqq.; Göller de situ urb. Syracus., Kephalides Reise, vol. ii. and iii.

¹²⁵ See at large Raoul-Roch. 3. 175. 183; 213. 226; 247. 277; 319. 325; 354. 363; comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 110, sqq.; 115, sqq.

¹²⁶ Cicero c. Verr. 2. 5. 11.

¹²⁷ Raoul-Roch. 3. 247, sqq.

¹²⁸ Diod. 13. 81.

¹²⁹ Diod. 5. 9; Paus. 10. 1. 3.

were human passions more active in marring the benefits of nature, than amongst the Grecian towns of this favoured island.

The Greeks never found the harbour of Brundisium¹³⁰, invitingly situated upon that part of the coast of Italy which lies opposite their own country, and is only forty-six miles from Acroceraunia¹³¹; its fame dates from the Roman times. On the other hand, the bay between the two southern points of Italy and the west coast, beheld a number of Grecian, especially Achæan, settlements flourish¹³² in the midst of Japygians, Messapians, Ænotrians, Ausonians, and Tyrrhenians. Tarentum, founded by Laconians, was the only town situate on the gulf named after it, which possessed a harbour¹³³; it was built upon a small foreland¹³⁴, furnished to abundance with the productions of land and sea¹³⁵, and its climate was soft and voluptuous¹³⁶. The harvests of the adjacent Achæan Metapontum were so abundant, that golden ears of corn were sent in gratitude to Delphi¹³⁷. The country about the Siris, where afterwards lay Heraclea, eulogised by Archilochus¹³⁸, and pointed out by Themistocles as aptly situated for the new home of the Athenians¹³⁹, was not less blessed by nature. The situation of Sybaris, although destitute of the advantage

¹³⁰ Mannert. Ital. 2. 42.

¹³¹ Was it at one time a barbarian capital? Scylax only mentions Ὑδρούς. This harbour, formerly one of the finest in the Adriatic, is now filled with sand and mud, and can only admit fishing boats and other small craft, Riedesel, 231.

¹³² See in general Heyne, Opusc. vol. ii.; Raoul-Roch. 3. 109. 117; 163. 185; Müller, Dor. 1. 125, sqq.

¹³³ Polyb. 10. 1; Strab. 6. 278; Scymnus, 330; Florus, 1. 18.

¹³⁴ It was cut through in the last century, but the channel is again stopped up. Swinburne's Travels, 1. 286; ¹³⁵ Mannert. Ital. 2. 63. 64.

¹³⁶ Riedesel, 204.

¹³⁷ Strab. 6. 264.

¹³⁸ Athen. 15. 524, D.

¹³⁹ Herod. 8. 61. 62.

of ports, could not be surpassed in point of inland attractions¹⁴⁰. The salubrious air of Crotona, the site of which was asserted to have been pointed out by the oracle to its founder, the Heraclid Myscelus, passed into a proverb¹⁴¹. Both were built by Achæans. Locri, where Doric manners became general, was stony and rugged¹⁴², but it was taught to exercise manly virtue. The Chalcidian-Messenian Rhegium, a real sea-fortress, raised itself, for a time, to be the mistress of the strait on which it was situated. The position of Elea was not favourable¹⁴³, but the foundation of Cuma, and its daughter-town Naples, is an evidence of the good fortune which attends the youth of nations. The most beautiful point of Italy was the first to be descried¹⁴⁴.

The coasts of Gaul and Spain may, as the farthest confines in the west, be compared with the shores of the Pontus; here, too, the Ionians established a system of Grecian polity. Massilia, a colony of the Phocæans, blessed with a sky as serene as that of Ionia, and admirably situated for an intercourse with the Gallic tribes, flourished in security and independence far from the rest of the Greeks, and planted around it, towards the east and west, a series of dependent towns, the last of which, westward, Emporiæ¹⁴⁵, is an emblem of the attachment the Greeks manifested for the barbarian coasts, as well as of the desire of intercourse in the narrowest possible political sphere; a Spanish

¹⁴⁰ Strab. 6. 262; Riedesel, 200; Swinburne, 1. 362.

¹⁴¹ Ὑγιέστερον Κρότωνος, Strab. 6. 262. 269; Zenob. 6. 27; Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1100; Steph. Byzan. Συρακοῦς. Suid. Ἀρχίας.

¹⁴² Τραχεῖα, Schol. Pind. Ol. 10. 17. Λοφώδης, ἐπιθαλασσίδιος.

¹⁴³ Strab. 6. 252.

¹⁴⁴ See Mannert, Ital. 1. 738, sqq.

¹⁴⁵ Scyl. 3. Ἐμπόριον.

town bordered closely upon the Grecian settlement¹⁴⁶, and the Greeks did not penetrate any farther into the interior of the country.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE GRECIAN NATION.

§ 15. The sea, especially when it winds round and indents such a land as Greece¹, must sooner or later become an object of attraction; a nation so destined for a nautical life as the Greeks, will not leave its peculiar mission long untried; but the most forcible natural exhortations do not always call forth a corresponding energy in man; it requires many and various shocks and coincidences, before nature and mankind enter into effectual alliance. Not the Cumæans alone were once for centuries insensible to the advantages of their harbour²; even Britain's league with the ocean was not effected till the august Elizabeth laid the foundation of her maritime greatness. Admitting that time and chance are necessary for human enterprise and art to assert their power on the sea, this element, nevertheless, soon vindicates its rights as a channel of traffic³. Nowhere do rivers and seas impede the intercourse of nations; the inhabitant of the coast is borne upon the waves to the opposite dwellers; narrow-minded prejudice departs with him, and he returns with awakened energies

¹⁴⁶ Strab. 3. 160; Liv. 34. 9.

¹ According to the Geogr. Ephemerid. 1799, v. iii. p. 304, Greece has 2880 geographical miles of sea-coast, Italy 2320, and France 1100.

² Strab. 13. 622; comp. § 13, n. 73.

³ Hom. Od. 17. 286.

— γαστέρα —
τῆς ἐνεκὲν καὶ νῆες ἐὺζυγοὶ ὀπλίζονται
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρυγέον

Comp. Eurip. Supplic. 210.

πόντον τε ναυστολήμαθ' ὡς διαλλαγὰς
ἔχοιμεν ἀλλήλοισιν ὧν πένοιτο γῆ.

and unwonted powers, whilst boldness and courage become the prominent features of his character⁴. Thus it was that the Greeks became a maritime people, amidst Phœnicians and Illyrians.

On the other hand, mountains often stretch far around as insurmountable barriers, impeding the intercourse and the union of neighbours. Beyond the mountains is incalculably a more marked division than beyond the sea. Whilst Athens, in less than half a century, found means to unite islands and coasts into a confederacy dependent upon herself, which, after the lapse of a few years devolved to Sparta for an equally short period, the Grecian mountain-chains kept up, during centuries, the freedom as well as the disunion of the inhabitants of the precipices on either side of them⁵. When, moreover, a country is so studded with heights and peaks, and so intersected with defiles and gullies as Greece is, it is as natural that self-defence should lead to the construction of walls and citadels, as that rapacious marauders should, from their haunts in the trackless forest, and the beaten mountain-pass, invade the fields and flocks of their neighbours. Now, as the influence of the sea upon such as dwell upon its shores is not always uniform, so mountains do not always operate alike upon the disposition and manners of their inhabitants. One mountain tribe is simple, honest, and faithful; another treacherous, violent, and insensible to justice, duty, and humanity; but they possess, in common, a certain hardness of character, a firm attachment to

⁴ See the just estimate which Cicero formed of the Greek character, De Repub. 2. 4. p. 128, sqq. (Stuttg.)

⁵ See the admirable disquisition of Fr. v. Schlegel, Schriften, 3. 69.

long-established customs, a repugnance to change, obstinate prejudices, slowness in social advancement, and faith and superstition. The last quality is strikingly exemplified in their abundant stock of local traditions and marvellous tales, which are comparatively rare amongst the inhabitants of lowlands and maritime districts. This may be applied in its full force to the Grecian mountaineers, and especially the Arcadians, to whom nature gave so much occasion for astonishment at her caprices and enigmas.

The Greek nation first received a determinate and lasting impress from the Doric migration, and those immediately connected with it, and can only be duly estimated when regarded under the peculiar form which it bore subsequently to that event. At the same time, together with the more marked lines of character which it derived from the migrations, the exclusive and peculiar properties of the individual tribes became so prominently developed, that we can discover but very few characteristics of a more general nature. Now, though in Homer one uniform colouring seems to be diffused over the national character, we must raise the poetical veil, and may unhesitatingly assert, that a nationality, which went forth from the heroic age with such maturity that it was enabled to preserve its original impress unimpaired, after being transplanted to foreign ground and amongst barbarians, could not have been destitute of the finer shades of individual character; at the same time, it cannot be denied that what had previously been a mere unconscious life of habit, required to be contrasted with foreign

elements to attain accurate and complete self-knowledge.

The original simplicity of the national life of Greece is attested by the primitive manners of the Athenians, the Arcadians, and Achæans, which did not even cease with the historical age; and in general the tribes of the ancient Greeks, though not devoid of enterprise and alacrity, appear to have pursued, during certain periods of time, one regular course, till shocks from without aroused and agitated them. On the other hand, after these had occurred, there followed violent and even impetuous commotions, as is proved by the long-continued chain of the migrations themselves. We may accordingly assert the most marked peculiarity of the Greeks to have been extreme excitability, which, affected by external causes, awakened a corresponding degree of energy, and this exerted itself in domestic feuds, in collisions with neighbours, or in migrations and maritime expeditions. The first were kept up by the natural divisions of the country into small states, so that they never wanted for matter to nourish them; no torpor or lethargy could ensue, but the inner life gradually unfolded itself. Strength was accompanied by the most fearless self-confidence, and by its most undisguised manifestations; modesty and humility were not Greek virtues; but their sense of honour was not spun out of such fine threads as that of modern chivalry; honour was regarded amongst them as based upon right and prerogative; words could not endanger it. Congenial to their love of action was their susceptibility of pleasure and pain. The Greek was easily affected to tears, examples

of stoicism, as regarded pain, can only be adduced amongst the Spartans, and elsewhere should be accounted a total degeneration of the national character. Solon's beautiful reply, when some one wished to console him, that he wept on that very account, that it could not be helped⁶, is truly Grecian. At the same time they possessed a degree of sensuality, and a capacity of enjoyment, which left no mode of pleasure untried⁷. Here we may commend as a national excellence their cultivation of the arts of poetry and music; but in their intercourse with the female sex, they were deficient in that delicacy of feeling which is associated with respect and modest shame. The Grecian mode of expression, on subjects of this nature, was coarse, and sometimes gross; still more depraved was their addiction to unnatural lust. As in this respect, so throughout the Grecian disposition, the bad was found closely bordering upon the noble and the good; and its most conspicuous taints were cupidity⁸, envy⁹, hatred, and cruelty¹⁰. But upon the whole, the youthful turbulence of the nation never arrived at maturity during its political existence; the good neither resided securely and permanently in its heart, nor did the bad ever become fully developed. From the constant influence of passion, the personal and political character must very frequently have

⁶ Diog. Laert. 1. 63.

⁷ Οἱ Ἕλληνες φιλήδονοι. Dion. Chrys. 1. 323.

⁸ E. g. Hesiod. Op. et. Di.: χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι. Comp. 339. According to Polyb. 6. 46. many persons were of opinion that the chief merit of Lycurgus consisted in having banished avarice.

⁹ A Persian in Herod. 7. 326. describes it correctly: τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι (οἱ Ἕλληνες) καὶ τὸ κείσασιν στυγέουσι.

¹⁰ According to Paus. 1. 7. 1. it was only amongst the Athenians that there was an altar of pity; but the disposition of the Athenians, in aftertimes, was but little in unison with this sign.

coincided in those states where there were popular governments. There can be no doubt that the general character is only exhibited in certain indications, unattended by those peculiar modifications which produced a dissimilarity in single races and states, and which cannot be ascribed to the nation at large, without careful limitation.

Here the eye naturally turns to the two principal races which occupied the same seats in the heroic age as they did afterwards, and whose character, therefore, may be regarded as bearing evidences of a strictly national growth, viz., the Arcadians and Athenians. The Arcadians possessed the solidity of the mountain character in their bold and manly disposition, and their love of music. When the land became too confined, there went forth for the purpose of acquiring new seats, not whole tribes, but single and freely-associated hordes or bodies, which sought in foreign warfare¹¹ the means of existence and a field for the exercise of their strength¹².

This custom was peculiar to the Phigalians¹³. The pernicious and demoralising influences of those habits which soldiers brought home with them from foreign countries¹⁴, did not infect the sources of popular life till long afterwards. But the Cynæthians¹⁵ were naturally rude and insensible to the refinements of civilisation. The ancient Athenians

¹¹ Hence the proverb Ἀρκάδας μιμούμενος was applied to a person who laboured and suffered for others. Bekker. Anec. 218. Suid.

¹² Such as came to Xerxes were ὀλίγοι τινες βίου τε δέομενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. Herod. 8. 26.

¹³ Athen. 10. 442. B. calls them drunkards and rovers.

¹⁴ This was probably the origin of the vice of drunkenness mentioned above. In the Etym. M. the epithet προσέληνοι, which was applied to the Arcadians, is derived from προσελλεῖν, because they were addicted to slander!

¹⁵ See § 13. n. 50.

can hardly be recognised under the varnish with which the practice of ascribing to them so much of the good and evil of aftertimes¹⁶, has disguised the character and history of the earlier ages. But they were yet as remote from the greatness of emancipated national strength, as from the degradation by which it was succeeded; it was not till the time of Cylon, Draco, Solon, and Pisistratus, that an impulse was given to the development of their nobler qualities, and they were universally roused as by an electric spark, by the efforts of Clisthenes and the battle of Marathon. Anciently the Athenians were plain and simple¹⁷, like their land, furnished with a solid groundwork of good qualities¹⁸, and with a certain unsuspecting simplicity in particular; this checked the desire of innovation, and the operation of that credulity¹⁹ by which it was promoted, and from the rustic way of life, which lasted till the commencement of the Peloponnesian war²⁰, they were less exposed to temptation and danger. Hence, we behold internal tranquillity till about the year 600 before Christ, barren annals for the space of five

¹⁶ See the perverted opinion of Heracl. Pont. concerning their luxury, Athen. 12. 512. B. C; comp. Diod. Fragm. 4. 41. Bipont.

¹⁷ And in the main points this continued to be the case till a late period, Athen. 4. 137. F.

¹⁸ Plato de Leg. 1. 642. D.: — ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, διαφερόντως εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, — μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης, αὐτοφύως, θείᾳ μοιρᾷ, ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐτὶ πλαστῶς εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, applies to the primitive ages. The same may be said of the proverbial Ἀττικὴ πίστις. See Diogenian. 2. 80; comp. Isocrat. Areop. 243; ed Lang. on the capacity of Athens to produce brave men.

¹⁹ Did they consider the Φύη of Pisistratus to be Athene, as stated in Herod. 1. 60? We shall be enabled to estimate at its true value the opinion of Herodotus, by examining one conceived in a similar spirit, 8. 132. that Samos had seemed to the Greek fleet which had conquered at Salamis, as distant as the Pillars of Hercules. Levesque, Etud. 2. 375. says the Φύη was an allegorical representation of the protection of Athene, through which, Pisistratus wished the Athenians to believe, he had effected his return.

²⁰ Thucyd. 2. 14. 16.

hundred years, peace with the neighbours, indifference to the allurements of the adjacent sea, and even few traces of any feeling for science or art. On the other hand, the political life of the Chalcidians and Eretrians, descended from a common stock with the Athenians, is at an early period beheld in great activity and vigour; domestic riches were exhibited in equestrian pageants and public games²¹, and colonies were assiduously sent out to neighbouring as well as remote islands and coasts. Amongst the Ionians who migrated to Asia a most fruitful germ unfolded itself, in conformity to the natural conditions of their new seats, and expanded into a system presenting extensive and diversified materials for consideration.

Amongst those tribes, which in pursuance of the Doric migration, left their original seats, we must add, to the Athenians and Arcadians, the Achæans. Undisturbed and secluded, they led a life of simplicity in their new home, alike free from dissensions, and uncorrupted by luxury, not entirely averse to navigation and the foundation of distant colonies, but upon the whole, their condition at no time became divested of its negative character. The Acarnanians may be compared with the Achæans in open-heartedness and stability²²; but their political advancement was never considerable, and they even partook of the rapaciousness which marked their neighbours the Ætolians²³. These

²¹ Strab. 10. 448; Hesiod. Op. et Di. 652, sqq.; Pind. Ol. 13. 158; I. 1. 82; Dicaearch. ap Gronov. 11. 33. calls the Chalcidians of his time φιλαπό-
δημοι, γραμματικοί, and observes: μεγάλην εὐλήφασιν ἔξιν τοῦ φέρειν ῥα-
θύμως τὰ προσπίπτοντα.

²² Polyb. 4. 30. 1: καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ στάσιμον ἔχουσι τι καὶ φιλε-
λεύθερον. Their *fides* is commended by Liv. 33. 16.

²³ Thucyd. 1. 5.

appear to have occupied a very low position in the scale of civilisation, and were so estranged from the great body of the Grecian nation, that they can scarcely be recognised as belonging to it²⁴; they were moreover not without barbarian admixture²⁵, and till the time of Polybius were violent and lawless marauders²⁶, who, in their native land, continued no less rude than free till the time of the Romans, only becoming connected with the nobler tribes of Greece in their character of mercenaries²⁷. This delineation is no less applicable to the Ozolian Locrians²⁸, who were in fact afterwards included amongst the Ætolians²⁹. The Eleans, amongst whom the majority of the governing body were of Ætolian origin, can by no means be considered as sacred and guiltless in the early age; a domineering disposition is their most prominent characteristic; afterwards they became notorious for their drunkenness and falsehood³⁰. Nothing peculiar is commemorated of the Locrians of Opus and Cnemus; the Phocians are only described as the steadfast opponents of the Thessalians; but the inhabitants of Crissa, we know not with what justice, are accused of having committed outrages upon the Delphian pilgrims³¹. Amongst the inhabitants of the Thessalian mountains a warlike disposition similar to that of the Arcadians, entitles the Malians³² to distinct mention.

²⁴ The Ætolian Eurytians are called by Thucyd. 3. 94. ἀγνωστότατοι γλώσσαν, and ὠμοφάγοι.

²⁵ By means of a transposition into the heroic age, Euripides, Phoen. 138. justly gives Tydeus barbarian armour. Comp. Schol. and Tietz. ad Lycoph. 794.

²⁶ Polybius, 1. 49; 2. 45. 46; 4. 3. 67; 17. 4. 5. ἄγειν λάφυρον ἀπὸ λαφύρου was general. Comp. Liv. 34. 24.

²⁷ Thucyd. 7. 57.

²⁸ Thucyd. 1. 5.

²⁹ Paus. 10. 28. 1.

³⁰ Polemon, ap. Athen. 10. 442. E.

³¹ See below § 24.

³² Aristot. Polit. 4. 10. 10.

Of those tribes which were not recognised till after the heroic age, the Thessalians are the first in order of time. By lineage only half Greeks, they exhibited themselves during the whole of their political existence in the light of an intruding and ignoble race. It is impossible to determine what innate tendency to their only excellence, the art of riding, or what roots of their subsequent corruption they brought with them. They present the spectacle of barbarians, who, dwelling in a fruitful and smiling land, try in vain to grow familiar with the spontaneous soil³³; they revelled with sensuality in the productions of the conquered province, whilst they were always seen on horseback, and conducted themselves as though they were but the temporary occupants of the fields they ravaged. The ground-colours for their picture, as it appears in the later historical age, are faithlessness³⁴, incontinence, and debauchery³⁵, proneness to a disgraceful traffic in their fellow-men³⁶, and gross superstition³⁷.

The Bœotians, nourished by an equally rich and luxuriant soil, somewhat resembled them in the

³³ Alexander ordered some Thessalian captives to be put in chains, because they had served as mercenaries, instead of cultivating their beautiful country. Plut. Apophtheg. 6. 688. R.

³⁴ Ποικίλοι τὰ ἦθη, Θεσσαλῶν σόφισμα and νόμισμα, Schol. Eurip. Phoen. 1426; Zenob. 4. 29; Vatic. app. 4. 6; ἄπιστοι Θεσσαλοί, Eurip. Fragm. inc. 194; comp. Demosth. Olynth. 1. 15; in Aristocr. 657; where indeed political hatred has a share in the censure; whereas Herac. Pont. ap. Athen. 14. 624. E. ascribes to them the οὐ πανούργον, ἀλλὰ ἐξηγμένον καὶ τε θαρρήκοις, with as little reason as he makes them the forefathers of the Ætolians, 624. C.

³⁵ Plato. Criton, 53. D.; Crates, ap. Athen. 10. 418. C. sqq.; comp. 4. 137. D.; 12. 527. A. and also Heracl. Pont. ap. Athen. 14. 624. E.

³⁶ Aristoph. Plut. 52; Hermipp. ap. Athen. 1. 27. F. Pagasæ was a slave market.

³⁷ Thessaly was the home of Magic, Plin. H. N. 30. 1; Antholog. 3. 172; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 746. Compare my dissertation on Magic in the Atheneum, 2. 241.

darker shades of their character, although not wholly destitute of the seeds of virtue; they delighted in bodily excitement, violence, and fighting³⁸; the elation of strength and fearlessness³⁹ involved the Bœotian in frequent encounters in the palæstra⁴⁰. The seductions of the table he was unable to resist⁴¹. But a counterpoise in the capacity—of rising to nobler qualities is presented by his self-confidence⁴², his feeling for the charms of music⁴³, for beauty⁴⁴, and for feminine delicacy and grace, which nature had so liberally bestowed on the Bœotian women⁴⁵. Finally, but a very small share⁴⁶ of what was termed the Bœotian evil fame⁴⁷, and which must be understood as chiefly applicable to the Thebans⁴⁸, in all probability devolves to the honourable Thespians⁴⁹, the brave Plataeans, and the hospitable Tanagræans⁵⁰.

³⁸ Ephor. ap. Strab. 9. 401; Aristot. Rh. 3. 4; Dicæarch. in Gronov. thes. XI. 26.: *θρασεῖς — καὶ ὑβρίζουσι καὶ ὑπερήφανοι πλήκται τε καὶ ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς πάντα ξένον καὶ δημότην. Κατανωτισταὶ πάντες δικαίου πρὸς τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα τῶν συναλλαγμάτων οὐ λόγῳ συνιστάμενοι, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θράσους καὶ τῶν χειρῶν προσάγοντες βίαν, κ. τ. λ.*

³⁹ Pingues et valentes, Cicero de Fat. 4; comp. Diod. 15. 39.

⁴⁰ Ephor. ap. Steph. Byz. Βοιωτία.

⁴¹ The Comic Poets ap. Athen. 10. 418, sqq.; comp. 4. 148. E, sqq.; Polyb. 6. 23; 20. 4; Ἀδδηφαγία, see Plut. Symp. 8. 515; comp. Müller, Orch. 408. 409.

⁴² Dicæarch. ubi sup. *μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐελπιστίαις (εὐπιστίαις).*

⁴³ They enjoyed the preeminence in the art of flute playing. See on the column erected in memory of this, Dion. Chrys. 1. 263.

⁴⁴ Ælian, V. H. 4. 4. there was a law for artists in Thebes: *εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον τὰς εἰκόνας μιμῆσθαι.*

⁴⁵ Dicæarch. ubi sup.

⁴⁶ The character of the Bœotians as drawn by themselves in Dicæarch. ubi sup. is however to this effect: *τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὠρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ φθόρον ἐν Τανάγρα, τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐν Θεσπιάδῃ, τὴν ὕβριν ἐν Θήβαις, τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν Ἀνθηδόνῃ, τὴν περιεργίαν ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, τὸν πυρετὸν ἐν Ὀρχήστῃ, τὴν ἀναίσθησίαν ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ.*

⁴⁷ Βοιωτία ὅς, Pind. Ol. 6. 152; Boeckh. expl. 152; Fragm. 51. p. 584; Boeckh. Βοιωτίων οὗς Diogenian. 3. 46; comp. Etym. M. *ἐγκτήνες*, a name of the Bœotians, *διὰ τὸ κτηνώδεις εἶναι καὶ χοιρώδεις.*

⁴⁸ E. g. Demosth. de Coron. 237; ἀναλγησία, βαρύτης, 240; ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι, c. Lept. 490; Θηβαῖοι φρονούσιν ἐπ' ὀμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ.

⁴⁹ Strab. 10. 447.

⁵⁰ Dicæarch. ubi sup. 19.

The Dorians. If we are at any time authorised to reason back from subsequent modifications as to an original germ, it must be from the Spartans to the ancient Dorians. By so doing we recognise as the primitive characteristics of the Dorians, the properties of a sturdy mountain race, which, rude and brave, staunch and wary, faithful to its hereditary manners, and jealous of innovation, represented the healthful stem and trunk of the tree; whilst the ante-Doric Peloponnesians, with the exception of the Arcadians, can only be compared to the withered branches. Thus it is explained how the Doric principle, in many of the phenomena of domestic and political life, became predominant, and succeeded in establishing itself, beyond the limits of its own tribe, as the genuine Greek principle⁵¹; whilst other tribes, long passive, devoid of character, and without any determinate external marks of difference, were superseded by it. For that very reason it has originally no positive term of opposition; for the opposition of the Ionic element, as from the beginning a genuine and indigenous product, whose qualities are represented as liable to a similar estimation and designation in the ancient as the modern age, serves to cast a very perplexing light upon the subject; for by this means objects are opposed to each other, which in reality were to a certain extent only coexistent, and this is immediately applied to both races in a larger extent and universally, at the same time that, in fact, the strictly Doric principle can only be affirmed of Sparta and during a limited space of

⁵¹ Thus Plato, Laches, 148. D. calls the Doric harmony Greek by pre-eminence.

time, whilst the Ionic, of the same period, can only be understood in reference to the Asiatic Ionians. The opposition is in nowise suited to the ancient Athenians; and after the later Attic manners had become Ionic, Sparta could no longer lay claim to the noblest virtues of the Doric character—simplicity and truth⁵². Now if it should be carried so far as to regard the non-Doric and non-Ionic tribes as appertaining, by virtue of internal affinity, to one of these two masses, herein it is very easy to perceive an abuse of the authority of Thucydides. He beheld the whole of Greece, for the first time, divided into two opposite portions by means of two conflicting hegemonies, one the representative of the Doric, the other of the Ionic name; and saw, politically ranged under two parties, that which it is true was for the most part descended from a kindred stock, but had long ceased to retain any resemblance or affinity in manners and character—or was wholly distinct in origin and descent, but in consequence of political divisions stood side by side, so that by means of a division into two opposite parties of this description, the aggregate Grecian mind appeared to be comprised under these two terms of opposition. But if this classification had been made in conformity to the characteristic qualities of the individual states, the party division would most assuredly have had a very different result.

After these limitations of the inadmissible extension of the Doric and Ionic principles, and without reference to the question how far the individual

⁵² 'Ἀπλοῦν τι καὶ Δώριον καὶ ἀληθινόν. Plut. Lys. 5.

states of Doric and Ionic extraction may have been contemporaneous; or in what degree they may have respectively possessed the characteristics of their origin, it must be confessed, some very pointed contrasts may be drawn between them: for instance, the Dorians as a mountain race, the Ionians as a seafaring people; the former as strictly closed against access from without, the latter as open to the approach of the stranger; the former constant and steady, the latter unsettled and prone to innovation; hence the former during a longer period of time unalloyedly Grecian, the latter soon corrupted by foreign admixture⁵³. The more decidedly, therefore, and as it were the more pregnantly, the Doric character was stamped upon the external object, the more liable it was to be retained after its degeneration in individual instances. In fact, in spite of the last circumstance, the exterior of things everywhere preserved a certain general Doric colour, and the single states of the Doric race, without regard to the good or evil attending their development, have upon the whole more strongly-marked distinguishing features than the rest, which is perhaps to be attributed to the strength and decision of the original impression. This was augmented by the fact that the main tribes of the Dorians in their native land remained upon the continent; whereas the Ionians, as it were, singled out from the rest, grew independent on foreign ground, and by means of their early development, as concerned nationality, became a species of mother nation, which was, nevertheless,

⁵³ Comp. Müll. Dor. 2, 184. 366. 378. 389. 390. 403, sqq.

deficient in parental tenderness and solicitude for its offspring. Lastly, the Doric principle had a firm hold and support in Sparta, the dominant state of the mother country, where it had been developed to the most expressive and permanent forms.

The peculiarity of Sparta consisted in carrying the original peculiarities of the Doric character to an extreme; this very extreme distinguished it from such as were of a common origin with itself. The nature of Laconia was signally adapted to exaggerate the roughness of its inhabitants; and the legislation of Lycurgus developed itself, and operated retrospectively as a purely indigenous element. The spontaneous and natural qualities, which constitute character, were thereby thrown into the shade, and the better impulses made dependent upon the laws⁵⁴. Although the Spartans were not altogether insensible to certain moral impressions, and the love of music was conspicuous amongst them⁵⁵, still the susceptibility of that which penetrates to the inmost recesses of the heart, and the moral sentiment, was wholly wanting. The kindlier feelings still slumbered within them; the intellectual faculties had only unfolded themselves in certain leading directions. This imparted a nobler character to the feelings; but when they strive to clothe themselves in expressive and exalted words, we still discern a certain callousness and contempt for the genuine and unsophisticated features of the human character, a suspicious reserve towards the rest of the Greeks, a barbarous

⁵⁴ Sparta, *δαμασιβροτος*. Simonid. ap. Plut. Ages. 1.

⁵⁵ Thaletas and Terpander appeased an insurrection by singing. Plut. de Mus. 10. 699; Diod. Frag. 4. 37, Bipont.

degradation of their inferiors, vulgar scoffing, and malignant joy at the misfortunes of others⁵⁶. The inconsiderable advances they had made in civilisation are proved by their slowness to action, and their antiquated simplicity with its scruples. Their dexterity and skill were little else than bodily agility in athletic exercises. A long-continued adherence to prescriptive usages, which, to nearly the same extent, applies to the ancient Athenians, was fitted to produce both good and evil fruits, and as it was continued politically, it must be judged of politically. The Spartan was only bound to life by one description of tie, and this was easily broken: the contempt of death is the most marked feature in his character.

The political institutions of Crete were similar to those of Sparta: but the national character is stigmatised; treachery, mendacity, and sordid cupidity were its taints⁵⁷; no examples of nobler features can be adduced from the historical age; the accounts of the civil virtues and public education of Crete⁵⁸, are the wretched varnish of encomiastic declamation in aftertimes.

The Messenians lie without the range of strictly historical criticism; the land was less wild than Laconia; a milder character in the inhabitants is even implied by their proper names⁵⁹; nevertheless, poetry commemorates their magnanimous, but ineffectual struggle against their oppressor Sparta,

⁵⁶ See Herod. 6. 67, the shameful raillery of Leotychides at the expense of Demaratus.

⁵⁷ Polyb. 6. 46; 3. 47; Callim. Hymn. ad Jov. 8; and Spanheim. *Κρητίζειν*, Zenob. 4. 62.

⁵⁸ As Dosiadas ap. Athen. 4. 143, and even Ephor. ap. Strab. 10. 483.

⁵⁹ Comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 99. 100.

the impetuosity of Aristodemus, and the true heroism of Aristomenes.

Argolis was not calculated to produce or to maintain a similarity of character in its inhabitants. The Argives in particular, originally mixed with Ionians⁶⁰, proclaimed their Doric extraction in their taciturnity and brevity of expression⁶¹, their hereditary bravery, and taste for music⁶². The Phliasians, composed of ancient Achæans and Dorians, as well as the inhabitants of Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzen, and Halieis, sprung from Ionians and Dorians, are only remarkable for their unshaken adherence to Spartan-Doric aristocracy. In Sicyon, the cradle of the Dionysian festivals⁶³, and the birthplace of painting and sculpture⁶⁴, prevailed a cheerful and yielding disposition: a lively character distinguished Tiryns⁶⁵, which did not become free and independent of Argos till late. Ægina, the colony of Epidaurus, was very early distinguished by maritime enterprise, an indomitable spirit of liberty, and the love of plastic art⁶⁶.

Corinth, among the Doric states of the mother country, presents the greatest contrast to Sparta. Its local character, the intercourse of strangers, and its riches, early contributed to produce cor-

⁶⁰ Strab. 8. 374; comp. § 13. n. 40.

⁶¹ Æschyl. Suppl. 203, sqq. 276; Sophocl. Acris. ap. Stob. 74. 325; and Odyss. *μεινόμεν*: ap. Schol. Pind. Isth. 6. 87; *μῦθος γὰρ Ἀργολιστὶ συντέμνειν βραχύς*.

⁶² Herod. 3. 131; Müller, Dor. 2. 332. Their love of drinking belongs to a later age, Athen. 10. 442. D.; Æl. V. H. 3. 15; and the *Ἀργεῖοι φῶρες*, Vatic. Append. ii. 49; and Suidas. from Aristophan. Anagyros; likewise most probably the sycophantic *Ἀργεῖα φερά*. Diogenian. 2. 79.

⁶³ Herod. 5. 67; comp. Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 362, sqq.

⁶⁴ Plin. H. N. 35. 40; 36. 4.

⁶⁵ Theophr. ap. Ath. 6. 261. D. They are stigmatised as drunkards and cowards in Ath. 10. 442. D.; whether justly or not does not appear.

⁶⁶ Müller, Æginet. 68, sqq.

ruption of manners⁶⁷; but here, too, we find combined with great sagacity in practical inventions⁶⁸, a powerful impulse to navigation and the founding of states, although this was in some measure first called into action under the tyranny of the Cypselidæ.

Megara, lastly, was, in its good old times, like its parent town Corinth, most active in undertaking distant voyages and founding colonies⁶⁹; afterwards it became puffed up with the most ridiculous vanity⁷⁰. After the Persian wars, however, it is only exhibited in the Attic raillery, which was directed against the littleness of mind produced by its habits of trade, and penurious disposition⁷¹.

The aspect which the Grecian national character assumed upon foreign ground presents this singular phenomenon in the history of mankind, that the Greeks bore with them from their mother country to the most remote settlements, a system which was so matured and dependent upon its own roots for strength and sustenance, that its peculiar impress did not become effaced in the midst of barbarians till after the universal destruction of Grecian independence; at the same time the language and manners of Greece universally pervaded the land of the barbarians, and the former became the general language of the east after the

⁶⁷ Strab. 8. 378; Athen. 13. 573; Plato, de Repub. 3. 404; Diodor. Fragm. 4. 14, Bipont.

⁶⁸ See on the subject of these Boeckh, explicat. Pind. 215.

⁶⁹ *Ἰβρις*, in Theognis, is in nowise conclusive, but the *παλινοκία*, and the *ἀμαξοκυλισταί*, Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 183. 213, prove it.

⁷⁰ See Theocr. 14. 48, and in the Schol. the enquiry on the part of the Megarians as to their rank, comp. Photius, *Ἵμεῖς ὦ Μεγαροί*. However, according to Zenob. 1. 48, Diogen. 1. 47, and Suidas, *Αἰγυῖς*, the Ægians received the response, but it seems very questionable.

⁷¹ Ps. Demosth. c. Near. 1357. 8; comp. Dem. c. Aristocr. 691. 4. *Μεγαρικά μηχανά*, Aristoph. Acharn. 738.

Greeks themselves had become subject to foreign despots. But the influence of the physical character of new regions called various new faculties into existence. The Greeks appropriated to themselves the most fertile tracts of country on the Mediterranean and the Pontus, the territory of Carthage only excepted; the greatest part of these regions were blest by nature with fertility and abundance, replete with the inducements to physical enjoyment, amply remunerative of industry, and signally calculated to diminish it by superfluity. But the ocean became their favourite element, and the new states, judiciously availing themselves of the local advantages presented to them, all founded on islands or coasts where strips of land facilitated fortification on the inland side, and sheltered bays and havens rendered the sea secure and inviting, raised themselves, almost without exception, to maritime trade, and in some instances to maritime supremacy. This diminished the necessity of obtaining provisions from the immediately adjacent districts; their course lay over the waves, the eye was averted from the interior of countries and the barbarians who dwelt there. Against these they were chiefly secured by the separation which had long prevailed among them, and which afterwards generally led to the rise of powerful states, when the Greeks had long attained maturity, and in many instances had outlived it. Where force was unavailing, the art of rendering themselves beloved and respected by their neighbours enabled them to obtain admittance amongst them. The contact with barbarian manners and its influence could not indeed be avoided. The Grecian settlements were,

it is true, exceedingly numerous; but the continuity of the land territory was almost everywhere kept up by narrow strips of sea-coast alone, or was altogether wanting; that alone served to render the natural bond amongst these states without the mother country an extremely loose one; add to this, that the long continuance of peaceable intercourse with their neighbours, and the absence of aggression from active and warlike enemies did not allow a firm and faithful observance of native manners and customs, or a marked contrast to those of foreign countries to operate in their full force. In the interior of the new transmarine states, national life grew in very few from a simple germ, as the population of the greater part of them was a mixed one from their earliest foundation, or, at all events, became so through the emigrants who arrived afterwards. Now although these manifold ingredients were all of Grecian blood, still the peculiarity of a particular tribe could not maintain itself in its former purity and exclusion. On that account, under a general Grecian surface, we behold deviations both from the characteristics of those members of a tribe who had remained in the mother country, and even more or less an approximation to the barbarian character, which, for the most part, occurred more rapidly than changes of a similar description in the parent country. Here, likewise, we are only enabled to glance at the chief phenomena.

The inhabitants of the Cyclades, in their aspiring and youthful nature, displayed no less cheerfulness and vivacity than energy of character. Surrounded by the most seductive attractions of nature, they

advanced for a long time upon the right path, fostering and augmenting strength with a wise measure of enjoyment, but cautiously avoiding the pernicious effects of excess⁷². The Ionians at first display considerable activity and enterprise; the rough inhabitants of Colophon were bold horsemen⁷³; the Milesians intrepid and manly⁷⁴, and, as has been already remarked, they exhibited great alacrity in traffic, navigation, and the establishment of colonies; the Chians powerful by sea⁷⁵, as well as the Samians, who were bold sailors, and extended their voyages to the pillars of Hercules⁷⁶. However, the Ionians, at their very first establishment, had been debased, by foreign alloy, from their union with the wives of the former inhabitants of the country⁷⁷; both dress⁷⁸ and language underwent a change; the latter probably originally possessed the fundamental forms correspondent to its subsequent softness, and they can hardly at any time have been so thin as the Attic. Nature exercised her siren power upon them: herein she was aided by the voluptuous neighbours of the Greeks, especially the Lydians⁷⁹, and the Ionians might then, as afterwards, be justly described as distinguished by enervating luxury⁸⁰, the softest beds⁸¹, and the

⁷² Σιφνιάζειν, Phot. The vices ascribed to Leros (Strab. 10. 487,) etc. must probably be referred to a later age.

⁷³ Σκληροί, Phylarch. ap. Ath. 12. 526. A. See on this point Mimnermus ap. Stob. 7. 87, Orl. ed.

⁷⁴ Πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἀλκιμοὶ Μιλήσιοι, a proverb in Ath. 12. 525; Zenob. 5. 80. ⁷⁵ Strab. 14. 645; Herod. 6. 15; 16. 26, sqq.

⁷⁶ Herod. 4. 152. ⁷⁷ Herod. 1. 146.

⁷⁸ Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες, Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 147. On the flowing robes of the Samians, see Asius ap. Ath. 12. 525. F.

⁷⁹ Athen. 12. 525. 526.

⁸⁰ Ἰωνικὸν τρυφερόν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐκωμωδοῦντο οἱ Ἴωνες, Hesych. Ἰωνικόν· ἡ τρυφερά καὶ καλλιτράπεζος Ἰωνία Athen. 12. 524, F; γέλως Ἰωνικός, Vatican. append. i. 45; comp. Ath. 14. 623, and Heracl. Pont. ibid. 625. B; Aristoph. Thesm. 170, and Schol. Eccles. 913, etc.; Callinus

most fragrant ointments⁸². Colophon is said to have been the first to degenerate⁸³; but it is highly probable that Ephesus was still sooner the seat of Asiatic licentiousness⁸⁴, which revelled⁸⁵ to such a degree there, as to generate a spirit of hostility to such as were uncorrupted⁸⁶. The Milesians, who were easily inflamed⁸⁷, and whose folly is not to be attributed to a want of judgment, sunk into the most enervating effeminacy⁸⁸; Chios was the first amongst the Greek states to carry on the slave trade⁸⁹, and afterwards deserved obloquy by delivering up Pactyes from his asylum⁹⁰; however, even in the midst of corruption it still retained its activity⁹¹; Samos was called the "soft"⁹², in consequence of its effeminate manners.

The course of development amongst the Æolians of Asia, composed of old Achæans, and Bœotian and Thessalian Æolians was similar. Cuma, indeed, displayed, during ages, the same unsuspecting and artless character⁹³ as the Achæans of the Peloponnesian north coast; but Lesbos sunk into the most degrading voluptuousness; the nature of the country rendered the inhabitants its slaves;

(Olymp. 1.) censures the corruption which even in his time began to characterise them. See Stobæus, cap. 49. 355, ed. Aurel.

⁸¹ On Miletus and Chios, Critias ap. Ath. 1. 28. B.

⁸² Concerning Ephesus, Ath. 15. 689. A.

⁸³ Ath. 12. 526. A. sqq.

⁸⁴ According to the Etym. M. and Suidas, Δαυρίς was a Lydian shopkeeper in the city at the time of its first occupation, and from him it derived its name(?).

⁸⁵ Ath. 12. 525. C. sqq.

⁸⁶ Their declaration at the expulsion of Hermodorus, ἡμέων μηδεὶς ὀνήϊστος ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἄλλων, Strab. 14. 642, can, however, scarcely be considered a real decree. Heraclitus said they all deserved to be hanged for it. Diog. Laert. 9. 2.

⁸⁷ Heracl. ap. Ath. 14. 625. B; comp. 442. B.

⁸⁸ See Rambach de Mileto, p. 21. 22.

⁸⁹ Athen. 6. 265. 266.

⁹⁰ Herod. 1. 154; Paus. 4. 35. 6.

⁹¹ Aristoph. Ran. 171; Athen. 1. 25. F.

⁹² Ἀβρά, see Ath. 12. 526. E. sqq.; 540. 541; Panofka res Sam. 77-80.

⁹³ Strab. 13. 622.

lust and drunkenness held them in bonds⁹⁴. The corruption spread still farther northward. It is probable that it is not only afterwards that Abydos merited severe censure⁹⁵.

Rhodes alone shines forth from the darkness which envelops the Doric colonies in the east, and exhibits some illustrious names⁹⁶; the composed seriousness⁹⁷ which was, till a late era, commended in the people, justifies us in assuming that its Doric character had, in the main features, sustained no change. Iassus⁹⁸ resembled it. From the want of records we are unable to form an estimate of the Minyan-Doric Thera; its daughter-state, Cyrene, was at a very early date corrupted by Libyan-Egyptian influence⁹⁹; the art of chariot-driving¹⁰⁰ is the solitary excellence attributed to the Cyrenæans.

It was long before any of the towns on the coast of Thrace distinguished themselves by marked peculiarities. Abdera and Maronea had the reputation of being simple¹⁰¹, like Cuma; Byzantium was said to be corrupted by the spirit of trade¹⁰², like Corinth. But all enquiries relative to the Grecian political system in the Pontic states, as well as their own in its subsequent degeneracy, are fruitless.

On the other hand, the west exhibits, in striking

⁹⁴ Athen. 10. 438. 442. The law of Pittacus, which annexed a double penalty to such crimes as were committed in a state of intoxication, gives us an insight into their character, Aristot. Ethic. Nic. 3. 9. 8; Rhet. 1. 2. 25; Polit. 2. 9. 9.

⁹⁵ See Ath. 12. 524. F; comp. Steph. Byz. *Ἀβυδοί*, Zenob. 1. 1.

⁹⁶ The Diagorids. Pind. Ol. 7; Boeckh, expl. Pind. 165, sqq.

⁹⁷ Dion. Chrys. 1. 359. 377. R. ed.

⁹⁸ Heracl. Pont. 39; Boeckh, Minos, 55.

⁹⁹ See Thirge, Hist. Cyrenes, 268. 269.

¹⁰⁰ Ephor. ap. Steph. Byz. *Βουρία*; comp. *Βάρκη*.

¹⁰¹ Ps. Demosth. de Pact. Alexand. 218; *ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀβδηρίταις ἢ Μαρωνίταις πολιτευόμενοι*.

¹⁰² Aristot. Pol. 3. 4. 1; Damon. ap. Ath. 10. 442. C.

colours, the expansion of youthful vigour, combined with fearlessness and audacity; in these states, too, as in Ionia and Æolis, we recognise, in the early tendency to the unbridled enjoyments of the senses, a precocity that outstripped the mother-country, and they may be compared to a scion of the mother-stem transplanted into a hothouse, which attains maturity and withers before its time. Corcyra soon became familiar with the sea, and grew powerful upon it, haughtily bidding defiance to its parent city, Corinth¹⁰³; nor can a very favourable opinion be entertained of the manners of the early age; a turbulent, faithless¹⁰⁴, and seditious character eventually proved its destruction. Syracuse inspires as little respect as Corcyra; the Syracusan table passed into a proverb¹⁰⁵; but the combination of the Corinthian character with that of the ingenious and wily Sicilian, produced a certain racy vivacity¹⁰⁶, which afterwards caused the Syracusans to be compared to the Athenians¹⁰⁷. In Agrigentum nothing more is to be discerned in the old records than the character of the tyranny. In later times the stigma of drunkenness rests upon Leontini¹⁰⁸. Sybaris, branded in history for its licentious debauchery¹⁰⁹, although its name may have been frequently misapplied, and it is necessary to sift truth from falsehood¹¹⁰, will ever be a memorial to prove, that innocence and purity, unless accompanied by strength, are of no avail against the fascinations of

¹⁰³ Thucyd. 1. 97.

¹⁰⁴ *Δίχα θυμὸν ἔχουσι*, Hermipp. ap. Ath. 1. 27. F.

¹⁰⁵ Zenob. 5. 74. ¹⁰⁶ Cic. c. Verr. 2. 4. 43.

¹⁰⁷ Thucyd. 8. 96. ¹⁰⁸ Diogenian. 2. 50.

¹⁰⁹ Athen. 12. 518. C. sqq.; comp. Blanchard, sur les Sybarites, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. ix.

¹¹⁰ Heyne, Opusc. 2. 131.

pleasure—to such a degree could Achæans degenerate! On the contrary, Crotona, descended from the same tribe, rose through the efforts of Pythagoras, for a certain space of time, to virtue and honour, and never shared the errors of Sybaris. Tarentum, too, seems, for a time, to have resisted the temptations of its voluptuous climate; however, an original dereliction of Laconian austerity is, perhaps, to be traced to the character of its founders, the Parthenians, whom the *Mythus* has misrepresented. Locri and Rhegium, governed by good laws, long respected, honest citizenship, the Rhegians are most unjustly taxed with cowardice, which imputation has been cast upon them by the malice of the elder Dionysius¹¹¹. Cuma and Naples were very early exposed to danger from the vicinity of rude neighbours. The embassy of the Cumæans to the Roman senate, for permission to make use of the Latin language in public debates and proclamations¹¹², although late, still took place too soon. Naples remained Grecian for a longer period of time¹¹³. Massilia, finally, little acquainted or connected by friendly relations with the rest of the Greeks, and very early in intercourse with Rome, is nevertheless recorded as having been constant to Grecian manners¹¹⁴, attached to civil order¹¹⁵, industrious and noble-minded¹¹⁶, whilst no Ionic state presents a picture of equal stability.

¹¹¹ Photius, 'Πηγίον'; Hesych. and Suid. 'Πηγίον' and Λάγωας; comp. Zenob. 4. 85; 5. 83; Diogenian. 7. 97. ¹¹² Liv. 40. 42.

¹¹³ Strab. 5. 248.

¹¹⁴ Liv. 37. 54.

¹¹⁵ Comp. Johannsen, veter. Massil. res 72, sqq.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, 42, sqq.

CONSTITUTIONS AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

THE HEROIC AGE.

I. RISE OF THE GRECIAN STATES. THE VARIOUS CLASSES: CITIZENS, SLAVES, ALIENS— NOBLES—AND COMMON FREEMEN.

§ 16. In an account of the political constitutions of the heroic age, it is indispensably necessary to institute an enquiry into the commencement of Grecian political life in general, and to ascertain whether the oldest Grecian states were the offspring of natural necessity, existing without the instrumentality of a creative idea, or whether they resulted from preconceived design and self-conscious and systematic agency. The notion, that the earliest political communities in general had been associated after a previous compact on the part of their members, long found zealous supporters; it must likewise be acknowledged, that the absence of consciousness which marked the proceedings of the primitive inhabitants of the earth must very soon have ceased: nevertheless to

assume an agreement with a view to political society, before the commencement and trial of the same, is nearly tantamount to the proposition of Lord Monboddo, which affirms, that language was the result of an agreement entered into for the purpose of calling it into existence.

On the other hand, when the notion of the instinctiveness of a life of nature is properly limited, it may be called a dependence of the primitive inhabitants of the earth, upon the conditions and dispensations of nature; a state, though not divested of reflection, still incapable of carrying into execution the results of pure speculation, wherein, however, the incipient operation of intelligence and design is perceptible in the early attempt to observe certain uniform phenomena in a diversity of cases, and to draw from the same a rule and standard of prescription, which might enable them to pursue a sure course amidst the endless vicissitudes of human affairs; hence, the assertion of Aristotle, that the state arose out of a gradually extending family, of which it is the transcript¹, will be found generally accurate, and especially applicable to the origin of the Grecian states. A condition similar to that of families, and not tending to political union, in which each father of a family governed his children alone, without standing in intimate connection with the neighbouring circles, is ascribed by Homer to the Cyclops²; but that the Grecian states were developed from family unions, is attested by the political form of those unions which existed till a very late age in several provinces of Greece,

¹ Polit. 1. 1. 7.

² Od. 9. 112, sqq.; comp. Aristot. ubi sup.

and are even mentioned by Homer³, as well as by corresponding illustrations of the same by approved investigators of antiquity⁴. Their natural source therefore was a participation in the growing political unions formed by the confederation of families, with which was very soon combined the joint performance of sacrifices as an intimate tie of another description. But the development of this infancy of things to the point where the characteristics of the state begin to appear manifestly could not take place, without various modifications arising from external contact and admixture. For that, together with the natural-born member of the union, the stranger also attained his fixed sphere and rights by means of naturalisation, is clearly implied in the legends of migrations, marriages, and adoptions of the heroes; whilst in the march of development the aggregation of unions, which had already become extended into tribes, led to the formation of a league, or a still more closely cemented union, a political society properly so called.

The notion of citizenship at first only existed so far, as the condition of aliens and domestic slaves was its negative; at this stage the nobility and the lower class of people alone attract attention as essentially distinct ingredients of the union, and as subject to different laws. How early a difference arose in personal rank, history does not inform us; that it originated from circumstances and not through compact, is self-evident. The poetic legend recounts no rising of the nobles out of the

³ Il. 2. 362. 363.: κῆν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον, κ. τ. λ.

⁴ See Appendix vii.

mass; it forges links between the heroic and the divine races; but between the heroes and the populace, it interposes a chasm which forbids them to commingle.

A politically recognised rank in the common freemen, and legal rights in an individual of the lower order, flowing from and guaranteed by it, are notions unknown to the poetry of heroic antiquity (*); he whom the circle of the heroic nobility did not comprehend within it, occupied an intermediate station between wavering and not legally-guaranteed independence and cliental servitude. The aggregate mass of the lower order was attached to the nobility, who were supported and raised by it to heroic life and action. A primitive mark of distinction was that the nobility resided in the citadel, and the lower class in the country; hence their denomination *Demus*⁵, still this *demus* was not expressly deprived of a legal station, and the infancy of citizenship is specifically exhibited in its participating in the public administration of justice⁶, which may at least be assumed in matters of litigation between those of equal rank, as well as in its presence at the public assembly as a body of armed warriors⁷.

Thereby a line of demarcation was drawn between the mere citizen, and slaves and foreigners. The first, either prisoners of war⁸, or purchased from kidnappers⁹; in both cases Greeks, as well as barbarians, pertained to the domestic economy

[* See Appendix iv. Trans.]

⁵ See Append. viii.

⁷ *Λαοί*, *ibid.* See Append. viii.

⁸ Hom. Od. 1. 398. *Δμῶς*, *δμῶς*, *δμῶή* from *δαμάω*.

⁹ Od. 1. 430; 15. 482.

⁶ Hom. Il. 18. 497.

of individuals¹⁰, and but few appear to have been affected by slavery¹¹, as a state of misery brought about by violent means; it was confined to them as individuals; its propagation, by means of marriages amongst the slaves, was at least not regular¹²; but the reduction of earlier races to a state of bondage, as was afterwards the case with the *Penestæ* and the *Helots*, cannot be proved with any certainty; however the inhabitants of those places which the *Atridæ* seem to designate as their private property, might serve as examples¹³.

Slaves of war were manumitted in consideration of a ransom¹⁴; the naturalisation of such as were enfranchised, and did not return to their country, is not recorded in the nature of an expressly defined relation¹⁵.

The law of aliens¹⁶ was defined with tolerable accuracy. Emigrants indeed were little esteemed in general¹⁷, and not accounted partakers of legal rights out of their own country; still, by virtue of the divine law, protection was extended to them, and especially to such as stood in need of assistance. For in general, although the robberies which were so frequently committed¹⁸ might have excited suspicion, and a notion that it was expedient to treat every stranger as an enemy,

¹⁰ *Δμῶες μάλα μυριοί*, Od. 17. 422.

¹¹ *Ἡμῖν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς, ἀποαίνονται εὐρύσσεια Ζεύς*, κ. τ. λ. Od. 17. 322.

¹² Enfranchised slaves seem to have been allowed to marry, Od. 14. 64; 21. 214.

¹³ Hom. Il. 9. 149; Od. 4. 175.

¹⁴ *Ἀποινα*, Il. 1. 13; 10. 380.

¹⁵ Od. 21. 215. Ulysses wishes to make the shepherds associates of *Tele-machus*.

¹⁶ This refers to those strangers only, *ξένοι*, with whom no treaties of hospitality had been entered into.

¹⁷ — *ἀτίμητον μετανάστην*, Il. 9. 644; 16. 59; comp. Tittmann, *gr. Staatsv.* 645.

¹⁸ See the question in the Od. 3. 73; 9. 252. whether the unknown is a pirate?

personal security was so far recognised and established within the territories of states, that every foreigner who presented himself in a peaceful manner was regarded as entitled to the hospitality of bed and board¹⁹, and the protection by which it was accompanied²⁰. This was secured upon the public faith²¹, as both the royal citadel afforded the guarantee of the state to the stranger who found a reception in it, besides which shelter²² and accommodation²³ were provided publicly; and these were most probably claimed by the following persons in addition to the heroes, viz., foreign workmen²⁴, soothsayers expressly summoned, priests, artists, and physicians²⁵, and lastly heralds²⁶, who, as such, were already regarded as within the pale of protection. Merchants²⁷ and beggars²⁸ traversed the country alike exempt from danger. Hospitality was finally exhibited in its greatest force in the treatment of those who, strictly speaking, were a kind of outlaws, fugitives from their country, and the victims of persecution, when they became suppliants for help²⁹. They were supposed to be under the especial care of Zeus during their flights³⁰, as well as when imploring protec-

¹⁹ Od. 4. 26, sqq.

²⁰ Il. 9. 636; 21. 76; Od. 8. 208; compare on ἄλλες and τραπέζαι, Demosth. de fals. Legat. 400. 6; and Æschin. in Ctesiph. 616. R. ed. Concerning the impiety of Hercules, who slew his guest Iphitus, and his atonement, see Od. 21. 27, sqq.; Diod. 4. 31; Plut. Thes. 6.

²¹ Od. 1. 119; 3. 34; 19. 197.

²² In the λίσχη, Od. 18. 328, or ἐν χαλκῇ δόμῳ, 327.

²³ Od. 19. 197; δημόθεν ἄλφειτα δῶκα καὶ αἰθοπα οἶνον ἀγείρας.

²⁴ Θῆτες, Od. 4. 644; 18. 356; Il. 21. 444.

²⁵ Od. 17. 383—385. ²⁶ Od. 19. 135.

²⁷ Od. 15. 414.

²⁸ Od. 6. 207; 14. 58.

²⁹ ἱκίται.

³⁰ Ζεὺς φύξιος, Apollod. 1. 9. 1; λαφύστιος, amongst the Boeotian Orchomenians, Paus. 1. 24. 2; Schol. Apollon. Rh. 2. 656; 4. 699; Tzetz. Lycophr. 288; comp. Müller, Orch. 164.

tion³¹; extradition was never thought of³²; regular sanctuaries, however, appear to belong to a later age.

The members of the aristocracy were either designated the old³³, or the pre-eminent³⁴, the best³⁵. In considering the various significations of the word *Heros*³⁶, our attention must be directed to the two extremes of the scale. In its most exalted meaning, the hero derives his origin from Olympus, or is received into it upon the completion of his earthly career; in the earthly sense, every one is a hero who, in any respect whatever, rises above the multitude, for instance, the herald³⁷. From this less exalted notion, which bore no reference to political law, flowed the still more comprehensive one of Hesiod³⁸, which comprises the whole human race of the olden time. The first and nobler signification is associated with the political conception of an aristocratic body. Like the hero thus described, that order was totally separated from the lower class of people; the principle of nobility, the exclusive character of the noble families was most rigorously developed. However this distinction of ranks, which in its principal features was solely directed to purity of race and external honour, can by no means be regarded as a caste-like constitution of the Indian or Egyptian

³¹ Ζεὺς ἱκετήσιος, Od. 13. 213; comp. 7. 165. 181; 9. 270.

³² Concerning the Heracleids in Athens, see Pherecyd. ap. Anton. Lib. 33; Sturz. 184. new ed.; Apoll. 2. 8. 1.

³³ Γέροντες, Il. 9. 570; 18. 503; Δημογέροντες, 3. 149; but 2. 789; πάντες ὁμηγέριες, ἡμὲν νέοι, ἡδὲ γέροντες.

³⁴ Il. 2. 188, ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κειρίη.

³⁵ Ἀριστῆες, Od. 6. 34.

³⁶ See the comprehensive investigation in Creuzer's Symb. 3. 1, sqq.

³⁷ Od. 18. 424; comp. 15. 350, συμβῶτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, 14. 3, et passim, διὸς ὑφορβός.

³⁸ Op. et Dies. 155, sqq.

kind, which does not turn upon mere nobility or baseness of blood, but involves a separation in the other circumstances of life. This is in nowise applicable to the ancient Grecian orders. The names of the older Attic Phylæ, it is true, seem to indicate a separation in the priesthood, the military body, and the trades: still careful investigation would doubtless prove that the Attic political order of rank did not resemble that of castes³⁹. But Plato's remark, that priests and warriors had once been separate⁴⁰, cannot be understood in reference to the heroic states. In these the high-priesthood was associated with the princely office⁴¹, which had a warlike character. The seers Tiresias and Calchas are separated from the warriors it is true; but this is chiefly to be attributed to the notion the ancients entertained of the prophetic faculty, which distinguished the person in whom it resided from the rest of the people, and was, therefore, transmitted by regular succession in his family⁴²; that this led to no separation of classes is proved in the instance of the soothsayer Melampus, who became king, and of Amphiaraus, who went to the war as a hero mounted on his chariot⁴³. Thus the assumption that sacerdotal families, in which certain worships were hereditary⁴⁴, were not heroic, falls to the ground; and finally, if the priests attached to the direction of certain worships had a peculiar rank in the state, and especial sanctity

³⁹ See § 43 and 44.

⁴⁰ Tim. 24. A.; Critias, 110. C.

⁴¹ The chief passage is Od. 15. 224, sqq.

⁴² The earliest testimony extant is Odyss. ubi sup. Comp. the important passage, Strab. 16. 762.

⁴³ *Θυσίαι ἑρπυκῆαι*, Arist. p. 3. 9. 7; 6. 5. 11.

⁴⁴ Aristot. Pol. 3. 9. 7.

and inviolability pertained to them⁴⁵, this must be explained from the dignity of the office, and the fact that it was generally administered by such as were too old for the service of arms. Moreover, warriors and husbandmen were not separated; the warriors at Troy were landholders in their own country⁴⁶; the particular kind of service they performed, was the only distinction between the nobility and the commonalty. Finally, ingenuity and art, like the divinatory faculty, the personal endowments of individuals, and frequently found transmitted from generation to generation in their families, even in the historical age, were by no means the possession of a particular caste in the state. At that time artists and workmen went into foreign countries in pursuit of gain, and were on that account generally distinguished among the inhabitants of the state, in which they took up their temporary residence by the homeless character assigned to them⁴⁷.

II. THE PRINCELY OFFICE.

§ 17. The fundamental distinction between nobles and princes was that of plurality and unity; there could be but one prince, but several nobles in the state. In the political camp before the walls of Troy, the heroes, for the most part sovereign princes at home, stood towards Agamemnon in the relation of an aristocracy¹. Although in the Odyssey² we find princely birth ascribed to

⁴⁵ The Ætolian nobility send the best priests as ambassadors to Meleager. Il. 9. 570.

⁴⁶ Il. 24. 398.

⁴⁷ See n. 25.

¹ Ἀργείων βασιλῆες, ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλὴν. Il. 10. 195.

² Od. 6. 34.

several noble families in the state of the Phæacians, it was, nevertheless, the most prevalent notion of antiquity, that the nature and unity of the state exclusively depended upon the authority of one prince; therefore there were as many states as there were princes. Hence the monarchical appears as the prevailing principle, in investigating which, we shall first direct our attention to the princely dignity, without regard to the extent of the powers of government.

The unity of the monarchy had naturally developed itself as a recognised principle from the condition of families; the authority and the power of the head of the family were continued in those unions which were gradually matured for political society³. But it is manifest that the principle of affinity, as the original fountain from which the head of the family derived his authority, whilst the distance from the root was constantly increasing, could not remain its sole support; nor could any thing like a presidency in the person of the patriarch of the tribe continue to be the established form of government. This presidency and princely dignity, influenced by various external circumstances, proceeded from the feeling of necessity for a supreme fountain of order and security⁴, and the willingness to confide in the direction of a guide. Now of whatever description may have been those qualities, which in ancient Greece originally conferred princely authority, the wisdom of age, which was so efficacious in pacifying and uniting the turbulent

³ Aristot. Pol. 1. 1. 7.

⁴ Plut. Pelop. 24; ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὡς εἶκε, καὶ κυριώτατος νόμος τῷ σώζεσθαι δεομένῳ, τὸν σώζειν δυνάμενον ἄρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδίδωσι.

sons of nature⁵, suavity of speech, the heroic strength of youth, beauty⁶, riches, beneficence⁷, or, in one word, according to the expression of Aristotle, excellence⁸, it is certain that one uniform light is thrown upon the princes by the heroic chivalry. A glance at the above described nationality of the Pelasgians, leads us to suppose that a condition similar to that of families, and the peaceful authority of elders, prevailed amongst them. Another state of things arose with the Hellenic chivalric and contentious military chiefs, and this may be compared to the departure of the youth as soon as he is capable of bearing arms. Herewith individuals began to occupy a higher place in the scale of importance in feuds, predatory expeditions, and adventures, especially when chariots began to be employed in battle. From this arose the princely dignity of the heroic times, in a form the more decided the longer the integrity of the family-principle,—the unity of the governing person had already maintained itself during the Pelasgic life of nature. However, in order that the transition may not appear abrupt, it may be necessary to extend our periods here, and the hero who, in the mythical poetry, suddenly emerges from the night of obscurity, must be imagined as the descendant of a long line of forefathers, who passed away without the glory of chivalry. The erection of a citadel may have occasionally marked the com-

⁵ Herod. 1. 69; Strab. 9. 415; Cic. de Offic. 2. 12; De Repub. L. 4. p. 297. Stuttg.; de Legg. 3. 2; and Davis, *ibid.*

⁶ Aristot. Pol. 1. 2. 15; compare the Arcadian tradition in Pausan. 8. 1. 2; μεγέθει μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ἀλκὴν καὶ κάλλος προΐρεν ὁ Πελασγὸς καὶ γνῶμην ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦν, καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα αἰρεθῆναι μοι δοκεῖ βασιλεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, and Diodor. 3. 9. on the Ethiopians.

⁷ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 5.

⁸ Ἀρετή, Pol. 3. 10. 7.

mencement of the heroic monarchy; this was the case in the Trojan annals⁹; thus Herodotus states the building of the citadel of Ecbatana, and the foundation of the monarchy to have been contemporaneous. The history of the Hohenstaufen commences nearly in the same manner.

It has been already observed that the authority of these heroic princes was purely monarchical; every Grecian tradition relating to the origin of a state, begins with the unity of a political head; the equality of several in the state was only found in the class below the princely rank; treaties of amity or commerce between several chiefs, themselves formed nothing but a confederation, an *amphictyony*, but not a state. The forcible association of various tribes into a military alliance, under one chieftain, was by no means an unfrequent occurrence. The successive government of the elders of the tribe, which the hymn to Demeter represents as subsisting in Eleusis, is probably to be regarded as a transposition into the heroic age, from the period in which monarchies declined, and the *prytanes* arose.

Unity of the princely dignity is, in the heroic poetry, associated with the family nobility of the princes, transmitted by hereditary succession.

The hereditary principle, by virtue of its natural germ in the early practice of the oldest communities, to regard the merit of an illustrious commander as descendible to his posterity, had taken its rise, and established itself too early to allow us

⁹ Hom. Il. 20. 216; compare Plato. de Legg. 3. 681. E.

¹⁰ Herod. 1. 98.

¹¹ 97. 150—155. 473, sqq.

¹² Hence the *εὐχομαι εἶναι*, see in particular Odyss. 21. 335; *αἶματος εἰς ἀγαθοῖο*, Odyss. 4. 611.

to determine its origin with any degree of accuracy. In the heroic poetry, an examination of the claims to princely birth, like the legitimacy of the present day, prevails as public opinion; little importance was attached to its origin; the remembrance of the time previous to its lustre and glory is lost in the darkness of distance. The class of the hero-princes consequently appears as totally closed against the lower orders, as at its origin far above them. This origin was connected with Olympus; the progenitors of the princes were pictured as the sons of gods, and the princely history represented as having its roots in consanguinity with the divine race, so that no new prince could be created on this side of the boundary line, at which this mixture of gods and men terminated. This being referred to the commencement of the national history, a son of one of the gods was fixed upon as the founder of the state¹³, and a people was in various modes assigned to him, which existed solely and exclusively for his sake. From the supposed descent of the princes from the divine race, those personal qualities which were considered essential to their origin, such as strength, beauty¹⁴, and stature¹⁵, were attributed to them; and thus, upon the relationship with the gods, was

¹³ Comp. § 12. n. 20. Pausanias says, with some degree of naïveté, 8. 1. 12, Pelasgus could not have been created *alone* without a people, could he?

¹⁴ Athen. 13. 566. C., τὸ κάλλος βασιλείας οἰκείον ἐστίν. That is, why the infamous Ægisthus might still be called *ἀνύμων*, Od. 1. 29. In the purely heroic spirit, and probably with the same degree of truth, Pindar assigns beauty to the victors in the games, as Ol. 6. 128. Pagano Saggi, 2. 36, explains it thus; "the vigorous youths bore away the fairest virgins; the least beautiful amongst the young women were compelled to mix with the common people." Finally, is *Καλῶς βασιλεύς*, Hesych. to be explained from this circumstance?

¹⁵ This may be gathered even from the legends concerning relics. See on the subject of Orestes' coffin, Herod. 1. 68; that of Ajax, Pausan. 1. 85. 3.

established an element that served to ennoble the body. Hence personal strength and stateliness were accounted essential requisites for the princely office, and on that account Neleus refused to acknowledge his lame brother Medon as king¹⁶, which is, however, to be explained from a custom which prevailed within the princely circle itself, not from the operation of anything like an elective power in the people. An analogous notion is that which, in addition to counsel, required strength in action, thus associating authority with heroic strength, and leaving decrepit old age to be neglected and forgotten; for this reason, the shade of Achilles enquires, if the OLD MAN Peleus was less honoured¹⁷, and therefore Achilles in his lifetime is considered as the prince of the Myrmidons¹⁸; this is why Hector is a more prominent figure than Priam; and Nestor, who is still capable of bearing arms, is held up to admiration as an extraordinary aged prince, whereas Laertes lives despised in the country¹⁹; and hence, finally, superannuated fathers relinquished the management of their household affairs, and became dependent upon their sons for support.

There existed no fixed or uniform standard to regulate succession to the throne; it occasionally depended on primogeniture²¹, but we find more

¹⁶ Paus. 7. 2. 1; comp. on Agesilaus, Plut. Ages. 3. Hence the tradition never omits to state when a prince was deformed. See Heracl. Pont. Frag. 5. and 7. In the same manner the German king was obliged to be free from bodily defects, and the ancient priests ἀφελείς.

¹⁷ Odyss. 11. 495.

¹⁸ Il. 1. 186; comp. Eurip. Androm. 21. 22.

¹⁹ Odyss. 1. 190.

²⁰ Θρέπτρα, Il. 4. 477; θρεπτήρια, Hesiod. Op. et Di. 185.

²¹ Paus. 4. 1. 2; Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερος ἦν ἡλικία καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ιδιώτης. Comp. Herod. 7. 2, concerning the universality of the right of primogeniture.

frequent examples of partition²², or alternate government, as in the case of Eteocles and Polynices, but never of joint government. The crown likewise descended in the female line, as in the case of Helen, but none but children born in wedlock were accounted legitimate, and monogamy alone was customary. Orestes followed Menelaus to Sparta, because the latter had no other children than such as were born of slaves²³. In the acquisition of a lordship by marriage²⁴, or the attainment of the same, as a reward for some great service rendered to the state, through presentation by the ruler of the district²⁵, or, with a species of regeneration of the original principle, through the invitation of a public benefactor to a vacant throne²⁶, it was a tacit condition that none but those of princely birth were eligible, as, for instance, when martial games were appointed for aspirants to the hand of a prince's daughter²⁷.

By reason of their descent and their personal bravery, the princes were revered like beings of a superior order²⁸, and in token of this feeling they received honorary gifts²⁹, especially such as consisted of the spoils of war³⁰, and were offered for their decisions in judicial matters³¹, and these sub-

²² Apollod. 3. 9. 1; 15. 1, etc. Compare on the partition of property, Odyss. 14. 208, sqq.

²³ Pausan. 2. 18. 5.

²⁴ e. g. Menelaus, Pelops.

²⁵ Neleus, Melanthus.

²⁶ Œdipus, Atreus. Thucydides, in his democratic mode of viewing things, states that the Argives made Atreus king. τὸ πλῆθος τετραπευκότα, p. 1. 9.

²⁷ This is perceptible in the case of the suitors for the hand of Agariste Clisthenes, the Sicydonian's daughter, Herod. 6. 126.

²⁸ Θεὸς δ' ὡς τίστο δῆμον, Il. 5. 78; comp. 9. 302. 599, etc.

²⁹ Γέρατα, δωρίαι, δῶρα, etc. Od. 7. 150; Il. 9. 155; 1. 230, comprised under the more extensive notion, τιμαί. See Ruhnck. ad Hymn. in Cerer. 328, and the quotation there.

³⁰ Il. 1. 118. 120; 135. 138, etc.

³¹ Hence Hesiod. Op. et Di. 262, δωροφάγοι.

sequently assumed the character of fixed tributes³², whilst the choice morsels in their public feasts were looked upon as their peculiar portion, as of the heroes in general³³. Their qualification as to property consisted in the possession of a demesne³⁴. The yet moderate necessities of the state were provided for according to circumstances. Thus Hector received from the Trojans a contribution for the payment of the allies, as a supply engendered by pressing danger and emergency³⁵.

III. THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES.

§ 18. The notion of a family implies the conformity of its members to the existing regulations emanating from its head. This dependence became relaxed when a social and gregarious mode of life was the only effectual means of guarding against various kinds of danger; it was seldom dissolved by the exercise of arbitrary authority arising from the consciousness of superior strength, which occurred amongst individuals only. A cavilling demand for standards of law, a watchful jealousy lest the rights of the citizens or those of a class might be infringed by the power of the rulers, as long as their authority was only subjected to the control of moral feeling, and not defined by express legislative enactments, as well as the anxiety displayed in calculating how far the good of the people at

³² This is probably implied by the *ῥητοῖς γέρας*, Thucyd. 1. 13.

³³ Il. 8. 162; Od. 4. 66; 8. 475; 14. 437. It was the same case with the gods; compare the speech of Zeus, Il. 4. 49, *λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς*. On the subject of this custom which was still retained in Sparta, consult Herod. 6. 56; Müller, Dor. 2. 105.

³⁴ *Τέμενος*, Il. 6. 194, sqq.; 9. 574, sqq.; 12. 310, sqq.; Cic. de Repub. p. 129; comp. Kreuser Hellenen Priesterstaat, 140. 141.

³⁵ Il. 17. 225.

large might be consulted by limiting the freedom of individuals, without any violation of the natural rights of the latter, cannot be attributed to a political society existing in a state of nature. The natural feeling, far from developing or asserting the abstract principles of right, led to the elevation and recognition of eminent personal endowments; even the predilection for the monarchical character, which, according to the above, was an essential quality of the supreme political authority¹ amongst the ancient Greeks, is opposed to the assumption of political contracts between prince and people. Examples of formal stipulations, at the election of a prince, do not occur till the decline of the heroic constitution. The oath of the princes, recorded by Aristotle², only refers to the custom which prevailed when a tribunal was held. Such an oath was less an obligation towards the people than a vow to the gods. The prince, the natural head of the body politic, contained within himself the law of his authority; his mode of government was only dependent upon his own will; in its administration he had a purely discretionary power, and it could not, consequently, be looked upon as limited by agreements.

However, the absence of the conventional character by no means prevented the rise of a fixed standard of right in itself: this was looked upon as self-existent, and even when people were unable to counteract that line of conduct in their princes, which deviated from this standard, it still served for a test by which it was tried.

¹ *Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκυρανίη, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω*, Il. 2. 204, rather bears the character of a maxim than of the opinion of an individual. ² Pol. 3. 9. 7.

For on the one side, the princes were, by means of their descent, and even by their authority, brought nearer to the gods, and such a line of demarcation was drawn between them and the people, that it appeared impossible for one of their body ever to become a partaker of similar personal rights with the princes; the earthly right by no means depended on an equality of human pretensions, but on the measure of personal importance, and this, in its turn, on the class to which, in the general order of things, the individual appertained; the legal standard of the lower order could not be applied to the higher; whatever was not interdicted by a higher power, was looked upon as legally allowed, and the right consisted in unrestricted action. The aggregate right then did not appear as a principle developing itself upwards, by virtue of the decrees of an earthly legislature, but as descending from above, and regulated by a class of beings³ legally entitled to occupy a more elevated station, as furnished with more favourable personal endowments. The fountain-head of right, the Olympian Gods, exalted above the test of virtue and moral perfection, in a state of happiness beyond the criterion of human law, distributed to mankind, with despotic humour, good or evil; the rude Cyclops, for the sole reason that they were connected with the divine race, were blessed with profusion of all kinds, but human right availed nothing with them³; and in Hesiod⁴, the second

³ Hence the original signification of ὑβρις, a presumptuous aspiring after that which was the exclusive right of a more highly-privileged class. On the other hand, ἴση, in Homer's time, already signified that which every one might lay claim to according to his legally-recognised rank. Od. 9. 42. 549; comp. 11. 12. 423.

⁴ Od. 9. 106, sqq.

and third of the three ante-heroic races, in spite of all their depravity, were, in physical condition and bodily stature, assimilated much more closely to the gods, than virtuous men were in a later age.

On the other side, there was a chasm interposed between princes and gods in the descending scale; and although the princes, in earthly affairs, enjoyed unlimited power, and could not be judged by the legal standard of the lower orders, still in the concerns between themselves and the gods, they were equally bound by those ordinances which the latter had been pleased to deliver to the human race as duty and law; and as the lower orders were not entitled to depart from the law, whilst the princes might act in the most arbitrary manner, so it was unlawful for the princes to disturb the unconcern of the blissful race of the gods, as to any possible application to themselves of those decrees they had made to bind mankind, and although, when the latter committed acts of injustice, the enquiry into the right, by virtue of which they had acted, was suppressed by the paramount influence of the princes, and, consequently, could never lead to any definite ordinance for the settlement of princely right; nevertheless, as accustomed as they might be to bear patiently with the unlimited exercise of power in the princes, they were far from being destitute of a clear notion as to their duties⁶, and passed the judgment of outraged feelings on flagrant tyranny⁷; nor did they omit to commend paternal sentiments⁸

⁶ Il. 2. 24; οὐ γὰρ παννύχιον εὐδοτεν βουλευφόρον ἀνδρα. On the duty of giving ear to good advice, see 9. 74; 100. 101.

⁷ Δημοβόρος βασιλεύς. Il. 1. 231. On the anger of the princes, see 1. 80. 84; on their capricious favour and displeasure, Od. 4. 692. Hesiod is a downright Frondeur, Op. et Di. 39. 100. 259, sqq.

⁸ Od. 2. 234, πατήρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν.

and lawful administration⁹ in a prince; on the contrary, public opinion decidedly indicated, that impiety, even when committed in the most exalted of earthly stations, would meet with its reward, and the fate of princes who had bid defiance to the divine laws, was narrated as a fearful example of the vanity of all earthly exaltation. On that account the prophet, the confidant of the divine justice, appeared to announce it to the prince who was ignorant of, or disregarded it, and to admonish him of the punishment impending over him, and thus it was that a divine voice might deprive a prince of the attachment of his people¹⁰. In a higher sphere, the same principles were applied to the gods; they were limited by Zeus, and were compelled to acknowledge him, the emblem of the monarchical principle, as placed above them; whilst Zeus, like themselves, could avail nothing against Fate, that inscrutable power which ruled in darkness, and, exalted above all the grades of personal importance, expressed the idea of the highest and all-pervading law¹¹.

As the prince, according to his legal position, pertained to the divine right, in the same manner he appeared as a mediator to procure its recognition upon earth, and in the notion attached to the most ancient legislations, primary points were, that laws were the revelations of a God, and that they had been communicated to a divine favourite¹². The

⁹ Od. 19. 109, sqq.; comp. Hesiod. Op. et. Di. 200. 223, sqq.

¹⁰ Θεοῦ ὁμῶς, Od. 3. 215.

¹¹ Homer's wavering definition of the relation between the commands of Fate and the will of Zeus, is based upon earthly political law, wherein the princes enjoyed absolute and unlimited power indeed, but not without the recognition of a higher authority, viz., the rule of right or law in itself. Comp. Heyne, Excurs. ad Il. 6. 458; 17. 331.

¹² On Minos, see Od. 19. 179; compare below, § 40.

law obtained its chief authority and sanction in consequence of being derived from the highest fountain of right in the divine realm¹³, and by being established and administered by a person in the confidence of the gods, a consecrated prince. The notion of such a principle of law as was self-existent, or reposed upon merely political grounds, was still very remote. Whatever emanated from illustrious and wise princes, like Minos¹⁴, attained, by virtue of the princely power, the force of a command¹⁵ for the subjects, and, through custom, assumed the character of established law¹⁶, was precisely fitted to become a pillar of princely authority, and that which had not yet attained the fulness of maturity, was constantly referred to the wisdom of the prince, that his lips might give utterance to the declarations of Zeus. An entire separation between such laws as were independent, and framed in the character of positive enactments, and between the personal decisions or determinations of the prince, notwithstanding the statutes of the divine law possessed the general force and efficacy explained above, was not supposed in reference to the conduct of public concerns, so that the former could be regarded as binding on the prince; however, various prescriptive usages became

¹³ See in reference to this the classical passage in Strab. 16. 761. 762; that which, as divine right, was termed *θέμις*, *θέμιστες*, *θέμιστα*, was named *δίκη* in human jurisprudence, see Moschopul. ad. Hesiod. Op. et Di. 9. The derivation of the word *δίκη* from *Δίς*, Zeus, as of *jus* from *Jovis*, is however more ingenious than probable. ¹⁴ See § 41.

¹⁵ This is a leading signification of the word *δίκη*, as Od. 4. 691; 19. 43. 168; 18. 274; 19. 43, etc.

¹⁶ *Εὐνομία*, Od. 17. 487, the state or condition in which right prevails, implies the early use of *νόμος*, originally the mode of procedure. *Θεσμός* in Od. 23. 296. belongs to *Δέκτροιο παλαιού*, and the sense fluctuates between right, matrimony, and union; Aristid. Quinctil. de Mus. 2. 82, explains *τὴν ἐν δίκῃ καὶ νόμον πρᾶξιν*. it signifies legal ordinance in the Hymn. Mart. 16.

established, and were even partially invested with the force of princely institutes—for instance, those of Minos and Rhadamanthus¹⁷.

This moral check on the princely will was combined with a second, which, strictly speaking, was a political one, but to recur to what has been stated above, one that grew out of circumstances, and was not created by treaty or legislation. The jurisdiction of the prince was not singled out and separated from the general body, nor was its province a remote sphere exalted far above it; for in whatever degree the prince might by virtue of his station be raised above the mass, as the reigning head, he was closely incorporated with the body politic, and ruled like the chief of a family in the midst of his kinsmen; public affairs were transacted amongst them, the prince acted immediately on the people, and performed the duties of his public calling, in this promiscuous intercourse. This check exercised by the individual character of the persons about the sovereign, and like the chorus in the tragedy, which is a transcript of it, a natural consequence of the relation in question, appears as a permanent council in the nobility¹⁸, the elders, and the men in the confidence of Priam¹⁹, the nobles about Alcinous²⁰. The council of war assembled around Agamemnon, composed of the heroes at Troy, was of a different character; this was not convoked for the affairs of the people and the country, but for matters relating to a foreign expedition, and it

¹⁷ See § 41.

¹⁸ Here it is also worthy of remark that the Attic Eupatrids had likewise resided in the citadel. Etym. M. Εὐπατρί.

¹⁹ Il. 3. 146, sqq.

²⁰ Od. 7. 98.

cannot be regarded as an evidence of aristocracy. It is as erroneous to suppose that any express ordinance excluded the lower order from a share in public proceedings, as that it conferred such a right upon the nobles; nevertheless the former had by no means assumed the character of a political body; its public attitude was passive; it performed its political functions in quiet and obedience; and the expression of its acquiescence was conveyed by acclamations, not by voting²¹; the presumption of an individual met with a reception similar to that of Thersites²². Homer is decidedly opposed to the mode of proceeding adopted by the plebeian; the whole narrative²³ expresses disapprobation. But the mere presence of the people during public deliberation and decrees, must necessarily have acted as a check on arbitrary proceedings. This joint deliberation, in which the prince was surrounded by the nobles, and both by the people, appears to have been the natural characteristic of the heroic state, and from the reciprocity of its action to have been the security for its existence. Now in the same manner as it was decided by the nature of the order, whether the share of that order in public concerns should be an active or a passive one, it depended upon circumstances whether the princes engaged in the conduct of some affair of state should be attended by a part of the people only, or by the whole body. The narrow extent of the heroic dominions, how-

²¹ Il. 12. 213. He who belongs to the *demus* is not allowed to speak. Comp. 2. 202, where such a person is said to be οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναριθμῶς οὐτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.

²² Δημαγωγὸν τινος, Dion. Chrys. 1. 80.

²³ Il. 2. 211, sqq.

ever, and that desire to participate in public affairs²⁴, which was rooted in the nature of the Grecian race, afford strong presumption, that as often as the public service required it, the people were willing to assemble in sufficient numbers. Still there is equal probability in the conjecture, that circumstances might ordain a previous consultation between the prince and the nobles²⁵, whilst the people were afterwards convened to hear the resolution. The relation of the aristocratic council to the general assembly was not yet accurately defined; circumstances, likewise, in this respect, decided whether their agency should be joint or separate, and the marked line of distinction afterwards drawn between assemblies of the council and those of the people did not yet exist²⁶. There is no vestige of an obligation in the prince to convoke either assembly within a given time: an assembly might however be convened by a member of the council of nobles²⁷, or it might be held without the presence of the prince²⁸; but the notion of a representation of the supreme power was not yet developed; during the absence of Ulysses the people were not once convoked²⁹. The maxim of a formal opposition between prince and assembly, and a question as to the legitimate position of the latter with regard to the former, were equally unknown. The first instance that is recorded of the responsibility of the political func-

²⁴ Comp. Herod. 1. 153.

²⁵ Il. 2. 53. 86; 10. 195; 6. 113, γέροντες βουλευταί.

²⁶ Ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι, Od. 9. 112. Ἀγορά of the nobles, Il. 8. 489; 9. 11. 33.

²⁷ This, it must be confessed, only happened in the camp at Troy, Il. 1. 54; 19. 40. sqq.

²⁸ This appears to be the case, Il. 18. 497.

²⁹ Od. 2. 15.

tionaries (εὐθύνη), which afterwards so generally obtained, is probably when the Athenian nobility limited the power of the Codrid Medon; but this is, at the same time, a termination of the heroic monarchical system³⁰, which was only liable to censure or commendation through the medium of public opinion; thus Polydamas, in Troy, appears as the candid judge of Hector's conduct, and the latter is fearful of his reprehension³¹; in the Odyssey frequent allusion is made to the animadversions of the people³². An application for legal redress against the prince at the bar of the assembly, could therefore scarcely have been attended with success when heroes like Peleus, Hercules, or Orestes, fled their country on account of a murder. This seldom happened, it is true, without a design to evade the penalty of retribution; but the chief impression by which they were actuated was, that divine punishment would surely overtake that man who should omit to effect his purification, and expiate his crime by flight. But after the traditional account had been adorned with numerous democratic accessions, there was every disposition to add the fiction of a public vindication of justice, which was partly done to enhance the authority of an actual tribunal; thus Orestes, and even the god Mars, were said to have been arraigned at the bar of the Areopagus, and other heroes before various Attic courts³³. Lastly, tumults of the populace are totally unconnected with the question of public law; proceedings of

³⁰ Paus. 4. 5. 4.

³¹ Il. 13. 735; 22. 100.

³² Χαλεπή δῆμον φῆμις, 14. 239; comp. 19. 527; 16. 95. 114.

³³ Paus. 1. 28. 10, sqq.; comp. Tittmann, griech. Staatsv. 66, sqq.

this character resulted from the contention of the princes in the last military council before the walls of Troy³⁴; insurrection is implied by occasional allusions to the punishment of stoning³⁵; but from other passages it may be inferred, that executions were likewise employed by the princes³⁶.

Finally, through the whole Odyssey we behold marked indications of a struggle of the nobles against the power of the prince. The Odyssey does not express that profound reverence for the princely dignity, which is so uniformly the characteristic of the Iliad, and we especially miss the respect for the transmission of the same by hereditary succession in the family of the reigning sovereign³⁷; Telemachus says, that the princely power may be transferred from the house of Ulysses to one of the other chiefs, and he thenceforward be lord of a family. Amongst the Phæacians there are thirteen princely lines³⁸. However, the fundamental idea of the Odyssey is clearly a picture of the attempted, but vindicated usurpation on the part of the nobility of the rights and privileges of that prince, who, it is true, experienced the severest trials, but was still an object so cherished by the gods as to be singled out for the love of Circe and Calypso. The revenge of Ulysses throws the proper light on all that had preceded, and even on

³⁴ Od. 3. 130, sqq. On the other hand compare on the despotic power of the princes in war, § 19. n. 24.

³⁵ Il. 3. 57; Eurip. Orest. 59. 436; Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 178. For examples from the historical age, consult Paus. 3. 5. 8; comp. Thuc. 5. 60; Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 447.

³⁶ As that of Palamedes, Schol. Eurip. Orest. 432; comp. the commentary on Soph. Antig. 762.

³⁷ Od. 1. 394.

³⁸ Od. 8. 390. Comp. 7. 49.

the sentiment uttered by Telemachus during his degradation. As from this it might be proved that the subjoined narrative recording the warlike preparations of the Ithacans against Ulysses is spurious, an important light is thrown upon the question touching the unity of the Odyssey. It may at least be safely asserted that in the Odyssey are shadowed the incipient efforts of the nobility against the declining monarchy.

IV. THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS AMONGST THE STATES.

§ 19. The answer to the question, what unions were recognised as states by the Greeks of the heroic age amongst themselves, is contained in the preceding: the distinctive feature of an heroic state was the government of a prince, and every community over which a prince presided was considered as a state, as far as the views entertained in those early stages of civil polity admitted a definite notion of its nature. But the unity which the state possessed in the princely head was by no means an instrument to connect its individual parts into one body, in such a manner that one member should in every respect share the responsibilities of the other. Thus it constantly happened that the liberty and security of individuals were endangered by the depredations of hordes that roamed about by land and sea¹, at the same time that the states to which they respectively belonged, took no steps to repulse the danger as one directed against themselves. On the other

¹ Thucyd. 1. 5.: — οὐκ ἔχοντός ποῦ αἰσχύνῃν τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δὲ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον. Comp. on the point, Arist. Pol. 5. 2. 3.

side, as has been already remarked, legal protection was secured to strangers, and guaranteed upon the common faith, even when the latter were not strictly under the protection of treaties of hospitality or of any other kind, but herein too the political notion was lost sight of, and the individual alone was regarded. It is impossible to determine whether those cases in which the whole state was considered to be concerned, are to be limited to such as regarded the prince personally; it is however certain that the danger of an individual was sometimes considered the affair of the whole community; but princes occasionally separated themselves voluntarily from the general body, when they went out on adventures with their heroic compeers, as was the case with the Argonauts; princely treaties of hospitality can only in a limited number of instances be looked upon as the infancy of the subsequent political hospitality; however, in general the state-system was not yet sufficiently matured, accurately to distinguish between the affair of the prince as such, and in his capacity of representative of the nation.

But the recognition of the collective body is more decidedly pronounced in the proceedings adopted in any danger that was considered general²; these were not only in the nature of an irruption into the hostile territory, with a demand of reparation³, but also of an amicable application to the people at large for satisfaction⁴, in which the mediation of a neutral state was without doubt

² A remarkable instance occurs, Od. 21. 17. πᾶς δῆμος ὄφελλε.

³ Πύρσι' ἐλαύνεσθαι, Il. 11. 673.

⁴ Il. 5. 804; 10. 286; 11. 140; Δοῦναι καὶ δέχεσθαι δίκην, Hymn. Mercur. 312.

sometimes employed. A leading test of mutual recognition as states, is the sanctity of heralds or ambassadors⁵. Moreover the state was virtually represented, when a dispute was decided by single combat upon the public guarantee⁶. In real warfare the object of an expedition was not unfrequently looked upon as accomplished upon the acquisition of spoil, the receipt of a ransom for the captives⁷, and occasionally of a tribute by way of indemnity⁸; however the struggle was sometimes directed against the very existence of the hostile state; a people was expelled as in the wars amongst the Thessalian tribes, towns and villages were destroyed, the population put to death, or reduced to bondage⁹, the gods carried away¹⁰, and the ground declared accursed¹¹.

That political impulse in the members of every single community arising from the natural separation amongst the Grecian provinces, to defend their freedom and independence against their neighbours, was accompanied by the no less innate tendency to friendly association, and the early developed ambition to make other states dependent upon themselves. Amongst the chief fruits of the first were the sacrificial and festal communions¹². Religion had at a very early period been combined with the ties of blood; amongst the members of a tribe the sacrificial and festal communion propa-

⁵ Il. 1. 334; 7. 274; 11. 344. In the *Mythus* indeed, Hercules violated this right in the same manner as he did those of hospitality. See Apollod. 2. 4. 11; Paus. 9. 25. 4.

⁶ Il. 3. 276, sqq. Comp. my *Jus gentium*, etc. p. 47. n. 8.

⁷ Ἀποινα, Il. 6. 46; 11. 131. Ζωάγρια is merely a reward given by a person whose life has been spared without actual reference to a ransom.

⁸ Τιμή, Il. 3. 288.

⁹ Il. 9. 589; 22. 64.

¹⁰ Paus. 6. 48. 2.

¹¹ Strab. 13. 601.

¹² Πανηγύρις.

gated itself by the multiplication of those unions sprung from the same tribe, like a gradually-extending fire from the parent hearth, and was an emblem of the fervour which characterised the original relationship. Ties of this nature were likewise contracted between such as were not descended from a common stock¹³, and peace and friendship preserved for the purposes of general intercourse, particularly during the festivals¹⁴. However, notwithstanding some of these primeval unions, such as that of ONCHESTUS¹⁵, CALAURIA¹⁶, and the *Panegyris* on the isthmus¹⁷, maintained their ground till the historical times, those ties were seldom of such a nature as to generate a comprehensive political union, or a confederacy of states pledged to a reciprocity of representation. The military alliances belonged in part to the heroic expedition in quest of adventures already described. The spirit of conquest, by which one state endeavoured to make others dependent upon itself, seems to have asserted itself at a very early period; thus Crete under Minos encroached upon the territories of its neighbours¹⁸, and Thebes was compelled to pay tribute to Erginus of Orchomenus¹⁹.

None of the ancient festal associations, and no league of any other description, united the whole of the Greeks before the expedition against Troy,

¹³ Ἀμφικτιόνες, περικτιόνες generally, both probably originally the dwellers around a common sanctuary. (Strab. 14. 650, οἱ κύκλῳ πάντες). See the latter word, Il. 17. 220; 18. 212; 19. 104. 109.

¹⁴ Strab. 9. 419.: καὶ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις συνέσαν καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος φυσικῶς κοινωνικοὶ ὄντες· καὶ ἅμα τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων χρείας χάριν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπήντων διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, ἑορτὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις συντελοῦντες.

¹⁵ Il. 2. 506. Hymn. Apoll. 230; Strab. 9. 284; Müller, Orchom. 271.

¹⁶ See § 24.

¹⁷ Müller, Dor. 1. 236.

¹⁸ Thucyd. 1. 48; Aristot. Pol. 2. 7. 2; Diodor. 4. 63.

¹⁹ Apollod. 2. 3. 11; Paus. 9. 37. 2.

and certainly not the pretended diffusion of the princely family from Hellen's line. In the uniformity of the heroic government and manners thereby implied, the predominance of martial courage and strength, lay a principle which was eminently calculated to disunite. It cannot, indeed, be a matter of doubt, whether the Greeks of the heroic age could so far raise themselves above that which separated them politically as to regard themselves in the light of a single nation; Homer's appellations, Argives, Danaans, Achæans, in themselves, indeed, designate but individual parts of one, but are employed in reference to the whole body²⁰; Homer likewise gives them a common language, the same gods, and a similar government and character. But political unity by no means follows; uniformity of language never prevented national races from being politically strange, and even hostile to each other. The supreme deity Zeus was an object of adoration to every single tribe of the nation, as such, but was not on that account a principle which established peace and concord amongst the partakers of a common worship; every union appropriated him directly and immediately to itself, and not through the medium of the nation, in conjunction with which it only addressed itself to him in particular cases. Thus, united agency was only occasioned by particular circumstances, such as the expedition against Troy. The tradition that Helen's suitors had bound themselves by an oath to Tindarus as the future security of their marriage, to pursue in common every

²⁰ Strab. 8. 340; ποιητικῶ δέ τινα σχήματι συγκαταλέγειν τὸ μέρος τῷ ὅλῳ φασὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον.

danger which should menace her²¹, converts the expedition into a chivalric enterprise: but it seems more probable that the *hegemony* of the Atridæ²², was the means to assemble the whole nation upon their warlike summons²³. Agamemnon, as commander-in-chief²⁴, appears to have exercised the same right over the allies, as the prince in the field asserted over the nobility of his own country²⁵. However, the absence of all the warriors from Greece, in the poem, is apparently without any influence on its political relations.

A political distinction between the Greeks collectively and foreign nations as a body was yet but vaguely apprehended. In general there was no opposition based upon that which the Greeks recognised as their common property²⁶; the Trojans, it must be confessed, descended from a common stock with themselves, appear in the character of enemies to them only from an accidental cause, and not on account of a difference of nationality; the Greeks recognised his own gods every where, heroic institutions were ascribed to the states without the limits of Greece, and, perhaps, with the exception of the Læstrygonians, the Sintians, and a few inhospitable princes like Echetus, Busiris²⁷,

²¹ Stesichor. ap. Schol. Hom. Il. 2. 239; Thuc. 1. 9; comp. Sophoc. Ajax. 1102, and Schol. 1132; Apollod. 3. 10. 9; Paus. 2. 22. 3; 3. 20. 9; Hygin. 78.

²² Thuc. 1. 9; compare Il. 1. 281; ἀλλ' ὅγε φέρτερός ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει, and Il. 9. 69.

²³ This is connected with the Ζεὺς ὁμαγύριος, Paus. 7. 24; 1. 2.

²⁴ Ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν.

²⁵ Concerning the remarkable παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος. See Schneid. ad. Aristot. Pol. 3. 9. 2.

²⁶ Comp. Thucyd. 1. 3, whose opinion that there had been originally a great resemblance between Greeks and barbarians must not be overlooked.

²⁷ Od. 18. 84; Apollod. 1. 9. 20; 2. 5. 11. Their violation of the laws of hospitality is tacitly declared unhellenic; Strab. 17. 802, calls the ξενηλασία peculiar to the barbarians.

etc., the remaining population of the earth was collected within an heroic circle; nay, even fabulous nations, the Abii or Macrobii, Hippomolgi, Ethiopians, and Hyperboreans²⁸, raised above the Greeks themselves. The difference in language was indeed observed²⁹, but not in such a manner that the idea of the barbarian quality was definitely expressed. Finally, there was no word to designate the barbarian nations or regions collectively³⁰.

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS AMONGST THE STATES FROM THE DORIC MIGRATION TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

1. WHAT DIVIDED THE GRECIAN STATES.

a. Political Character of the Migrations.

§ 20. From the poetical colouring which is diffused over the state-system of the heroic age, it would be fruitless to attempt individually to trace the inner germs of its dissolution. According to the general law of change in human, as well as in political life, when once the maturity of its vigour was past, it was incapable of withstanding any violent shock from without. The first impulse to a departure from the ancient course proceeded from the disastrous lot of the heroes at Troy, or on their

²⁸ See in general Mannert, 4. 85, sqq. new edit.

²⁹ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους, Od. 8. 294; Καρῶν βαρβαροβώνων, Il. 2. 867; ἀλλόθροος, Od. 1. 183; 3. 302; 4. 43; ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμγμένη, 19. 175.

³⁰ Thuc. 1. 3; Strab. 6. 369, 370.

return¹; the next from the migration of the Thes-
salians and Boeotians; and its final consumma-
tion was brought about by the migration of the
Heraclid princes with the Dorians, which was
entitled heroic only upon the ground of supposed
hereditary claims². The new and all-prevailing
element now supplanted ancient manners and
customs—existing forms were dissolved—a spirit of
sedition diffused through the Grecian provinces—
the oldest and most intimate ties were severed—the
princely authority extirpated from its original seat,
the hereditary citadel, by means of settlements and
emigrations—the consciousness of unrestricted poli-
tical agency aroused in the multitude—attempts
made to regulate the new political masses in their
relations to each other, and in those amongst their
members respectively—and a spirit of activity called
into operation in various directions, which un-
ceasingly agitated, and unable to arrive at stability,
at length consumed itself.

This was exhibited in the unceasing and feverish
desire of emigration which lasted for several cen-
turies³. The feeling excited by the Thessalian
irruption must, in the nature of things, have sug-
gested to them that the condition of the governing
was preferable to that of the governed; the view
of those who had obtained the ascendancy, acted

¹ Hesiod. Op. et Di. 161, sqq.; Plato de Legg. 3. 682. D. E., where, how-
ever, Achæans and Dorians are strangely confounded together.

² Müller, Dor. 1. 49. 50, considers Hercules to have been a god of purely
Doric origin, and looks upon the tradition of his derivation from Argos as the
fiction of a later age emanating from the Doric Argos. Comp. his Prolegom.
427. However, even those who do not assent to this view of the subject can
only suppose that the hereditary claim in question was pretended.

³ See an enumeration of the causes in Sainte-Croix, sur l'état, etc.; Heyne.
Opusc. 1. 290, sqq.; Raoul-Rochette, Hist. de l'établiss. etc. c. 3; Mannert,
Italien, 2. 205, etc. The subject is compendiously treated in Seneca ad
Helvid. 6.

upon the consciousness of fearlessness and strength
in such as had themselves once governed and were
now obliged to obey, or had been deprived of their
hereditary rulers; their native home, now a prey to
the foreign invaders, lost its most endearing associa-
tions; they became strangers as it were in the land
of their fathers; and perhaps influenced by the
wonders that poetry ascribed to other regions,
cherished the hope of finding a new political home
upon some foreign shore, where, if they could
not govern others, they might at least assert their
own independence; perils and hardships were
willingly encountered to secure exemption from
the oppression of the victor, and they migrated the
more easily as there existed no force to compel
them to wear chains at home. But neither could
the conquerors habituate themselves to tranquillity
and order, straitened as they were for space in the
midst of a youthful and prolific population; as a
necessary consequence of this disproportion, a
deficiency in the conveniences and necessities of
life was soon experienced, and their struggles to
enlarge the bounds within which their civil rights
and privileges were confined in their over-peopled
and now joyless country, operated in a series of
voluntary emigrations⁴ and expeditions for drafting
off the surplus population⁵, not to mention colonial
cities founded for the systematic extension of the
state. This constant effort to escape from a state

⁴ As at a late date Dorians from Sparta, Herod. 5. 42.

⁵ e. g. The Minyans and Parthenians from Laconia. A peculiar custom,
similar to the old Italian "ver sacrum," was the sending forth consecrated
bands, ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαί, such as the migrations of the Magnesians, the
Ænians, the Chalcidians (to Rhegium), etc. See Müller, Dor. 1. 257. 258.
260. 265.

of things that was irksome, was closely allied to the love of enterprise so deeply rooted in the buoyant and enterprising soul of the Greeks, but which did not, like the chivalric spirit of adventure, evaporate in restless and aimless wandering, but was invariably accompanied by the desire to form a political union. The Greeks bore with them as it were a political seed; those who went forth were not lost to the mother country, as in the eventual decline of the states of Greece when Grecian mercenaries wandered over Asia like homeless outcasts, but they almost universally made the institutions of their own country spring up, as it were, from new roots on foreign ground, and under different physical circumstances; this was continued by the colonies which were, with few exceptions, established on the sea-coast or on islands. The possessions obtained by conquest or treaty extended but little beyond the municipal pale of the respective cities; their political position with regard to their inland neighbours was for the most part without any firm guarantee, and an extension of their territory in that direction would have been precarious. Hence, upon the extraordinary increase in the population, the local advantages of the coasts furnished a clue to the course of colonisation; it will at once be perceived that it was in vain to attempt preserving a continuity of territory, and more advisable to possess themselves of a distant but commodious situation, than, through fear of placing themselves beyond the reach of a Grecian city, or one of Grecian origin, to fix on some unfavourable spot in its vicinity. It must be confessed that it was the more natural that politi-

cal separation should arise amongst states thus isolated by nature.

b. The Grecian Communities in a state of separation.

§ 21. Through the migrations, and that desire of independence which produced and attended, or was itself a consequence of them, the original fraternal relation between the tribes necessarily became dissolved; whilst the more recent tie that connected mother and daughter states grew exceedingly relaxed.

The former, from its nature, even in the provinces of the mother country little calculated to maintain permanent political unity, was shaken to its centre in the migrations themselves, by the mixed character of the multitude that accompanied the expedition of the Dorians to Peloponnesus¹, the voyage of the Ionians² and Æolians³ towards Asia, and at a later period by the heterogeneous ingredients which were added to them in their new habitations. It must be particularly borne in mind that the spirit of alliance amongst the members of a tribe was most effectually promoted by dwelling together in the rural districts, but that it was weakened by a residence in cities. Hence there arose amongst the Greeks within, as well as without the mother country, the most unbounded desire of separation. As in civil and social life generally the unlimited freedom of individuals is opposed to the well-being of the whole, inasmuch as it tends to loosen the junctures of the political fabric, so the Grecian provinces were disunited by the

¹ Paus. 5. 4. 1; comp. Manso, Sparta. 1. 53. n.; Raoul-Roch. 3. 5.

² Herod. 1. 146.

³ Müller, Orchom. 398.

endeavours of every, and even the smallest association to assume a separate and independent character. The notions of state and territory again became narrowed, and that feeling which did not scruple to sacrifice the independence of a smaller body to the object of forming a larger and more comprehensive confederacy, ceased to exist; every community that was able to subsist individually, disregarded all obligations which involved the necessity of dependence. The endeavour to attain this object at the commencement of this period produced those numerous cities of which few had existed in the heroic age⁴, and some of which were erected below the Acropoles of the ancient princes as lower towns, and others built from their foundations together with a citadel⁵. The city with its jurisdiction henceforward became the mark of unity and independence; a *state* was a community surrounded and held together by walls, and *city* and *state* became equivalent terms⁶. Accordingly those cities, which the local features of a district had naturally marked out for political union, endeavoured to render themselves distinct and independent communities; such as were

⁴ Doubtless Thebes and Athens were of the number. See Hom. Od. 11. 263; comp. Paus. 9. 5. 1. 3. on Thebes; concerning Athens, see Thucyd. 2. 15; comp. § 43. On the vanity of the Athenians, who pretended to have been the first to erect cities, see Steph. Byz. *ἄστυ*. Was Calydon a town in the heroic age? Il. 9. 526, sqq. And Lebadea? Paus. 9. 39. 1. I should rather regard the Homeric description of Calydon as the product of the poet's mind. The Homeric poems clearly evince the prevalence of the feeling in favour of new towns, e. g. the town of the Phæaciens, Od. 6. 9.

⁵ Strab. 8. 336. 337. 386; Herod. 1. 142. 149; Paus. 7. 18. 3; comp. n. and § 32; as well as Append. viii.

⁶ See Append. viii. where *κοινόν* is likewise explained. A remarkable instance of the recognition of the principle that the city constituted the state, is narrated of a later age by Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 31; the Spartans would not deprive the vanquished Eleans of the presidency at the Olympic games, because *τοὺς ἀντιποιοῦμένους* (viz. the Pisatans, who at that time had no town,) *χωρίτως εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἰκάνους προεστάναι*.

younger and more inconsiderable withdrawing from those which were older and more powerful⁷.

The bond amongst the members of the same race or tribe was most endangered in those provinces where rural life was earliest modified by the erection of towns; but even where this did not happen, that bond at least failed to exhibit any politically uniting efficacy. Let us direct our attention to ARCADIA. The Arcadians, whose principal towns were not built till a later period⁸, present the spectacle of races which if not hostile to each other, were at least disunited; the Lycæan games⁹ were scarcely upon a single occasion a Panegyris attended by all the Arcadians; the states of MANTINEA and TEGEA¹⁰, and a third, of less importance, that of Orchomenus, afterwards maintained themselves beside each other with an equal balance of power. The rest of Arcadia, part of which had at one time been dependent on the prince of Orchomenus¹¹, subsequently consisted of several confederacies¹², of which some were independent, and others subject to Mantinea. In a still less degree, therefore, was the bond among the tribes of the Peloponesian Dorians¹³ of a nature to conduce to political association; it neither perverted

⁷ To this must be referred Thuc. 4. 102. *πρὸς τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθίσταται*.

⁸ Tegea, composed of nine townships, Paus. 8. 45. 1, afterwards Mantinea, of five. See the Comment. on Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 7.

⁹ Pind. Ol. 7. 153; Paus. 8. 2. 1; 38. 4; Dion. Hal. 1. 25; Marm. Oxon. ep. 18.

¹⁰ The *ἑστία Ἀρκάδων κοινὴ* at Tegea (Paus. 8. 53. 3.) never effected political unity.

¹¹ Heracl. Pont. ap. Diog. L. 1. 94. Trapezus belonged to it, and was for some time a royal residence; Paus. 8. 5. 3; 4. 17. 2. Strab. 8. 362. makes Aristocrates of Orchomenus chief of the Arcadian confederate army. But that Tegea must not be included is evident from Aristot. ap. Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 172.

¹² Comp. Kortüm, hellen. Verfass. 158, sqq.; Müller, Dor. 2. 450—452.

¹³ See Append. ix.

the early wars between Sparta and Argos, nor the subjugation of Messenia. Lastly, the real character of the coalition between the members of Doric and Ionic tribes in the Peloponessian war has already¹⁴ been explained. It is natural to suppose that the alliance between mother states and colonies, would have displayed more binding efficacy than that amongst the descendants of a common tribe, the root of whose relationship was lost in the remoteness of antiquity, as the origin of the former could be accurately traced, and from the twofold claims of the mother city, to a community of origin and the character of a political home, the affinity was less liable to be forgotten. But if we attentively consider the operation of purely natural ties, we shall find that the obligations of filial duty were not acknowledged by those cities whose founders were singled out from the mother city during the agitation caused by the migrations, or had been expelled from it¹⁵, or by colonial towns founded for a political object, and held in strict dependence by force. Finally, to revert to the pretensions of Thebes, the same holds good of those towns of a district which had originally stood on a sisterly footing with its capital, but over which the latter afterwards arrogated to itself maternal authority. Thus limited, the integrity of the tie of consanguinity could only be preserved amongst those children of the state who went forth in peace, and with the customary ceremonies of conventional separation.

¹⁴ See § 14.

¹⁵ Serv. ad Virgil. *Æn.* 1. 12: hæ autem coloniæ sunt, quæ ex consilio publico, non ex secessione conditæ sunt.

This mode of departure may be compared to that of a son who, arrived at manhood, quits his father's house in search of independence, and whose subsequent condition must not be judged by the standard of paternal authority among the Romans, but by that of the natural and spontaneous attachment to the family from which he is sprung. The regard of the colonies for the mother cities was, it must be owned, kept up by various observances; the emigrants carried with them the sacred fire of political life from the native *prytaneum*¹⁶, as well as their hereditary gods¹⁷; moreover, they generally obtained priests from the parent city¹⁸, to which they sent *Theorias*, *Choruses*, ect.¹⁹, to participate in the celebration of a festival; they also paid it testimonies of respect upon the occasion of festive assemblies on a larger scale; leaders were selected from it for the founding of new colonies²¹, various customs and regulations were retained²², and even local associations kept up by corresponding denominations in the new home²³. Now if these services, which have so frequently been enumerated both in ancient and modern times²⁴, remained neverthe-

¹⁶ Herod. 1. 146; Thuc. 1. 26.

¹⁷ e. g. Strab. 5. 179; Paus. 3. 23. 4; comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 225.

¹⁸ Thucyd. 1. 25.

¹⁹ Paus. 5. 21. 1; comp. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 385. on the subject of the oxen which the colonies of Athens sent to the Panathenæa, and the Ionian *primitæ* sent to Athens, Isocrat. Paneg. § 7. On the obligations of the Magnetes on the Mæander to the Delphic oracle, which, though similar, rested on essentially different grounds, see Aristoph. ap. Ath. 4. 173. E.

²⁰ Thuc. 1. 25; 6. 3.

²¹ Strab. 6. 264.

²² Νόμματα, Thuc. 6. 4.

²³ Thus there was a Crathis in Achaia, and another near Sybaris. On the Megarian names of places in the vicinity of Byzantium, see Müller, Dor. 1. 121.

²⁴ The contest between America and the mother country called forth numerous and partial writings on the subject of colonies. Heyne, Opusc. 1. 290, sqq. lays too much stress on the arrogant language of the Corinthians. Sainte-

less for the most part unperformed²⁵, what has been observed of the relation amongst the members of a tribe, must be repeated in reference to the estrangement of the colonies, namely, that from the mixture of the original colonists, whether it arose at the commencement of the migration or through after-comers²⁶, it is unnecessary to enquire, the feeling of affinity could not be exclusively directed to one parent²⁷ whilst the system of separation in the other towns had equal force in the colonies. Add to this the boldness and love of independence so conspicuous in the Greeks, and their peculiar faculty, on quitting the political home of their fathers to transplant their native manners and customs, so that every fresh community struck root like a scion from the parent stem, and flourished as a new tree. Besides this, a further estrangement between the original mother and a colony could not fail to arise, when the latter founded fresh colonies. This was moreover augmented by the general remoteness of the kindred towns from one another, the benefits flowing from the physical character of the new settlements—those who at home had struggled with privation and penury obtaining extensive and commodious habitations—and the circumstance that scarcely a single colony was deficient in those productions of nature which were essential to its physical well-

Croix, in his pamphlet in favour of America, advocates the severing the colonial ties to the utmost possible extent.

²⁵ Thuc. 1. 38; comp. Dion. Hal. 3. 7: ὅσης γὰρ ἀξιοῦσι τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ πατέρες παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων, τοσαύτης οἱ κτίσαντες τὰς πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ἀποίκων, and Polyb. 12. 10.—ὡς γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα.

²⁶ See Raoul-Roch. on the subject of Heraclea Pontica, Amiasus, Rhegium, Locri, Croton, Sybaris, Messana, Leontini, etc.

²⁷ Ἐποικοί. Compare below § 33. n. 17.

being, and, consequently, was not induced to look back to the home it had left with fondness and regret, whilst a great number of them attained prosperity, riches, and power, earlier and more easily than their respective mother towns. In the same manner new customs were engrafted on the new settlement with every fresh generation; its attachment to the past diminished, and with every nearer approach to the manners of its neighbours, the remembrance of the land of its ancestors grew fainter.

It even frequently happened that the luxurious descendants looked upon the inmates of the old paternal house, who had remained far behind them in the march of social improvement, with that complacent pity which deigns to cast a faint reflection from its own greatness on the home of its fathers. The highest point at which this feeling arrived, is beheld in the attempt of Sybaris to institute within its own territory national games in lieu of the Olympic²⁸. Thus such colonies as were able to assert their independence, maintained in fact but a slight political connection with the mother-states; Miletus sent to Paros, not to Athens²⁹ for arbitrators in the Persian war; Crotona³⁰ was the only town belonging to the Italiots that assisted the mother country, and what is still more remarkable, at a time when its progenitors the Achæans remained inactive; but Corcyra³¹ and Megara³² became refractory, and acted with violence to

²⁸ Heracl. Pont. ap. Ath. 12. 522. A.

²⁹ Herod. 5. 28, sqq.

³⁰ Herod. 8. 47.

³¹ Thucyd. 1. 13; Herod. 3. 49, sqq.

³² Paus. 6. 20. 9. Compare on the proverb Ζεὺς Κορίνθιος, Schol. Pind. Nem. 7. 155; Schol. Plat. Euthyd. 96; Ruhnck. Zenob. 3. 21.

the mother-town, as did Corinth and Ægina to Epidaurus³³. But the most complete picture of division in general, without any connecting link whatever, is presented by a great number of second-rate Dorian and Æolian colonies in Asia, the settlements of Miletus on the Pontus, and the towns of the Thracian coast. The prospect of danger occasionally led to a renovation of those ties which were either relaxed or entirely dissolved; thus the Achæan Italiots, after the dismemberment of the Pythagorean league, applied to the mother country Achaia³⁴, whilst on the other hand the parent cities never failed to assert the principle of natural alliance, when they wished to establish claims upon it, or to give a colour of justice to their proceedings; thus Pisistratus reduced Naxos to subjection by virtue of the metropolitan rights of Athens³⁵.

II. WHAT UNITED THE GRECIAN STATES.

a. Festal Communions, (πανηγύρεις.)

§ 22. The desire of intercourse, a feeling which sooner or later awakes in the wildest minds¹, no less than intelligent and systematic policy, directed to the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with other states, pervaded the whole body of the Greek nation—divided as it was in certain directions by the spirit of separation—with the numerous subtile and delicate ties of social culture and refinement, which associated the severed mem-

³³ Herod. 5. 84.

³⁴ Polyb. 2. 39.

³⁵ Herod. 1. 64; Thucyd. 3. 104.

¹ Sainte-Croix judiciously observes: le besoin rapproche les hommes, le plaisir les rassemble, la crainte les unit.

bers, still existing in endless diversities of combination, into smaller or larger wholes, and even into a well-constituted general union.

The operation of the tendency to festive meetings in the panegyres and Amphictyonies of the heroic time, is beheld in the succeeding age in the full maturity of its vigour. The Greeks in general possessed that fertile talent, which may with truth be called an endowment from heaven, to enliven existence with the song and the dance, and as this rendered the Grecian *symposia* so brilliant and intellectual, it was owing to the same cause that their popular festivals on a more extended scale presented so many features of attraction. To this must be added their innate admiration of the beautiful, and a disposition to recognise its peculiar and pre-eminent manifestation in whatever belonged to the Greek nation. These two features are united in their worship; the religious feeling was displayed in cheerful² and attractive spectacles, and this in its turn led to the formation of festal circles for the purposes of enjoyment and show. Hence numerous festive meetings, both such as had already existed in the heroic, and still continued in the subsequent ages, but more or less modified by the migrations, and such as were newly-instituted, attained their object in their celebration, viz. the enjoyment of festal pleasure; this was the chief end of their institution³, whilst the suspension of hostilities was not so much the result of a particular policy, as a natural incident to the festival, and understood of course, that it might not be

² Strab. 10. 467.

³ Εὐχέλεια.

contaminated by impiety; and for the same reason those who were polluted by the crime of murder, were forbidden to take part in it⁴. Hereto at a very early period were annexed various kinds of public intercourse, such as intermarriage, community of citizenship, etc., whereby it was afterwards designed to contract and to maintain political ties⁵. But it is not consistent with the infancy of political intercourse, as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁶, to suppose, as the preconceived intention and object of their formation, political union in the higher and more comprehensive sense of the term, which several festal associations of a later date, distinctly and deliberately recognised as the end and scope of their coalition. On the other hand, it will be perceived, that the intentionally more binding and purely political links that connected several later associations were broken by the selfish desire of enjoyment, and that they were held together by the frail bands of pleasure alone, without regard to austerer political considerations. Thus many celebrated panegyres are not to be viewed in the light of assemblies of the wise men of the nation, but should rather be compared to a meeting of jovial boon-companions, whose real object in coming together, was to partake of the good cheer set before them. This was the more detrimental to truly political objects as the pane-

⁴ Demosth. c. Aristocr. 632; Antiph. de Chœreut. 761.

⁵ Comp. § 18. n. 13. and Etym. M. ἀγορά and Bekker. Anecd. 1. 204.: ἐφορεία ἢ σύνοδος ἢ πρὸς τοῖς κοινῶς ὅροις γινόμενη τῶν ἀστυγεϊτόνων, οὗ οἱ ὅμοιοι συνιόντες περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐβουλευόντο, which must not be limited to strictly confederate states.

⁶ Archæolog. 4. 45. a passage which has frequently been misinterpreted. No less erroneous is the view of the subject taken by Velleius, 1. 8. Iphitus.— eos ludos (Olymp.) mercatumque instituit.

gyres became divested of that private character, which is peculiar to the more frequented fairs of Germany, and became the affair of the states, which now sent Theori to them.

The panegyres, therefore, to be enumerated here, are either Amphictyonies wherein neighbours assembled like a private society, which, from its very nature, could not be extended beyond the circle of its own particular members, and in which these alone were recognised; or, those wherein a state was as it were invited by the host, and had the option of attending the festival or not; these under particular circumstances might lead to national festivals.

To the former kind belonged the AMARYNTHIA⁷ in Eubœa, in which the Dryopian Carystus⁸ likewise participated, but Chalcis and Eretria the principal members had no bond of union strong enough to prevent intestine war⁹. The Delia for the inhabitants of the Cyclades¹⁰; besides which there was another panegyris dedicated to Neptune and Amphitrite¹¹. The APATURIA of the Ionians in Asia; Colophon and Ephesus did not take any part in them¹²; but exclusions of this nature rested no more on strictly political grounds, than did the right to partake in them, and the celebration of

⁷ Strab. 10. 448; Liv. 35. 38; Paus. 1. 31. 3.

⁸ Thucyd. 7. 57; Diod. 4. 37; Herodot. (8. 45.) calls the Styreis Dryopians, though according to Thucyd. ub. sup. they were Ionians; Carystus appears singly, Thucyd. 1. 98: however, according to Liv. 35. 38. it took part in the panegyris.

⁹ Herod. 5. 99; Thucyd. 1. 15. But there was an agreement amongst the partakers in the Amarynthia not to use missile weapons against each other, Strab. 10. 448.

¹⁰ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 147, sqq.; Thucyd. 3. 104; Strab. 10. 485; Paus. 4. 4. 1; Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 325; Barthélemy, Anach. 6. 415, sqq.

¹¹ Strab. 10. 487.

¹² Herod. 1. 147.

festivals in general; for the most part a religious stigma was the ground of exclusion; thus the qualifications of the state as such were not considered, but only in its capacity of guest. The *TRIOPIA* of the six Doric cities Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Cos, and Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus, situate on the island of Rhodes. But Halicarnassus was excluded from this union for the reason which has been just assigned¹³. The panegyris in Cyprus, near Palaipaphos¹⁴. The Boeotian by Onchestus¹⁵, which continued to subsist in the same age. The festal assembly of the Ozolian Locrians by Rhium¹⁶. The sacrificial communion of the Mantineans and Orchomenians¹⁷. The joint use of the temple of Artemis Limnatis for Messenians and Spartans¹⁸. The feast and games of the Triphylian Minyans, near the Samicum¹⁹. The festal union of the Italiots, near the temple of Here Lacidia²⁰.

The Panegyres of the *second* description were more or less shared in by the Greeks in general; athletic games were almost universally the principal amusement, and as these festivals were very numerous, every exertion was made to impart attraction to the games, which were attended by vast multitudes. The most popular of those which did not rise to the rank of strictly national feasts, were—The Panathenæa and Eleusinia in Attica; the Heraclea near Marathon, the Olympia;

¹³ Herod. 1. 147.¹⁴ Strab. 15. 683.¹⁵ See § 19. n. 15.¹⁶ Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sapient. 6, 619. R. ed.¹⁷ Paus. 8. 13. 1.¹⁸ Paus. 4. 4. 2.¹⁹ Strab. 8. 337. 343; Paus. 5. 6. 1; Müller, Orchom. 360, sqq.²⁰ Athen. 12. 541. A.; Liv. 24. 3.

in Eubœa, the Geræstia²¹, near Geræstus; in Bœotia, the Iolæa or Heracleia at Thebes; the Erotidia at Thespiæ; the Amphiaraiia at Oropos; the Trophonia or Basilea at Lebadea; the Delia near Delium; at Megara the Dioclea, Pythia, and Nemea; at Corinth the Hellotia; at Argos the Heræa or Hecatombæa; at Sicyon the Pythia; in the Achæan Pellene the Theoxenia or Hermæa; in Arcadia the Lycæa amongst the Parrhasians; the Aleæa at Tegea; the Coreia at Cleiton; the Hermæa amongst the Pheneates; the Æacea²², Delphinia and Heræa in Ægina; the Isthmia in Syracuse²³.

Amongst the principal festal assemblies, which appear to have been common to the whole Greek nation, were

The Olympic Games.

The Panegyris at Olympia, originally, probably, a feast without athletic games, seems to have existed before the Doric migration to the Peloponnesus. It was at first superintended by the Laconian Achæans²⁴, and remodelled by Iphitus²⁵. At its renovation a cessation of hostilities was undoubtedly proclaimed²⁶ for the sharers in the feast, and continued in force for the period of its dura-

²¹ According to the Schol. Pind. O. 13. 159, for all the Geræstians; Boeckh proposes Eubœans instead, but that was the character of the Amarynthia; the Geræstia, on the other hand, might be visited by the inhabitants of other districts.

²² See Müller, Æginet. 140, n. y, and p. 18, sqq., on the reputed Panhel- lenion in Ægina.

²³ See the lists in Pind. Ol. 7. 151—159; 9. 129—151; 13. 151—160; Nem. 10. 74. 90, with the Scholia and Boeckh's explicat., especially on Ol. 7. p. 175. 176. Compare a similar enumeration of Simonides, Anthol. 13. 19, and Hygin. 273; compare at large Meurs. Græc. fer. under the heads of the several feasts.

²⁴ Strab. 8. 357.²⁵ Paus. 5. 8. 2.²⁶ See Müller, Dor. 1. 138, sqq.

tion. The discus²⁷ of Iphitus was exhibited as a sort of security for its observance. Whether this was proclaimed by Elis alone to the nations around, or whether these associated themselves with Elis for this object by treaty, as though assembling for an Amphictyony, is doubtful. At the time of its more perfect development, the festival seems to have been in the hands of the Eleans alone; they promulgated laws, regulating the order of the feast²⁸, proclaimed the armistice²⁹, and appointed the umpires³⁰, who were instructed in their duty by the Elean Nomophylaces³¹, and whose decisions might be set aside by the council in Elis³²; whereas, in a real Amphictyony, a general council would have been required. An original convention, as to festival and armistice, is, however, implied by the tradition concerning the conference between Lycurgus and Iphitus³³, which recounted that the feast itself, without being restricted to any particular place, or accompanied by athletic games, was, upon one occasion, when the partakers in it were prevented from going to Olympia, celebrated by the Spartans at home by means of a sacrifice³⁴. However this may be, it is certain that although the Eleans were afterwards the sole givers of the festival, such as were of Doric descent originally predominated; none but the Peloponnesian Dorians, with the Arcadians, were the immediate participators in it; and it is possible that the Achæans were excluded. Hence

²⁷ Paus. 5. 20. 1.

²⁸ Paus. 5. 9. 1.

²⁹ By means of the *σπονδοφόροι Ἕλαιοι*, see Thucyd. 5. 50; Boeckh. and Dissen ad Pind. Isthm. 2. p. 494. 496.

³⁰ *Ἑλλανοδίκαι*, Paus. 5. 9. 4. 5; comp. Tittmann, griech. Staatsv. 386, p. 71.

³¹ Paus. 6. 24. 3.

³² Paus. 6. 3. 3.

³³ Paus. 5. 4. 4. Compare the accounts in the *Fragm. Phlegon Trall.* in the *Thes. Gron.* 9. 1294.

³⁴ *Οἶκοι ἔθνον*, Thucyd. 5. 49.

arose the tradition that Hercules, the genealogical hero of the Dorians, had instituted it³⁵; and on that account the Laconian Dioscuri were accounted the heroes of the games³⁶. However, it is manifest that the national name which here occurred in Zeus Hellanios³⁷, and Hellanodicæ, did not comprise the whole nation, but that it was principally from this point that it became so widely diffused³⁸; besides which, there can be no doubt, that upon the revival of the games after the lapse of two centuries, all the Greeks were looked upon as members of the festival, whilst barbarians were expressly forbidden to attend it³⁹. Its authority was at length greatly augmented by the active participation and hegemony of Sparta, the mistress in the gymnastic art.

The Eleans were, however, not satisfied with the actual importance the Panegyris afterwards attained, and with the accompanying armistice for its members. According to a tradition which bears indubitable marks of having emanated from them, the whole land of Elis was asserted to have been secured against hostilities by a convention between Oxylus and the Heraclidæ⁴⁰. But the name and lustre of the Olympic sanctuary do not begin historically till Iphitus. From the time of the dissolution of the political system of the ancient Achæans, it seems to have existed solely for the benefit of the Pisatans: it is certain that before Iphitus, the games were suspended, according to the tradition,

³⁵ Pind. Ol. 2. 5; 10. 72, sqq.

³⁶ Pind. Ol. 3. 63, sqq.

³⁷ Herod. 9. 7. 1.

³⁸ Compare above, § 13.

³⁹ Herod. 5. 22.

⁴⁰ Strab. 8. 357. 358; Polyb. 4. 73; Diod. Frag. v. 4. 18, Bipont.

from the time of Oxylus⁴¹; but it is a question whether Oxylus at that time ruled over Pisatis; nevertheless, the account of a consecration is not altogether unfounded. This consecration must be especially referred to the locality of the feast⁴², and in its most definite sense, to the grove Altis⁴³. Moreover, if troops marched through Elis, they were afterwards⁴⁴ compelled to pay a fine, but only during the celebration of the feast; if the territory of the Eleans, however, really continued almost inviolate till the time of Epaminondas, this must be ascribed to the favour of circumstances, the vicinity of the peaceful Achæans, and the Arcadians, who were either powerless or disinclined to conquest, and perhaps also to a declaration of Sparta at the time of her hegemony, that by means of the protection of Elis, Messenia was secured towards the north. But it was almost a shameless assertion on the part of the Eleans, that they had not borne arms before the time of Philip⁴⁵; they, in fact, fought with advantage to themselves for the sovereignty of Pisatis and Triphylia⁴⁶, and for their common country against the Persians⁴⁷.

The Nemea and Isthmia were like the Olympia ante-Doric; it was asserted that the former had been instituted by the seven princes against Thebes,

⁴¹ Paus. 5. 4. 4.

⁴² The Plataeans were likewise declared ἄσυλοι and ἱεροὶ τῷ θεῷ, (Thucyd. 2. 71; Plut. Aristid. 21.) which did not apply to the state, but to the sanctuary in its vicinity.

⁴³ Pind. Ol. 3. 31, sqq.; 8. 12; 10. 53, sqq., and Schol. 55; Isthm. 2. 42; Paus. 5. 10. 1; 6. 19. 1.

⁴⁴ Thucyd. 5. 49. 50; comp. n. 26.

⁴⁵ Paus. 4. 28. 3.

⁴⁶ Strab. 8. 355, 358; Paus. 5. 6. 3; 6. 22. 2; comp. Polyb. 4. 74; Diod. 15. 77. The opinion afterwards pronounced of them by Agis was, τί δὲ ποιοῦσι θαυμαστὸν, εἰ δὲ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων μὴ ἡμέρα χρωῖνται τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, Plut. Lac. Apophth. 6. 808.

⁴⁷ Paus. 5. 4. 5.

as funeral games to the memory of Opheltēs⁴⁸, and the latter, with no better foundation, by the Ionians⁴⁹ in honour of Melicertes, probably after their diffusion over the Isthmus with a view to an Amphictyony with Athens. Both, however, became Doric. The Nemea, according to the tradition, dedicated by Hercules to the Zeus of Nemea⁵⁰, were first of all intended for none but the Dorian military nobles⁵¹, and were under the joint superintendence of Argos, Corinth, and Cleonæ⁵². Corinth obtained the right to preside over the Isthmia⁵³; but the Athenians retained a place of honour⁵⁴, and were invited to the games even in time of war⁵⁵. The Eleans, on the other hand, had no share in them; the reason of this was referred to the mythical age⁵⁶. The Cypselidæ did not solemnise them⁵⁷, and thus they were suspended for seventy years.

The Pythia were more general. Their origin seems to have been a Panegyris, in connection with the Delphic oracle; with this the Delphians⁵⁸ combined games for the purposes of amusement, which originally consisted of a contest between singers in praise of the Delphic god⁵⁹. This assembly was, in its more important capacity, denominated the

⁴⁸ Apollod. 3. 6. 4; Hygin. 74; Argum. 4. Schol. Pind. Nem.; comp. on Pronax. Æl. V. H. 4. 5.

⁴⁹ Plut. Thes. 5; Hygin. 2; Zenob. 4. 38. Compare on the subject of the Nemea Villosion in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. v. 35; on the Isthmia Massieu, ibid. v. 5. ⁵⁰ Argum. 5. Pind. Nem.

⁵¹ Στρατιωτικὸν γένος, ibid.

⁵² Argum. 3; comp. Paus. 2. 14. 2. On the ground of locality, Cleonæ possessed the most immediate, and, apparently, the original claim to it, comp. Plut. Arat. 40. Concerning the presidency of Argos in later times, see Liv. 34. 41.

⁵³ Diod. 16. 60.

⁵⁴ Hellanicus and Andron, ap. Plut. Thes. 5.

⁵⁵ Thucyd. 8. 10.

⁵⁶ Paus. 5. 2. 2.

⁵⁷ Solin. 12.

⁵⁸ Strab. 9. 421.

⁵⁹ Paus. 10. 7. 2; Strab. ubi sup. On the Ἡσθικὸς νόμος, see Boeckh. Pind. Metr. 182, n.

Amphictyonic Council, and was charged with the superintendence of the games⁶⁰. This subject will be treated more fully below.

The passion of the Greeks for festal and athletic games, was not confined to the competitors themselves, but was equally conspicuous in the states to which they respectively belonged. These sent Theorias⁶¹; caused their names to be proclaimed upon the victory of one of their citizens⁶²; crowned the victor with garlands in honour of themselves⁶³, and paid him the highest testimonies of respect upon his return home⁶⁴. But how far these unions were from conducing to the establishment of political concord, is proved by the monuments erected at Olympia, commemorating the victories of Greeks over Greeks⁶⁵, and it is manifest that instead of forming a hearth of unity, they were a mere arena for egotism and ostentation, and ministered to the most disgraceful spirit of disunion. Their insignificance in comparison with truly patriotic exertions, was justly appreciated by Lycurgus the orator⁶⁶, and the great Alexander⁶⁷, who, upon beholding in Miletus the numerous statues of Olympic and Pythian victors, asked—where were those bodies when the barbarians besieged your town? and this ought long ago to have taught the moderns to descant with less prejudice and partiality on this common-place of empty declamation.

⁶⁰ Strab. ubi sup. According to a tradition, indeed, Amphictyon was the institutor of the games, Paus. 10. 33. 4.

⁶¹ Demosth. de Coron. 487, c. Mid. 552.

⁶² Pind. p. 1. 61; 9. 129; Sophocl. Elect. 626.

⁶³ Lysias de Aristoph. bonis, 662.

⁶⁴ e. g. see Paus. 7. 17. 6.

⁶⁵ Paus. 5. 24. 1.

⁶⁶ In Leocr. 176.

⁶⁷ Plut. Aristoph. 6. 684; comp. Demosth. Amat. 1408; Xenophanes, ap. Ath. 10. 413, C. D.; Vitruv. Præf. v. 9.

From the Panegyres in general, and especially the Pythia, the eye turns to the Delphic oracle, as a religious-political institution, which, it is natural to suppose, would have been a source of concord to the Greeks. It is a decided fact, that its high and generally-recognised authority was, like that of the Olympic games, the growth of the age which preceded the Persian wars, under the protection of the Dorians, and particularly Sparta, which at that time reposed implicit confidence in it. However, it was essentially deficient in an exclusively Grecian character. Lydians⁶⁸, Egyptians⁶⁹, Etruscans, and Carthaginians⁷⁰ had access to it, and met with honourable reception; in return for his donations, the liberal Cræsus and his Lydians were invested with the rights of Promanteia, Ateleia, and Proedria, and every Lydian who wished it, became a Delphian⁷¹. The Greek nation, however, did not regrad common access to the oracle as a means of concord; their questions seldom bore another character than that of egotism; and their relation might be illustrated by that of a friend and a foe gathering fruit in the same field, each endeavouring to defraud the other of his just share and proportion. The oracle was frequently consulted for the purpose of giving a tincture of justice to the designs of ambition⁷². Its responses were, through intentional ambiguity and insidious obscurity, as much adapted to promote selfishness and dishonesty in those who consulted it, as they were unsuited to

⁶⁸ Herod. 1. 14. 19; 46. 50, sqq.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 2. 180.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 1. 167; Diod. 19. 2.

⁷¹ Herod. 1. 54.—*ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτίων γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον.*

⁷² *Διολόστομοι χρησμοὶ* as early as in Æschyl. Prom. 661.

be safe rules of conduct for individuals and states. Still less was it able or willing to exercise a connected influence on the concerns of the Grecian states in themselves and amongst each other: its declarations were not those of a theocratical institution, acting of its own accord upon the public system with energy and vigour, but were merely the consequences of questions proposed, and the answer could seldom possess a more general interest than had been involved in the question, or do more than utter a command in matters which regarded futurity, and were beyond human control⁷³. Finally, those responses which contained political advice, were seldom impressed with the character of an interest in the general welfare of Greece; it is an honourable characteristic of the oracle of Olympia, that it gave no responses on wars between Greeks and Greeks⁷⁴. On the other hand, that of Delphi was not only willing to do so, but at the same time proved, by its treacherous ambiguity, that it was only intent upon its own advantage, and on providing for its own security at all events⁷⁵; or it visibly betrayed partiality, and, shameful to say, this might be propitiated with gold⁷⁶. But its readiness to receive Grecian trophies taken in domestic warfare, was more odious and pernicious than the same quality could possibly have been in Olympia⁷⁷.

⁷³ However, I willingly concede that the activity of the Delphic institution in sending out colonies, and in the direction of Sparta, formed an exception, see Müll. Dor. 1. 255, sqq.; comp. 1. 337. 341, and below, § 34, n. 28.

⁷⁴ Xenoph. H. 3. 2. 22.

⁷⁵ As in the response for Ægina against Athens, Herod. 5. 89.

⁷⁶ See on the bribes of the Alcmaeonidæ and Cleomenes, Herod. 5. 63. 90; 6. 65; Paus. 3. 4. 5.

⁷⁷ Paus. 10. 9. 3; 10. 10. 2; 10. 13. 3. etc., much of which should, doubtless, be referred to a later age.

b. Union of States with a Federal Council.

§ 23. None of the above-described festal communions appear to have been directed to the object of asserting the integrity of those invaluable political possessions, liberty and independence. Our attention must next be directed to those confederacies in which, though the people at large formed a panegyris, the representatives¹ of those individual states of the confederacy which had acceded to it of their own free will, constituted a general council, a central point of common authority (*κοινόν*). Unions of this description were found in several single provinces, whose inhabitants, like the provinces themselves, were consequently, designated by a common name; and amongst the most eminent must be reckoned that of the Amphictyons.

In several districts of Greece there existed confederacies of twelve towns; the number is significant, and was perhaps a political application of astronomical observations, and borrowed from the twelve months of the year. It seems to have been first employed by the Ionians, as a political division of the earliest ages; it subsisted amongst them when they were still in Achaia²; and, according to a conjecture expressed above³, a trace of it may be discovered amongst the Phæacians; further westward the researches of history find it

¹ *Πρόβουλοι*, Herod. 6. 7. of the Ionians; 7. 172. of the Greeks on the Isthmus in the Persian war. Comp. Aristot. Pol. 4. 11. 9; 4. 12. 8; 6. 5. 10. On the word *κοινόν*, see Append. viii. On the subject of the confederacies, consult Sainte-Croix sur les gouvernem. fédératifs, and Tittmann, gr. Staatsv. lib. 8.

² Strab. 8. 383.

³ § 13. n. 42.

amongst the Etruscans, and in the east amongst the Egyptians, etc.

The Ionians also appear to have established this subdivision in Attica⁴, which very soon assumed the character of a closely-connected state. It was adopted by the Achæans, when they occupied the Peloponnesian territory of the Ionians; the Ionians revived it in Asia, and it was likewise introduced amongst the adjacent Æolians.

The twelve towns of the Ionic confederation in Asia were Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, Chios, and Samos⁵. The adjacent Magnesia, on the Mæander, erected by Thessalians, continued to stand alone, and therefore incurred the enmity of Ephesus⁶; but Smyrna, situate within the Ionian boundaries, became an object of contention to the Æolians and Ionians, and Colophon at one time obtained possession of it⁷; but it was soon afterwards destroyed by Alyattes the Lydian⁸. At the origin of the confederation, the validity of the heroic kingly principle is still perceptible when Phocæa is not allowed to join the league until it had received a prince of the line of Codrus⁹. The royal capital was originally

⁴ See below, § 43.

⁵ Herod. 1. 142.

⁶ Diog. L. 1. 117. 118; Ælian. V. H. 13. 26. On the Lydian conquest, see Suidas *Μάγνης*. Vatic. append. iv. xi.

⁷ From Strab. 14. 633. 634. compared with Herod. 1. 149. it would appear that the Ionians removed from a place near Ephesus, called Smyrna, to the city which was afterwards so denominated, and that this did not become Æolian till later, and again by means of Colophon, Ionian. In the confused account of Vitruv. 4. 1. stating that Melite, the thirteenth Ionian town, was destroyed by the other twelve; and that in its stead Smyrna afterwards became an Ionian confederate town through Attalus, Melite appears as the more ancient name.

⁸ Herod. 1. 16; Strab. 14. 646.

⁹ Paus. 7. 3. 5.

Ephesus¹⁰. The general council was annexed to the panegyris near the Panionium in Mycale¹¹, celebrated in honour of the Ionian Poseidon of Helice¹². No vestige has been preserved of any legal provision touching a majority in voting, or for the casting vote in case of equally divided numbers, except in the proverb of Colophon, the interpretation of which is very doubtful¹³. Resolutions of the general council will hardly be found before the rebellion against Darius¹⁴; mutual representation was not amongst the objects of the league; the Lydians conquered one town after another, and the confederacy took no steps to oppose them¹⁵. Upon the expedition of Cyrus, Thales proposed to institute a federal council, as though such a body had never existed till that period¹⁶; when his advice was rejected, Miletus made a separate treaty with Cyrus¹⁷. Intestine dissension broke out several times in the course of the war, for instance, between Chios, Miletus, and Erythræ¹⁸, Priene, Miletus, and Samos¹⁹. After their second subjugation by the Persians, Artaphernes, the satrap, compelled the Ionians to enter into treaties, to adjust their differences amicably, and not to

¹⁰ Βασιλείον, Strab. 14. 633.

¹¹ Herod. 1. 143.

¹² Strab. 8. 384.

¹³ Τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐπίθετες in Suidas, and in Vatic. append. iv. xi. is interpreted with reference to the double vote of Colophon on account of the Smyrnæans resident there; but there is no authentic statement of their having been transplanted thither; according to Strab. 14. 646. the Smyrnæans, after the destruction of their town, dwelt *κομηδόν*. The other interpretation of the phrase, as relating to the decision of a battle by cavalry, is well known.

¹⁴ On the degree of credit to be attached to the account of Dionys. Halicar. comp. above, § 22. n. 5. The passage in Vitruv. before alluded to, has "*Melite—communi consilio est sublata*," with no less confusion in form than in substance.

¹⁵ Herod. 1. 14—18; Thuc. 1. 15.

¹⁶ Herod. 1. 170.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1. 169.

¹⁸ Herod. 1. 18; Polyæn. 8. 36.

¹⁹ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 185.

invade each other's territories²⁰. From Ionia let us turn to the two neighbouring districts.

The Æolian confederate towns of the mainland were Cuma, Larissa, Neon-Teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægææ, Myrina, Gryneia, and for some time Smyrna²¹. An original compact may be inferred from their number. The expedition against the Colophonians, who had occupied Smyrna, and the distribution of the expelled Smyrnæans amongst the other eleven towns, appear to have been joint transactions²²; but there is no mention of a confederate sanctuary or panegyris; it is true something of the kind was attached to the temple of Apollo, at Gryneia²³; but that silence may be regarded as a proof of the absence of periodical consultation, and, in fact, the Æolians were no less destitute of strength than incapable of deliberation.

In Lesbos there were originally six Æolian cities, Mitylene, Methimna, Pyrrha, Cressos, Antissa, and Arisba²⁴. Whether any treaty of confederation was ever entered into is questionable. Arisba was soon reduced to subjection by Methimna²⁵; at a later period Mitylene and Methimna asserted a pre-eminence.

Amongst the towns of the Doric Hexapolis, one panegyris only is recorded, viz., the above-named Triopia. None but the Rhodian towns Lindus,

²⁰ Herod. 6. 42; *συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἡνάγκασε ποιεῖσθαι ἵνα δωσίδικοι εἴεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιεν τε καὶ ἀγοίεν.*

²¹ Herod. 1. 149.

²² Ibid. 1. 150.

²³ See Sainte-Croix anciens gouvernem. fédérat. 156.

²⁴ Strab. 13. 617, sqq.

²⁵ Herod. 1. 151.

Camirus, and Ialysus, were associated by political union.

In Achaia, the twelve towns Pellene, Ægeira, Ægæ, Bura, Helice, Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, Pharæ, Olenus, Dyme, and Tritæa²⁶, had a panegyris with a federal council in the grove of Zeus Homagurios or Homarios²⁷, by Ægium. It is true internal distractions did not harass the Achæans till after the Persian wars; still they were very rarely united for the purpose of energetic action. The federal council in a later age pronounced a verdict against Helice, at the instance of the Ionians²⁸; but this was not carried into effect. Pellene and Patræ asserted the pre-eminence.

Lastly, in Acarnania there was, besides the panegyris near Actium²⁹, which can have possessed no political influence, a common tribunal near Olpæ³⁰; this was probably nothing more than an institution for the settlement of disputes with the northern neighbours. At the same time the Acarnanians proper, with the exception of the maritime town Cēniadæ³¹, which continued separate, appear to have held together; but they must be distinguished from the barbarians of the intermediate tract of country, and the Corinthian colonies Anactorium, Argos Amphilo-chium, and Ambracia.

²⁶ Herod. 1. 145; Strab. 8. 386; comp. Paus. 7. 6. 1, sqq.; and on the confederate towns of later times, Polyb. 2. 41.

²⁷ Paus. 7. 24. 2. The place ἐν Ὁμαρίῳ, Polyb. 5. 93. 10; in Strab. 8. 385, erroneously called Ἀρναρίῳ, see Casaub. ad loc. and Schweighaus. ad. Pol. 2. 39. 6.

²⁸ Strab. 8. 385.

²⁹ Strab. 5. 225; Steph. Byz. Ἀκτία.

³⁰ Κοινὸν δικαστήριον, Thuc. 3. 105; and from thence Steph. Byz. Ὀλπαί.

³¹ Thuc. 3. 7.

Thus these confederate states of Greece, which were not associated by any kind of compulsion, were unions for deliberation, indeed, but very far removed from the principle of common agency and mutual representation. In political affairs of importance, the federal council seldom possessed binding efficacy; it was not a joint assembly, by which the cause of each state might be amicably adjusted or judicially decided. Even the most imminent danger could only produce concord in word and deed for a short time and imperfectly, whilst single towns of the confederacy formed separate alliances in peace and war.

c. *The Amphictyonic Council.*

§ 24. The picture presented by the preceding examination of the confederate relations amongst the single provinces, is repeated on an enlarged scale in the Amphictyons. This word, more correctly written *Amphictions*, was, as before observed¹, originally a designation for the dwellers in and around a certain district, *neighbours*, and an Amphictyony was a union of the same connected with some central point, which generally bore a religious character; afterwards it became a specific denomination for the council at Delphi. Not so much on account of the identity of name as of the character which conjecture has assigned them, I once more revert to those Amphictyonies which were cast into the shade by the Delphic,

¹ See § 19, n. 12. It is scarcely credible that the form *Ἀμφικτιόνες*, which had become prevalent, instead of *Ἀμφικτιόνες*, could ever have been made an argument in support of its derivation from a mythical *Ἀμφικτιών*.

and again refer to that of Calauria². This was originally Achæo-Ionic, and comprised Epidaurus, Nauplia, Hermione, Prasiæ, Ægina, Athens, and the Minyan Orchomenus³; the point of union was the temple of Poseidon, on the island. After the Dorians had entered the Peloponnesus, they endeavoured to appropriate the Amphictyony to themselves: Argos expelled the inhabitants of Nauplia, and took their place in the confederacy⁴; Sparta succeeded Prasiæ; the mythical fiction, that Calauria had once belonged to (the Doric) Apollo, and had devolved to Poseidon by exchange⁵, was intended to support the Doric principle. However, the Amphictyony, and even the panegyris, fell into disuse, if they ever existed, but the sanctuary of the temple retained its importance till a late age.

In reference to the Amphictyonic Council, properly so called, we may repeat, that in estimating the character of earlier Grecian institutions, it is necessary to guard against the error of supposing that the actual importance which they eventually attained, was the necessary consequence of some principle adopted at their foundation. The rise of the Amphictyonic confederacy must be referred to an age in which the political importance of the *tribe* took precedence of that of the *town*. The right to a share in it was based upon the principle of races⁶. This, and the fact that the habitations of most of its members bordered on each other, lead us to conclude that the confederacy took locality for its basis, and that it was here that the word Amphic-

² See § 19, n. 16.

³ Strab. 8. 374; Boeckh, *Pub. Econ.* 2. 368; Müller, *Orchom.* 247; Buttmann, *über die Minyæ*, p. 217.

⁴ Strab. *ubi sup.*; comp. Paus. 4. 24. 2; 4. 15. 2.

⁵ Paus. 2. 33. 3.

⁶ See Tittmann, *Amphictyonen*, p. 18.

tyons first obtained the general signification already adverted to⁷. Tradition, it cannot be denied, names Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, as the founder of the league, and the occasion of its appellation⁸, and with sufficient consistency, as was remarked above⁹, Deucalion, the creator of the people after the deluge, is followed by Amphictyon, the inventor of unions amongst the tribes.

The original element may, with safety, be assumed in a primeval panegyris, which was, perhaps, limited to the dwellers in the immediate vicinity of Delphi¹⁰, and was exclusively of a religious-festal nature. But should it be asked, what occasioned the increase in the number of its members, as well as its most prominent characteristics, deliberation and the attendance of representatives, it may not be unsatisfactory to suppose a union amongst the dwellers in and around Thessaly, for the purpose of repelling the encroachments of the Thesprotian Thessalians, to whose subsequent entrance into the confederacy we shall afterwards more particularly allude. Thus considered, it cannot excite surprise that there were two places appointed for the annual assemblies of later times—one at Delphi and the other at Thermopylæ. The panegyris around Delphi was anterior to the settlement of the Thessalians; the establishment of the second assembly near Anthela, in the Pylæ¹¹, which was likewise connected with a sanctuary,

⁷ See Paus. 10. 8. 3. The word Ἀμφικτύονες, is interpreted the dwellers around Delphi by Anaximenes, ap. Harpocrat. Ἀμφικτ.; comp. Hesych. and Oros in the Etym. M. Ἀμφικτ.

⁸ See the testimonies in Tittmann, p. 11. 12.

⁹ See § 12, n. 26. 27.

¹⁰ Æschin. de fal. a. Legat. 284. makes the building of the Delphic temple and the first Amphictyonic assembly contemporaneous.

¹¹ Herod. 7. 200; Suid. πύλας.

the temple of Demeter¹², from the importance of the position, and the fortifications constructed there by the Phocians, proves the real object contemplated to have been a political one¹³.

The ulterior development of this confederacy, which was probably at first but imperfectly constituted, must apparently be ascribed to the following facts.

Tradition narrated, that Acrisius of Argos new-modelled the league¹⁴. In the first place, it can scarcely be doubted that, in this instance, an event was removed, from the time that followed the Doric migration, back into the mythical age. Is it assuming too great a license to conjecture, that at the time of the struggle between Argos and Sparta for the supremacy of the Peloponnesus, the former allied itself to the northern states, and that the restoration of the Olympic games by Lycurgus, and the friendly relations into which he entered with the Arcadians and Eleans, who had no share in the Amphictyonic league, were intended as a counterpoise? The inactivity of the Spartans in the Crissæan war, leads us to suppose that their connection with the Delphic oracle was not so intimate as it soon afterwards became.

An important influence upon the form the confederacy afterwards assumed, must, however, have been exercised by the Crissæan war, which is represented in the traditions extant as solely caused

¹² Compare the conjecture of Müll. Dor. 1. 26, that a combination of the Pelasgic worship of Demeter, with the Pythian worship of the Hellenes, was effected by the Amphictyons.

¹³ Herod. 7. 176. To this must be referred the statement, that Strophius, the son of Crisus, instituted the assembly at the Pylæ, Schol. Soph. Trach. 640; comp. Liban. 3. 472. R. Fréret, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. 47. 72. 74.

¹⁴ Strab. 9. 420.

by it. It is a remarkable fact, that whilst Sparta remained supine and inactive, Thessaly and Athens were the principal enemies of Crissa, and Clisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, and the opponent of Argos¹⁵, took the lead¹⁶. This is indeed an inducement for us to assume an attack upon the Doric principle: but it is insufficient to explain the share the oracle had in the war, which became a holy one in consequence, and the truth may be approached by a surer road. The whole war against Crissa is, apparently, ascribed to the Amphictyonic league, with that attachment to proper names which characterised the Greeks upon all occasions, whilst, in all probability, it really pertained to some of the dwellers around Crissa, Amphictyons in the original sense of the word. In the traditions relating to this war, Crissa is described as obnoxious to the charge of arrogance and impiety¹⁷. But it was at one time entitled to respect¹⁸. Suppose we were to assume that it had carried on the war with particular energy against the Thessalians, who were already upon an amicable footing with the more southern districts, Athens, for instance, or that it had grown dangerous to the tyrant of Sicyon by its naval power, and finally, had, through its supremacy, alarmed the jealousy of the oracle and the rest of the Phocians, who were, apparently, parties to the war against it. There exist but partial and disfigured fragments on the subject of the war¹⁹; it is impossible to clear up all the obscurity in which the subject is involved, but it may be asserted with

¹⁵ Herod. 5. 67.

¹⁶ Plut. Sol. 11.

¹⁸ Hom. Il. 2. 520. *Κρίσσαν τε Ζαθῆν.*

¹⁹ Plut. and Paus. ubi sup. *Æschin.* 498, sqq.

¹⁷ Plut. ubi sup. *Callisthenes*, ap. *Ath.* 13. 560. C.

great probability, that the energetic Clisthenes was the soul of the enterprise; that the share taken by Athens was brought about by Cleisthenes' son-in-law, Megacles²⁰, son of the Athenian commander, Alcmaeon²¹; and that, on the other side, the Thessalians were ever ready to assail their hereditary enemies, whilst the oracle provided for its own independence by causing a donation of the conquered country to be made to itself; and finally, that the Thessalians were, from motives of gratitude, received into the Amphictyonic league, perhaps in the place of the Crissæans, whilst the league itself, after the disappearance of Crissa, possessed in Delphi a more strongly marked and salient point of union.

The number of the confederate states after that time may, according to the successful attempt of Tittmann²² to reconcile the conflicting statements of the ancients²³, be safely fixed at twelve: viz., Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnesians, Locrians, Ætæans or Ænians, Phthiotan Achæans, Malians, Phocians, and Delphians.

That the two annual meetings, in spring and autumn²⁴, were not mere panegyres, but assemblies of the council, is proved by the sending of representatives from the confederate states, called Pylagoræ and Hieromnemons²⁵, the latter of whom, by virtue of the religious tendency of the confedera-

²⁰ Herod. 6. 130.

²¹ Plut. Sol. 11; comp. Boeckh. *Pind.* Expl. 301.

²² See *Amphict.* cap. 3.

²³ The chief passages are *Æsch.* ubi sup. 285; *Paus.* 10. 8. 2; *Harpocr.* *Ἀμφικτύονες*.

²⁴ *Strab.* 9. 420.

²⁵ *Tittmann*, 83, sqq.; comp. *Demosth.* de *Falsa. Legat.* 380. 19: *ᾧστε μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροῦς, μήτε τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὰ Πύθια πέμψαι.*

tion presided ²⁶: formal regulations for voting were likewise made ²⁷. Sometimes a sort of great council, or popular assembly, was convened, consisting of the people collected there for religious objects, the use of the oracle, and celebration of the festival ²⁸. Now on the strength of this assembly other Greeks, besides those belonging to the races represented, obtained admission it is true; but this was never extended into a general assembly of all the Greeks, and the expressions of the ancients ²⁹, from which it has been attempted to represent the Amphictyonic confederation as such in the light of a Greek national assembly, will not bear the test of historical scrutiny. In the primitive age the political importance of the confederacy was considerable in consequence of the principle laid down at its formation, viz., that of tribes; this must of necessity have declined upon the rise of the new states; therefore for centuries there was at most but doubtful or suspicious mention of the Amphictyons, who during that period can hardly be said to have formed a league: it is not till after the Crissean war that they are beheld in a clearer light. But at all times their agency was impressed with a religious character ³⁰; some of their international ordinances alone bear a political impress, and in reference to these the celebrated old formula

²⁶ Tittm. 86. ²⁷ Æsch. 286; comp. Tittm. 73—75.

²⁸ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 515: τοὺς συνθρόντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ—στρατὸς Ἀμφικτυόνων has probably the same signification. Pind. p. 10. 12.

²⁹ Κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον. Demosth. de Coron. 279; Æsch. in Ctesiph. 549; Commune Græciæ concilium Cic. de Divinat. 1. 23; comp. the erroneous opinion of Dionys. Halic. 4. 25.

³⁰ Frérét, ubi sup. 47. 71. considers them to have been exclusively destined for religious objects. Comp. Tittmann, 99—101; Müller, Dor. 1. 261. This character was first annexed to the oracle and the Pythian panegyris, it is true; but it afterwards extended still farther; e. g. see Ath. 4. 173. the regulation that the Eleodytæ at Delos should present water.

of oath is still extant ³¹. Lastly, in the accounts of the ancients concerning the intervention of the Amphictyons, the antiquity of the word has served to exhibit the confederacy in a false light, inasmuch as we are not to understand the league, but the dwellers around a country (ἀμφικτῶνες) which was interested in an affair; this moreover coincided with the general practice of the Greeks, to connect various objects with a common point for the convenience of reference, and this in a certain degree is perceptible in the accounts of the Crissean war; but totally unconnected with the confederation are the judgment of Amphictyons in the battle of Thyrna ³², the institution of the asylum on Samos ³³, and the Amphictyonic Phyle in Thurii ³⁴, which must be understood of the inhabitants of such countries as were concerned in the affairs. Still less can a connection be established between the confederation and a general council of the Greeks, like that in the case of Themistocles ³⁵. But where its operation is established beyond all doubt, it is confined to questions of international law, with the exception of a few instances, in which the authority of Athens and Sparta are already perceptible, and they are the real agents, such as the banishment of Ephialtes, the betrayer of his country, and the erection of the monument at Thermopylæ ³⁶. To this class belonged the sentence pronounced against the piratical Dolopes on the island of Scyros ³⁷, which was carried into effect by Athens;

³¹ Æschin. de Fals. Legat. 284.

³² Ps. Plut. Parall. 7. 218. R.

³⁴ Diod. 12. 11.

³⁶ Herod. 7. 196; 8. 288.

³³ Tacit. Ann. 11. 14.

³⁵ Diod. 11. 55.

³⁷ Plut. Cim. 8.

and even in this case it could only lay claim to the shadow, whilst the substance was engrossed by the Athenians. In the meridian of Grecian prosperity, the confederacy neither evinced any desire to obtain greater influence, nor was any disposition manifested by the most eminent of the Grecian races, to invest it with greater authority: it neither proved a common tribunal, nor a collective council against external enemies; the greater part of its members fought for Xerxes, whilst his adversaries held a Synedrion on the Isthmus.

d. Mutual Hospitality and the Interchange of Civil Rights.

§ 25. This relation formed an intermediate grade between the lax ties of festive pleasure and of the council, which have hitherto formed the subject of our consideration, and the actual union by means of military alliance and hegemony, to which we shall afterwards direct our attention.

When the public hospitality annexed to the person of the prince terminated with the heroic monarchy, it became the affair of the community which thenceforward constituted the state¹, to assume the same as a political inheritance. It is true, that through the narrower and more determinate signification attached to citizenship, and the pride it inspired, the position of foreigners in the scale of importance, necessarily became lower

¹ The Spartan kings certainly had a right to choose Proxenoι for the state (Herod. 6. 57); but the hospitality which they themselves exercised, only regarded them individually. See Paus. 3. 8. 2: *Ξενίας δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος Ἀγιδί τε ἰδίᾳ ξένος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόξενος*. By the same principle Sparta's treaty of hospitality with the Pisistratids did not extend to the Athenian state.

than it had been in the earlier ages, when they possessed more powerful support in the divine law; and where this principle was most rigorously developed, as in Sparta, it led to inhospitality². [But in a great number of states there was not only every moral disposition on the part of the community at large, and of individuals to exercise the duties of hospitality towards strangers³, but they were more firmly established in general, by means of political order and security, a step was put to depredations, intercourse with strangers promoted by increased facilities for travelling, and the institution of asylums,] and a substitute provided for the declining patriarchal piety. [At the same time] in lieu of the royal hospitality, [the notion of a large civil family comprising every member of the state, generated a comprehensive scheme of public hospitality, exercised by individuals in the name of all, and called Proxenia. Its origin is derived from the time when a citizen, either from inclination or interest, treated the members of another state⁴ with hospitality, and took upon himself the charge of giving them a friendly reception in his own country, and officiating as their political representative⁵; a speedy consequence of this was, that states for the purpose of facilitating the intercourse of their own citizens with other countries,

² *Ξενηλασία*, Herod. 1. 65; Plut. Lyc. 27; Xenoph. Repub. Lac. 14. 4; Photius, *Ξενηλασίαν*.

³ The Andria of Crete were renowned, Dosiad. ap. Ath. 4. 143. C.; the Pontic Phasis, Heracl. Pont. 18; Corinth, Athens, Byzantium, etc. are likewise called hospitable.

⁴ *Ἐθελοπρόξενος*. As at a late period Pithias in Coreyra for Athens. Thucyd. 3. 70; Gellius in Agrigentum, Diod. 13. 83; comp. Ulrich de Proxenia, Berl. 1822. p. 7.

⁵ Comp. Poll. 3. 59: *ὁ μὲν πρόξενος, ὅταν πόλει δημοσίᾳ προξενῇ τις ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ὧν, ὡς ὁποδοχῆς τε τῶν ἐκείθεν φροντίζειν καὶ προσόδου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἔδρας ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ*.

undertook the Proxenia for the citizens of other states, with which they thus indirectly established relations of friendship; and at length it became the care of the state, publicly to appoint citizens to perform the duties of Proxenia⁶. These Proxenoi might be compared to the consuls of the present day, if these instead of belonging to the state they represent, appertained to that in which they are the representatives of the other. The Proxenos naturally entered into the closest connection with the state, which confided in him, and this was looked upon as his second country⁷. This was the true nature of the relation, and in its main points the Proxenoi appear almost universally to have belonged to that state in which they represented another⁸; nevertheless citizens were sent to other parties than the Proxenoi, and this relation in Athens was subsequently associated with legal rights which ranked next to those of real citizenship⁹, and individuals and collective states were at length presented with the Proxenia, as a privilege but little inferior to the civic right itself¹⁰. Therefore when the subject of Xenia between states, as that between Miletus and Athens, Miletus and Sybaris¹¹ is treated of, no other relation is to be understood than that which provided the reciprocal observance of the Proxenia; however Xenia

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Therm. 583; Schol. Thucyd. 3. 70; comp. Valcken. ad Ammon. *πρόξενος*; Ulrich, p. 45. and 48. n. 46.

⁷ Plato, Leg. 1. 642. B.

⁸ e. g. Callias' family in Athens Proxenoi for Sparta, Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 22; 6. 3. 4; comp. Plato, Leg. 1. 642. B. C. on Megillus; Diod. 13. 27. on Nicias; Æschin. in Ctesiph. 647. on Arthmius of Zelia.

⁹ Boeckh. Pub. Econ. 1. 55. 155; 2. 78; Meier und Schöm. Att. Proc. 55. 56.

¹⁰ Dem. in Lept. 475. 10; 497. 3. sqq.; Gruter, Inschrift. 400. 401.

¹¹ Herod. 6. 21.

seems to be a more general notion than Proxenia, which was as it were a channel for it. Neither of them was however directed to the express determination of mutual concessions, but to the maintenance of friendly intercourse in general, and consequently to the tacit acquiescence in amicable adjustment in case of disputes. Express treaties converted the last into relations¹², which through the influence of a pre-eminent state like Athens¹³, might become a means to oppress the less powerful members of a confederacy. The conferring of single rights was determined by treaties to that express effect, even though mere verbal agreements, and by a specific enumeration of the rights in question; the assumption that the enjoyment of them was even in the earliest ages regarded as the growth of circumstances is wholly untenable; however upon the whole, clear and determinate principles for their regulation do not seem to have been laid down till afterwards, when the subject of right in general became more thoroughly understood. Moreover, it was natural that in conferring a single right, which is to a certain extent implied by the very acquisition of its object, a representation in general, like that provided by the Proxenia, must have been less needed, wherefore these single concessions are not comprised under that relation.

They consist of:—

Intermarriage, *ἐπιγαμία*. When one state granted

¹² Σύμβολα, Ps. Demosth. de Halonn. 78. 25; 79. 13. 17; in Mid. 570. 18; comp. Harpocr. *σύμβ.* The subject is treated at length by Heffter, Athen. Gerichtsverf. 90—93; Meier u. Schömb. Att. Proc. 773—780.

¹³ Hesych. ἀπὸ συμβόλων δικάζεσθαι· ἰδίκαζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπόν.

this to another, the right in question did not consist in the permission granted by the state to one of its citizens to choose a wife from the former, but from an opinion that it was expedient to keep the intrinsic qualities of the citizenship¹⁴, as once those of families, exclusive, in rendering it a lawful proceeding to marry one of the daughters of the state into that community, which was concerned in the treaty. For that reason Epigamia might often have been granted by a more powerful state as a mark of favour; but reciprocity followed of course¹⁵.

*The possession of houses and land, ἐγκτήσις*¹⁶. An important advance towards the essential principle of citizenship, the right of permanent residence¹⁷.

Exemption from taxation, ἀτέλεια, generally from every kind of impost¹⁸, from duties¹⁹, and particularly from the tax imposed on resident aliens, ἀτέλεια μετοικίου²⁰. The former was possessed by the Deceleans in Sparta, the kings Leucon, Sitalces, Evagoras in Athens²¹; the latter must be regarded as a privilege confined to individuals; in the same manner the footing upon which the Isoteles²² stood in Athens, was totally unconnected with the question of a political relation between Athens and their country.

¹⁴ But express prohibitions of Epigamia, as between the Attic Demes, the Palleneans, and Agnusians, (Plut. Thes. 13.) as between Andros and Paros, (Plut. Qu. Gr. 92; 7. 193.) were generally occasioned by particular circumstances.

¹⁵ Thus Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 19. ἐπιγαμίας καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παραλλήλως.

¹⁶ See the illustrative passages in Meier u. Schömb. Att. Proc. 491. n. 40.

¹⁷ Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 154; comp. below § 33. n. 34.

¹⁸ Ἀτέλεια ἀπάντων, Demosth. in Lept. 475. 10.

¹⁹ Wolf Præf. Demosth. Leptin. LXXI. n. 46; Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 93.

²⁰ Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 354.

²¹ Herod. 9. 73; Wolf, Lept. LXXIV. n. 51.

²² Comp. § 46. n. 28.

All this was comprised under the right of *citizenship in general*, πολιτεία, ἰσοπολιτεία, which was of course only brought into full operation when a citizen of that state, to which such a right had been granted, took up his residence in the state with which amicable relations had been contracted²³. This was not always reciprocal; but there is no dearth of examples to prove that it frequently was so²⁴, and it may easily be supposed that the state thus favoured by a more powerful one very readily gave its own citizenship in return.

An appendage to the citizenship, or even to one of the inferior rights, such as the Ateleia²⁵, was the rank termed *Proedria*²⁶, and the privilege of being called *public benefactor*, εὐεργεσία²⁷.

There are few examples of one of the rights here enumerated having been conferred singly, and even the Politeia does not appear so much to have comprised all the rest, as to have been used for a single right, for one or more of those included under it are frequently particularised²⁸. That this mode of classing them together was customary, is proved by the indefinite manner in which the terms

²³ Comp. the account in Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 10. of the Ephesians giving the Syracusians ἀτελείαν. Σελινουσίους δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπολώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωσαν.

²⁴ Timæus ap. Polyb. 12. 10. says there existed decrees between the Locrians in Italy and in Greece, καὶ ἡ πολιτείαν ὑπάρχον ἑκατέρους παρ' ἑκατέρους. Calydon had citizenship in Achaia, Xen. Hell. 4. 6. 1; the Boeotian Harma in Argos, Strab. 9. 404; Lebadeia in Arcadia, Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 199; Syracuse in Antandros, Xen. Hell. 1. 1. 26 but without reciprocity.

²⁵ As in the case of the Deceleans, n. 21.

²⁶ Demosth. de Coron. 256. 7; comp. § 22. n. 63; Hemsterh. ad Poll. 8. 133.

²⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 1. 26: εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακουσίους ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστὶ. Comp. Wolf ad Dem. Lept. p. 282.

²⁸ They are enumerated in detail in the decree of the Byzant. Dem. de Coron. 256. 6, sqq.: — Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐγκτασιν γὰρ καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλάν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον, πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασῶν προστακτῶν λειτουργιῶν (therefore ἀτέλειαν) κ. τ. λ.

are employed, one frequently being used for the other²⁹, and some individually specified appearing to include others³⁰.

e. Associations for the purposes of united agency.

§ 26. No less characteristic of the Greeks in general, than the tendency to festive pleasure, were the love of war and a grasping spirit of conquest. As this on the one hand, by the multiplication of feuds, deprived Greece of the blessings of internal peace, it on the other led to the formation of more or less extended unions. Most of these unions were not like those already enumerated, mere assemblies for the celebration of festivals, or for deliberation and friendly intercourse, but associations for the purpose of common and united agency. The seeds of their origin may have existed in custom, treaty, or the ascendancy of a powerful state; and one or more of these causes may have consolidated them; a strict line of distinction cannot be drawn in all cases.

The custom of united agency seems to have obtained in various provinces of Greece; the insulated character of such districts may undoubtedly have had a considerable share in producing this result; however, it is possible that we only want express accounts of positive conventions, and we may almost always assume the influence of some

²⁹ Thus Demosth. in Aristocr. 687. 4. mentions Politeia; in the spurious speech *περί συνταξ.* 173. 6. 7. 'Ατέλεια occurs in the sense of the privilege bestowed by Athens on the Pharsalian Menon and the Macedonian Perdiccus. Comp. Wolf Lept. LXXIV. 51. where however the subject is not quite embarrassed of the difficulties involved in it.

³⁰ Demosth. de Coron. 291. 4. 5. in speaking of the alliance between Athens and Thebes, only names *συνμαχίαν* and *ἐπιγαμίαν*: but there can be no doubt that it comprised more than this.

pre-eminent race or city. Of this nature were the Opuntian Locris, from which the Epicnemidian was not separated till some time afterwards¹; the Ozolian Locris, in which Amphissa exercised the right of presidency, but was not entitled to employ coercive measures²; Ætolia, whose stricter union by formal compact, however, must be referred to a much later age; the abodes of the mountain races around Thessaly, namely, the Malians, whose three tribes³ lived in uninterrupted harmony; Doris, amongst whose four cities Cythinium, Bœon, Erineus, and Pindus, or Acyphas⁴, no instance of dissension is recorded; and lastly, Phocis. The close alliance amongst the Phocians is proved by the powerful stand they made against the attacks of the Thessalians⁵; but this internal union was at length dissolved by the encroachments of Crissa, and subsequently of the Delphians, who afterwards appear as decidedly opposed to their neighbours⁶. The most considerable amongst the twenty-two towns of the district that still continued to hold together were Elatea, Abæ, Daulis, Panopeus, Hyampolis, Ambryssus, Drymæa, Lilæa, Parapotamioi, and Anticirrha⁷. The house of congress called Phocicum⁸ most probably belongs to a very late age.

Armed confederacies, not limited to inhabitants

¹ See § 13. n. 27.

² Thucyd. 3. 101.: 'Αμφισσῶς — τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεισαν.

³ See § 13. n. 16.

⁴ Strab. 9. 417. and 427; comp. Poppo, Thucyd. 2. 299. 300; Müller, Dor. 1. 36.

⁵ Herod. 7. 176; 8. 27. 28; Strab. 9. 422; Paus. 10. 1. 2, sqq. 13. 3; Æschin. de Falsa Legat. 308; Ps. Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. 7. 7. R. ed.; comp. 10. 524.

⁶ Thucyd. 1. 112; Plut. Pericl. 21.

⁷ Paus. 10. 3. 2; comp. 10. 4. 1. and 5. 10. 32, sqq. ⁸ Paus. 10. 5. 2.

of the same district, nor perpetuated by permanent ties, or such as were renewed by each successive generation, but associated by the emergencies of the time for enterprise and action, and consequently unattended by fixed periodical meetings of any deliberative body, repeatedly occur in the course of Grecian history. The exact nature of these alliances, and of the force by which they were cemented cannot in all cases be determined; their extension, responsibility, and duration, depended upon circumstances; and no very clear notions of the nature of alliances either offensive or defensive⁹ seem to have been entertained. A complete enumeration of them is not compatible with our object. The character of the warlike confederacies amongst the heroes that went in quest of adventures, is continued in the migrations of the allied Dorians, Ætolians, and others to the Peloponnesus; afterwards in the maritime expeditions for the foundation of new states, as well as in the foreign service of the Cretan and other mercenaries¹⁰. In these the state was seldom concerned. Thucydides mentions as the most extensive amongst the political alliances, properly so called, the armed league, formed by the inhabitants of the coast-districts, in the war between Chalcis and Eretria, in Eubœa¹¹; in the interior the Messenian wars caused a widely disseminated division amongst the Peloponnesians who took part in them¹². The relation between Tegea and Sparta

⁹ Συμμαχία, alliance offensive and defensive, Thucyd. 6. 11.; ἐπιμαχία, defensive only, 1. 44; 3. 70; 5. 48.

¹⁰ Paus. 4. 8. 1; 4. 10. 1; 4. 19. 3.

¹¹ Thucyd. 1. 15; comp. Herod. 5. 99.

¹² Paus. 4. 10. 1; 4. 11. 1; 4. 15. 4; 4. 19. 1.

assumed the character of a permanent alliance in war¹³. The league formed by Thebes and Chalcis against Athens¹⁴ is worthy of remark, as presenting the earliest indications of the constitutional spirit. The league against Athens bears an oligarchical character, Athens' victory brought about the overthrow of the Chalcidian Hippobotæ, and after the alliance between Ægina and the Thebans, the insurrection of the demagogue Nicodromus in Ægina¹⁵, Miletus received assistance from Eretria in return for that which it had afforded¹⁶. Finally, to adduce a remote example, the same is observable when the Spartans recommended the Locrians in Italy to admit the Dioscuri into their confederacy¹⁷, without marching out themselves.

Allied to these voluntary associations, so far as the principle of common agency was concerned, but distinct from them, inasmuch as commands were issued on the one side, and obedience was yielded on the other, was the union by means of *Hegemony*, a relation developed amongst the Grecian states before the Persian war; but which often bore the appearance of a confederacy, in the manner of a Roman "*foedus iniquum*," with which it in fact corresponded; when one of the members raised itself above and directed the rest¹⁸, "*de facto*," without any actual violation of what was established by prescription or treaty. But it was a different case, when

¹³ Herod. 9. 26. However the Tegeatans do not appear to have been parties to the war against Messenia. See Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 172. R.

¹⁴ Herod. 5. 75, sqq.

¹⁵ Ibid. 6. 88, sqq.

¹⁶ Ibid. 5. 99.

¹⁷ Justin. 20. 2.

¹⁸ Τελεῖν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς, κ. τ. λ. (Herod. 6. 108.) does not precisely express an equality of rights in the confederates; but the state of dependence is clearly conveyed by συντελεῖν. Thucyd. 2. 15; 7. 76; Isocrat. Plat. 516; Strab. 8. 364; Diod. 12. 41. On the word τελεῖν compare Append. xiv.

such a state only asserted a sort of honorary pre-eminence, or when a powerful state did not exactly force others to a participation in its measures, but infringed one of their rights by asserting a dominion over the sea; for instance, like Chios¹⁹ and Ægina²⁰, not to mention Castor's pretended empire of the sea in earlier times; or like the Rhodians²¹, by the blockade of a commercial channel, the taxation of emigrants, etc. The claims of hegemony were almost universally directed to military alliance, though they were often coupled with relations of a still more oppressive nature. The gradations from the most relaxed to the strictest species of dependence, and even to the total dissolution of the separate existence of a state, may be described as 1. The taxation of the dependent state. 2. The demand of subsidies and supplies, and the command of the contingents. 3. Paramount jurisdiction, the regulation of the magistracy, and general interference with internal matters; as, for example, when the Mitylenæans forbade such of their confederates as had fallen off from the league, to allow their children to learn writing and music²², but which is entirely distinct from the intervention of a state as arbitrator between two others, upon an invitation to that effect. This is then the boundary beyond which it was impossible for a dependent state to assert a separate existence, and its citizens, either by adoption into the citizenship²³, or subjection to

¹⁹ Strab. 14. 645.

²⁰ Herod. 5. 83, sqq.; Strab. 8. 375.

²¹ Euseb. Canon. 1099.

²² Æl. V. H. 7. 15. This probably refers to the towns on the coast opposite to Lesbos, ἀκραῖαι, concerning which see Thucyd. 4. 52, and n.

²³ Συνοικισμός, Thuc. 3. 23. The remark of the Schol. on 3. 2. 1. 5. p. 376. Bipont.: τὸ συνοικισμὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοῦ συνοικισθῆναι ἐποίησεν; ἀλλ'

the state of Pericæci, became constitutive portions of the commanding state.

Hegemony was naturally connected with unions amongst the towns of a district, vicinity, community of race, and the rank of mother state, several of which characteristics might be found united.

That city which was illustrated by the glory of the heroic princes, or which had become the seat of the new dynasty, continued to exercise a supremacy over the inhabitants of the surrounding district, even after the rise of republican institutions. Bœotia and Thessaly are particularly to be considered here.

In Bœotia there was a confederacy of towns; all the towns in that country were not immediately connected with it, but many of them were subject to one of the confederate towns, like kindred places: thus Leuctra, Thisbe, Siphæ, and Creusis, were under Thespiæ; Delium for some time under Tanagra²⁴; but Thebes, which was desirous of being regarded as a mother-state²⁵, possessed such a decided and oppressive preponderance in the league, that it degenerated into the nature of a Hegemony; and on that account Plataea, a short time before the Persian wars, in order to liberate itself from the usurped authority of Thebes, entered into an alliance with Athens²⁶. The remaining cities of the confederation can be pointed out with certainty in part only, as, for instance, Thespiæ, Orchomenus, Tanagra, Haliartus, Coronea, and Lebadea; to

ἐπὶ τοῦ μίαν πόλιν, τούτέστι μητρόπολιν ἔχειν αὐτήν, more especially relates to the act of dwelling together in the country.

²⁴ See in general Müller, Orchom. 402, sqq., and his article Bœotia in Ersch. und Grub. Encyclop. vol. 11. p. 270, 271.

²⁵ Thucyd. 3. 61.

²⁶ Herod. 6. 108; Thucyd. 3. 55. 61, sqq.

these conjecture adds Copæ, Antheden, Chalia, Onchestus, and Chæronea²⁷, but not as all appertaining to it at the same time, or each continuously. The league appears in the character of an armed confederation, the federal cities sent contingents of troops commanded by Bœotarchs²⁸: the nature and functions of the four deliberative bodies²⁹ mentioned by Thucydides are not thoroughly understood, and it is doubtful whether they existed before the Persian wars. The Pambœotia³⁰, solemnised in honour of the Itonic Athene by Coronea, were perhaps originally accompanied by deliberations of the federal council; but after the Hegemony of Thebes was firmly established, they were divested of political influence. The Dædala³¹, like the Panegyris of Onchestus³², seem to have been exclusively devoted to festive objects.

The Thessalians were likewise associated by a military alliance, under a commander called Tagos³³; this was in all probability accompanied by a confederate council; but like Thebes in Bœotia, Larissa, the seat of the ancient regal line of the Aleuadae, asserted an ascendancy till the Persian wars; however, the Tagos seems to have been likewise chosen from other towns, such as Gonnoi³⁴. Besides Larissa, in the course of time Pharsalus and Pheræ rose into importance: in a less degree

²⁷ Müller, ubi sup.; Comp. Klütz. de fœd. Bœot. 16, 17.

²⁸ Müller, in the Encyclop. 271.

²⁹ Thucyd. 5. 38.

³⁰ Strab. 9. 411; comp. Meurs. Græc. fer. in Gronov. Thes. 7. 833.

³¹ Paus. 9. 3. 4; comp. Müller, Orchom. 221, sqq.

³² Comp. § 19. n. 14.

³³ Tagos, Thucyd. 4. 78; Xen. Hell. 6. 1. 6.

³⁴ In Herod. 5. 63. The Thessalians sent some knights and τὸν βασιλῆα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην, ἄνδρα Κορναῖον, to the assistance of the Pisistratidæ. To understand in this place with Schweighæuser a Phrygian term, instead of reading Κορναῖος, will appear to others beside myself a very questionable proceeding.

Crannon, Gomphi, and Gyrton³⁵; but at the same time the unity of Thessaly was dissolved. The division of the country into Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestiaeotis, is, it is true, anterior to the Macedonian times³⁶, but unconnected with the question of political dissolution. Amongst the inhabitants of the mountains around Thessaly several races, such as the Perrhæbians, Magnetes, and the Phthiotan Achæans, were tributary to the Thessalians³⁷.

In the island of CRETE, whose local character promoted political disunion, the states of Gnosus and Gortys, as the heads of the island, were at variance, and opposed to each other with an equal balance of power; Cydonia usually determined between them³⁸. Lyctus, which was no less Doric than they were, seldom appears to have taken any part in their disputes.

The Spartans and Eleans not only raised themselves to hegemony over the older inhabitants of their districts, but degraded them to the condition of Periœci. Argos struggled for the hegemony in its own province without complete or permanent success; and its endeavours to establish an Amphictyony under the presidency of Apollo Pythæus³⁹ were also abortive; it was the power of Phidon alone which united the whole of Argolis; but after Sparta obtained the ascendant, those states ceased

³⁵ Thucyd. 2. 22.

³⁶ Aristot. ap. Phot. τετραρχία (comp. Etym. M. τετρ.) states that Aleuas the son of Pyrrhus made the division.

³⁷ Thucyd. 2. 101; 4. 78; 8. 3; Xen. Hell. 6. 1. 7. According to Theophr. ap. Ath. 6. 265. C. part of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians were reduced to bondage; but that these as Penestæ were not identical with those tributary nations is proved by Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 3.

³⁸ Strab. 10. 478. It would probably be difficult to prove a hegemony of the Lyctians, (Göttling. Aristotel. Pol. 475.)

³⁹ Müller, Dor. 1. 85. 153.

to be dependent. Sicyon, Phlius, and the towns of the Acté, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermione, and Halieis, undoubtedly asserted their independence before the time of the Persian wars⁴⁰; and even that old stronghold of the Atridæ, Mycenæ, once more arose, and struggled for the presidency at the panegyris of Nemea⁴¹.

The subjugation of adjacent states was partly confined to the descendants of a common race, as the authority of Naxos over the Cyclades⁴²; that of Eretria over Andros, Tenos, Ceos⁴³, and the maritime supremacy of Polycrates⁴⁴, which was intended to find a prop and support in the sanctuary of Delos⁴⁵. But in Sicily the tyrants Hippocrates of Gela, and Gelon of Syracuse⁴⁶, asserted their strength with all the marks of undisguised aggression; and at the beginning of the Persian wars, Syracuse under Gelon, and Agrigentum under Theron, possessed the hegemony over the whole of Grecian Sicily. The earliest example⁴⁷ of a struggle for hegemony over the descendants of a common race in a wider extent was offered by Phidon of Argos; what he retained for a short time only, afterwards dissolved to Sparta, which, since the reduction of Messenia, had assumed a very commanding attitude, and supported her position both by force of arms and mythical claims, such as the assertion that the sons of the Messenian king Æpy-

⁴⁰ After the invasion of Cleomenes, Argos imposed a mulct upon the Æginetans who did not pay; Sicyon was to pay 100 talents—were they discharged or not? Herod. 6. 92.

⁴¹ Diod. 11. 65.

⁴² Diod. 5. 50.

⁴³ Strab. 10. 448.

⁴⁴ Herod. 3. 39, sqq.; Thuc. 3. 104.

⁴⁵ Thuc. 1. 13; comp. Phot. Πύθια.

⁴⁶ Herod. 7. 153, sqq.

⁴⁷ Strab. 8. 358; Paus. 6. 22. 2. Concerning his attempt on Corinth, see Plut. Amator. 9. 93—95. Compare at large Müller, Æginet. 51—63.

tus had made over Messenia to Sparta, where they had taken refuge⁴⁸. She appears as the chief in war, issuing military proclamations, and as the supreme arbitress of the judicial concerns of the Peloponnesus, and was occasionally chosen beyond its limits to act in the capacity of umpire, as in the dispute between Athens and Megara about Salamis⁴⁹, and was invested with the chief command in the Persian war⁵⁰. However, she did not at this stage, as afterwards, introduce into the dependent states a constitution suited to her own purposes; her marked opposition to democracy was not yet fully developed.

Claims on the part of the mother states to hegemony were, as before observed⁵¹, sometimes asserted without any reasonable foundation whatever; as, for instance, when a mother state in other respects evinced no marks of maternal care or interest for the colony, or the founders of the latter had seceded from the parent state in a spirit of hostility, they were better founded when a colony was established with a view to obtain habitations for the surplus citizens, or to form a staple for the mother city; in both cases it was necessary that they should have since continued devoted and obedient to the parent state. No certain principle had as yet been laid down for the settlement of the individual services incident to this condition⁵²; a parent state bent upon asserting a hege-

⁴⁸ Isocrat. Archid. 180. 184. Comp. on the abstraction of the Palladium from Argos, Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 206. ⁴⁹ Plut. Sol. 10.

⁵⁰ Herod. 8. 2; compare on the subject of Sparta's hegemony generally, Müller, Dor. 1. 178, sqq. ⁵¹ See § 21, ad finem.

⁵² What is cited in Harpocr. ἀπορία, must, without doubt, be referred to the time when Athens had the sovereignty of the seas.

mony endeavoured, as much as possible, to render its pretensions paramount to the above described honorary dependence of filial piety, and when its claims were disregarded, appealed to the general law of hegemony⁵³; Corinth in particular exerted herself to raise this claim to a sort of universal political law⁵⁴. They were occasionally asserted with effect; Sinope kept its colonies Trapezus, Cerasus, Cotyora⁵⁵, in a tributary condition; interference with the internal concerns of her settlements, and even oppression, were exercised by Corinth; she sent Epidemiurgi as magistrates to Potidæa⁵⁶, and demanded a share in the booty and conquests of the colonies⁵⁷; Megara was compelled to send envoys in mourning to the obsequies of a Bacchiad⁵⁸; Ægina, finally, had in former times sent all causes to be tried in the courts of its parent city Epidaurus⁵⁹. However, all this depended upon circumstances; that which was called political law alone afforded no security, unless accompanied by energetic despotism, by which means alone, for example, Periander for a time held the refractory Corcyra in check⁶⁰. The colonies were very willing to conciliate the kindness and friendship of the parent city, and testified their grateful obedience by various acts of pious duty. In those cases where the succour of the mother city was

⁵³ Thuc. 1. 38.: ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνεσσι τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι; as well as 1. 25, δίκαιον, 3. 61. κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

⁵⁴ Thuc. 1. 25 αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, must, from 1. 38. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς, be limited to Corinthian colonies. Compare on the Corinth. Raoul-Roch. 3. 384.

⁵⁵ Xenoph. Anab. 5. 5. 10.

⁵⁶ Thuc. 1. 56.

⁵⁷ Paus. 5. 22. 3.

⁵⁸ Schol. Pind. Nem. 7. 58; Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 439 (447); Bekker. Anecd. 261. Μεγαρέων δάκρυα. Comp. Zenob. 5. 8.

⁵⁹ Herod. 5. 83.

⁶⁰ Herod. 3. 52.

permanently necessary to them, they connected themselves with it closely, and were perfectly willing to perform military service in its ranks; thus, from the fear of Corcyra, Leucas, Ambracia, and Anactorium attached themselves to Corinth⁶¹, and chose her for umpire in their disputes⁶²; but again, when the increase of their own power inspired them with confidence, they became jealous of the imperious pretensions of the parent city⁶³, and did not hesitate to sever the tie that connected them, and to offer resistance to its encroachments.

III. THE STANDARD OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION, AND OF THE PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH IT.

a. Character of the Individual Grecian States in their political intercourse with each other.

§ 27. No fixed principle had been established to determine the validity of a union as a state, and mutual recognition, or the guarantee of independence. According to the spirit of the Grecian citizenship, the distinctive feature of the independence of a state was the right of ordering its own affairs, and this probably determined the estimation in which the states mutually held each other. At the same time, since the decline of the heroic-princely authority, it was almost a matter of indifference in their mutual intercourse, what species of supreme power regulated the internal

⁶¹ Thuc. 1. 27, 30; 2. 80.

⁶² Corinth and Corcyra effected an adjustment between Syracuse and the Rhodian Gela. Herod. 7. 154.

⁶³ The words of the Corcyraeans in Thucyd. 1. 34, are: πᾶσα ἀποικία εὐ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριούται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὅμοιῳ τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκτεμνεται.

concerns of another state; Sparta alone, it is said, would not acknowledge the tyranny in the Peloponnesus, a statement which will be examined more minutely below. Therefore when the management of public affairs was vested in its own authorities, and was not subject to the interference of any other state, federal or colonial relations were not considered as affecting its character of independence. The above-described disposition in the states thus situated, to make use of such relations for their advantage, and not for their restraint, accorded with the political intercourse carried on with the member of a confederacy or with a colony; of a tendency in several confederate or parent states in conjunction to strive for a recognition of their joint capacity or authority in every individual state belonging to them, there is not the slightest-vestige, any more than of a disposition based upon the principles of international law, to take such into consideration in their intercourse with single states. But as soon as a more rigorous hegemony had been added to those relations, this independence was in many respects cast into the shade. However, it was not considered as endangered by all kinds of external dependence; the Grecian states did not hesitate to become tributary to their more powerful, and even to barbarian neighbours, if by this means they might enjoy unlimited authority over their domestic concerns—as the Ionians did to the Lydians¹. A most striking exemplification of this relation is the full recognition of the Perrhæbians, Magnesians, and

¹ Herod. 1. 27.

Phthiotan Achæans as members of the Amphictyonic Council, although they were tributary to the Thes-salians².

The political proceedings of the independent states, in their relations with each other, were principally directed to the preservation of mutual peace, the depredations of individuals excepted; and upon any violation of the same it was stipulated that amicable negotiations should be first resorted to (*δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέχεσθαι*), instead of immediately having recourse to arms. Hence the universally recognised mission³, and inviolability of heralds, the disposition under particular circumstances to give satisfaction by the extradition of criminals; as, for example, when Sparta offered to surrender king Leotychides to Ægina⁴; and lastly, instead of a general conflict, to regard the combat of two or more representatives of the contending states as decisive⁵. The disposition, however, in time of war to acknowledge in the individual enemy the ally of a state, is attested by the practice of restoring prisoners of war in consideration of a ransom⁶. Peace was effected by the arbitration of a third state⁷; but no notion seems to have been entertained of a guarantee for its observance. Notwithstanding the principles of international law thus began to regulate their intercourse, it is apparent, from the already described nature of the hegemony, that the mutual recognition of inde-

² See § 24. n. 23; and § 26. n. 37.

³ For an example of a πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος of the Æginetans against Athens, consult Herod. 5. 81.

⁴ Herod. 6. 85.

⁵ Concerning the battle of the six hundred for Thyrea, see Herod. 1. 182; comp. Thucyd. 5. 41.

⁶ Herod. 5. 77, *δυνίως*.

⁷ Sparta between Athens and Megara, Plut. Sol. 10. Periander between Mitylene and Athens, Herod. 5. 95.

pendence was by no means so firmly guaranteed as not to be occasionally endangered by lawless violence; no common interest of the Grecian states collectively afforded a security to one of them individually; no alliance ensured effectual assistance and protection. No obstacle being therefore opposed to it by any general bond of union, force was accordingly employed, as soon as a state desirous of acquiring power was in a condition to assert it; the Messenians were reduced to slavery by Sparta, and Crissa and Sybaris razed to the ground by their conquerors. The oath of the Amphictyons, which rigorously prohibited the destruction of a confederate city, and their practice, were wholly at variance with each other⁸.

In considering the Grecian states singly, Sparta appears, during the age before the Persian war, to have exercised the greatest sway over her neighbours, and indirectly upon Greece in general. Her cupidity knew no bounds, and whilst she was desirous of engrossing every thing, she imparted nothing in return; although tenacious of granting a reciprocity of intercourse, she did not scruple to interfere in the proceedings of other states in the most despotic manner. Her inhospitality to strangers, and prohibition of the residence of her citizens in foreign countries⁹, are evidences of a desire to prevent the native virtue from becoming impaired, but, at the same time, to deprive others of the advantages which might result from it. With all her simplicity of faith and life, she seldom evinced towards other countries an open and inge-

⁸ — μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιήσιν. Æsch. de falsa Legat. 284. ⁹ Plut. Lyc. 27.

nuous disposition; mystery¹⁰ and the perversion of truth are not unfrequently allied¹¹. Thus the rest of the Greeks were only acquainted with her rough and repulsive character; the adjacent inhabitants very soon felt the effects of her contentious spirit, with which the first Proclid Sous very early combined stratagem¹². Messenia, which is represented to us as repulsing aggression and displaying the noblest patriotism, experienced, on the subjugation of the Achæans of Amyclæ, Helos, etc., the effects of her practised and pampered thirst of power and conquest¹³, which is embodied in the tradition of the oath, not to return home before the reduction of Messenia¹⁴. The zenith of Spartan ambition is exhibited in the reckless disposition of Cleomenes, which found fertile materials in the political character of his people, and in his attack on Argos and Ægina¹⁵; his march to Athens, his favour towards Isagoras¹⁶, and the preparations set on foot by Sparta, after the retirement of Cleomenes, to bring Athens, which had shaken off the yoke of the Pisistratidæ, once more under their tyranny¹⁷, are materials enough to explain the reputed enmity that Sparta bore to tyrants, which appears to have been grounded on indiscriminating panegyric¹⁸, as

¹⁰ Thucyd. 5. 74.

¹¹ Hence Herod. 9. 54. τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων, comp. Eurip. Androm. 446, sqq. Did the injunction to the Plataeans to ally themselves with the Athenians proceed from a mischievous policy? See Herod. 6. 108; Thucyd. 3. 68, and on the other side of the question, Plut. de Herod. Malignitate, 9. 419. ¹² Plut. Lyc. 2.

¹³ Polyb. 6. 48, calls the Spartans φιλαρχώτατοι, and 49, with reference to Messenia, πλεονεκτικώτατοι. ¹⁴ Paus. 4. 5. 3.

¹⁵ Herod. 6. 76, sqq.; 6. 49, sqq. ¹⁶ Ibid. 5. 70, sqq.

¹⁷ Ibid. 5. 91. 93.

¹⁸ Thucyd. 1. 18; 6. 53; Plut. de Herod. Malign. 9. 411. The testimony of Thucydides is less valuable, in consequence of his disposition to generalize. Little reliance can be placed upon Plutarch's list of tyrants, said to have been expelled by Sparta, comp. § 52, init.

well as to make us suspect the influence of particular motives in those undertakings, which have been adduced as examples of a political opposition to tyrants, as in the expedition against Polycrates, for instance, gratitude for the assistance of the Samians in the Messenian wars¹⁹.

Argos was, in her thirst of power, but little inferior to Sparta²⁰; she is the transcript of Agamemnon, full of arrogant pretension, and yet her citizens were neither the best nor the bravest of Greece. She had inherited the Hegemony of Agamemnon, and during several centuries, exhibited great activity in asserting her pretensions in Argolis²¹, and especially against Sparta, whose growing power bid fair to outstrip her own; Phidon extended the pre-eminence of Argos over the whole of Argolis, Ægina, and even over the Peloponnesus²². But he had overshot the mark; his ascendancy yielded to that of Sparta and Elis; in the LVIII. Olympiad, two hundred years after he had celebrated the Olympic festival as Hegemon (Ol. VIII.), Argos was deprived of the frontier-land, Cynuria, by Sparta²³, and soon afterwards was entirely reduced by Cleomenes²⁴; from that time the above-named towns in the vicinity of Argos remained faithful to Sparta. In Sicyon, the tyrant Clisthenes had carried to an extreme the principle of opposition to Argos²⁵; amicable relations be-

¹⁹ Herod. 3. 47.

²⁰ Herod. 3. 148; 7. 148. 149.

²¹ Comp. § 26, n. 39, sqq.

²² § 26, n. 47.

²³ According to Herod. 1. 82, the whole of the eastern coast of Laconia, as far as Malea and Cythera, once belonged to Argos. It appears to me that this should be referred to the heroic age, when Laconia was dependent upon Mycenæ; from the very commencement of the age after the Doric migration, Cynuria seems to have been the confine of Argos.

²⁴ Herod. 6. 78, sqq.

²⁵ Herod. 5. 67.

tween the two states were not re-established till the latter ages of Grecian history. Ægina, since the destruction of Phidon's power, had exhibited equal hostility to the parent city, Epidaurus²⁶, and to the Hegemony of Argos²⁷, and a fearless reliance on its own powers against Sparta and Athens; on friendly terms with Thebes, it carried on a nicely-balanced contest with Athens, till the naval power of that state was called into existence by Themistocles²⁸. In Arcadia, the Tegeans, during centuries, supported heroic conflicts with Sparta²⁹, till the latter offered them her friendship, and assigned them the post of honour in the left wing of the confederate army³⁰. The Orchomenians were attached to the Messenians, but the king, Aristocrates, acted treacherously towards the confederates³¹; Mantinea adhered to Argos, but all the Arcadians unanimously responded to the warlike summons of Sparta³²; Elis was, in consequence of its contests with the Pisatans and Triphylians, in want of a point of support, and found it in Sparta. The Achæans did not maintain a very intimate connection with the Peloponnesians; against Sparta they harboured hereditary hatred³³, but their inactivity in the Persian war is no evidence of friendship towards Argos, whose character corresponded with their own. Corinth, as a commercial state, preferred conciliating all parties, and limited all active interference to her own colonies; however, her tyrants, Cypselus and Periander,

²⁶ Ibid. 5. 83.

²⁷ Ibid. 6. 92.

²⁸ Plut. Them. 5.

²⁹ Herod. 1. 66; 6. 61; Paus. 3. 3. 5; 3. 7. 3; 8. 5. 6; 47. 2; 48. 3; 54. 3; Polyæn. 1. 8.

³⁰ Compare § 26, n. 13.

³¹ Paus. 4. 17. 2.

³² Herod. 6. 74.

³³ Paus. 7. 6. 3. Pellene alone was afterwards in favour of Sparta.

evinced a more enlarged and comprehensive policy. During the succeeding period, Corinth adhered to Sparta, but the Corinthian Sosicles rose against the efforts of that state to restore the tyranny in Athens³⁴, and the Corinthians, collectively considered, were in favour of the Athenians. With short-sighted mercantile calculation, she, in consideration of a sum of money, sent them ships to be employed against Ægina³⁵. Her colonies, Megara and Corcyra, behaved with as much insolence in their intercourse with every other state, as they exhibited towards their mother city. The Bœotians remained entirely insulated, till the pre-eminence of Thebes became firmly established. At this time Pisistratus received succours from Thebes, for the purpose of effecting his return to Athens³⁶. When the latter had become free, there arose in Thebes considerable jealousy, and a desire to enter the lists with her; the retirement of Plataea from her Hegemony increased that hostility, which could never afterwards be entirely extinguished. The Phocians only exhibit the most inveterate hatred against the Thessalians³⁷; the sentiments of the Locrians of Amphissa towards them³⁸ were similar, and the Ætolians and Acarnanians were, by a like border-hatred, kept in a state of separation³⁹. The Thessalians are distinguished by an unbounded spirit of conquest, by hostility to Phocis⁴⁰, and impetuous opposition to Crissa⁴¹ in particular; they were, moreover, confederates of the Athenian tyrants⁴², and, in general, most desirous

³⁴ Herod. 5. 92.³⁶ Herod. 1. 61.³⁸ Thucyd. 3. 101.⁴¹ Compare § 24.³⁵ Herod. 6. 89; Thucyd. 1. 41.³⁷ Ibid. 8. 30.³⁹ Strab. 10. 458.⁴² Herod. 5. 63,⁴⁰ Herod. 7. 176; 8. 27.

to obtrude themselves within the boundaries of purely Grecian life⁴³. The Athenians, for nearly five centuries confined within their own limits, were, for the first time, seen to pass them in the Crissæan war; the almost simultaneous attempt of Cylon on the tyranny, which was supported by his father-in-law, Theagenes of Megara⁴⁴, excited a feeling against the latter place, and Salamis, which had probably, till that time, been Magarian, was conquered⁴⁵. The views of Pisistratus were more extensive; he himself conquered Naxos and Sigeum⁴⁶; and Miltiades subdued the Chersonese⁴⁷. Nevertheless, after the expulsion of the tyrants, Athens was obliged to be roused, almost by force and opprobrious attacks, to make head against her hostile neighbours, Thebes, Ægina, and Chalcis⁴⁸. The victory she obtained over them is like a fountain from which she derived the inspiring consciousness of her own strength. Jealousy of the rich fund of traditional lore possessed by Thebes, embellished the *mythi* relating to Theseus as the illustrious hero who had achieved the pacification of Greece. Towards Sparta and Corinth, Athens entertained respect and friendship, but the pride of Autochthony⁴⁹ began to display it-

⁴³ They occur in Eubœa as the allies of Chalcis, Plut. Amator. Narr. 9. 48. On the defeat they suffered near Cereusus in Bœotia, see Paus. 9. 14. 1; Plut. Camill. 19; de Herod. Malign. 9. 439.⁴⁴ Thucyd. 1. 126.⁴⁵ From the confused accounts on the subject, we may, however, gather that Solon and Pisistratus were the instigators of the war, see Plut. Sol. 3. 9; Comp. Sol. et Poplic. p. 434; Æl. V. H. 7. 19; Polyæn. 1. 20; Arn. Poliorc. 4; Justin. 2. 8; Diog. Laert. 1. 46; Strab. 9. 394; Paus. 1. 40. 4; Frontin. Stratag. 4. 44.⁴⁶ Herod. 5. 70. 94.⁴⁷ Ibid. 6. 34, sqq.⁴⁸ See § 26, n. 14. Totally unfounded is the assertion of Diodor. 4. 61, that from the time Theseus effected the union of the Attic boroughs, Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς πόλεως φρονήματος ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ὠρέχθησαν.⁴⁹ Eurip. Fragm. ap. Lycurg. adv. Leocr. 204; Lysias Orat. Fun. 76; Isocrat. Panegy. § 4, etc.

self, and that arrogance, which enriched the commonplaces of the orators concerning the primeval Athenian hospitality, was afterwards directed against the inhospitality of Sparta. In Eubœa, Eretria was upon as intimate a footing with the Athenians as Chalcis was with the Thebans; both of them interfered in the disputes of the adjacent states; their connection with the Ionians in Asia was of various kinds⁵⁰; antiquity is silent on the subject of their sentiments towards their Thracian colonies. Amongst the Cyclades, Naxos for a short period struggled for precedence⁵¹. After its subjugation to Athenian supremacy, and the subsequent reduction of Paros, this beautiful cluster of islands sunk for ever into a state devoid of all political strength and character. The Ionians in Asia kept up a very active intercourse; this was, however, combined with the proneness to feuds, selfishness, and a disposition to contract ties with the barbarians, even at the price of the common welfare of Greece; the Ionians and Carians for a long time carried on piracy in conjunction⁵². The Dorians there appear peaceful; Crete, occupied with internal feuds⁵³, sent out mercenaries to Greece, although there was no strictly political intercourse between the countries. The Æolian Cuma was regardless of the quarrels of its neighbours⁵⁴. On the other hand, the chief cities of Lesbos were not afraid of carrying on a war with Pisistratus⁵⁵. The colonial bonds between the states situate on the northern

⁵⁰ Herod. 5. 99; Thucyd. 1. 15.

⁵¹ Diodor. 5. 50. ⁵² Herod. 2. 152.

⁵³ Polyb. 6. 46. Concerning the pacificator, Charmides, see Paus. 3. 2. 7. The well-known Συγκρητισμός, in time of danger, must probably be referred to the Roman times, see Etym. M. συγκρητίζω.

⁵⁴ Ephor. ap. Strab. 13. 623.

⁵⁵ Herod. 5. 94.

seas and the mother cities, was a very slight one; nothing is known on the subject of their sentiments towards each other; and the Thracian cities are involved in no less obscurity. On the other hand, in the west, Sybaris proves itself to have been so overbearing, as to treat the towns of the vicinity with indignity, and assert a haughty authority over the maternal continent⁵⁶. Crotona, to which nobler sentiments are ascribed, resisted its encroachments. This city was opposed by Locri and Rhegium⁵⁷, which were not partakers of the corruption of Sybaris; Tarentum, the most powerful of those states, does not display a vestige of the domineering spirit and arrogance which characterized its parent city, Sparta. It seems, however, for a long period, to have made a stand singly against the neighbouring barbarians. In Sicily, political intercourse was almost exclusively confined to the tyrants individually; it is not till after the Persian wars that the mass of the people in the states assumes a bolder and a more decided character. Massilia, entirely unconnected with Greece, exhibited neither attachment nor aversion to its kindred race and those sprung from it, except, perhaps, in sending presents to Delphi⁵⁸. How the political character of the states in the management of their external relations adapted itself to their particular form of government, will be more advantageously stated in succeeding portions of the present work; in general, it may be regarded as certain, that the tyrants showed the greatest solicitude to contract external ties⁵⁹, and were most vigorous in asserting Hegemony.

⁵⁶ § 21. n. 28.

⁵⁷ Paus. 10. 8. 4; 18. 6.

⁵⁸ The battle of Sagra, Heyne, Opusc. 2. 184.

⁵⁹ Diod. 14. 93.

b. Political Relation of the Greeks to the Barbarians.

§ 28. The character which was common to the Greeks in general, and the physical features of the habitations of the people, were but little adapted to produce a radical difference between them and the barbarians, or to cause a broad political line of distinction to be drawn between them. First of all, the half-Greek neighbours of the continent, in Macedonia and Epirus, prevented the Greeks in their own country from arriving at the distinct consciousness of their own nationality; the same observation applies to those nations on the west coast of Asia, the Carians, Leleges, Pelasgi, and Troades; and perhaps it is not to these inhabitants of Asia alone that we must apply the assertion of Thucydides, that the old Grecian institutions had many points of resemblance with those of barbarians¹. Homer gives no clue to discover how far self-knowledge advanced with the progress of Grecian life in Ionia; but the various migrations and settlements amongst barbarians of all descriptions, who had nothing in common with the Greeks, such as Scythians, Sauromatians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Illyrians, Japygians, Sicilians, and Opicans, must necessarily have given a gradual but decided impulse to self-knowledge, and to a distinction between themselves and those nations in the first instance, and in process of time, even such as were less strongly marked with the barbarian impress, which, even before the Persian wars, doubtless led to a definite notion upon the subject amongst the nation generally. How-

¹ Thucyd. 1. 6.

ever, this can hardly have turned upon a difference of race; the word barbarian was at first only employed to designate as un-Grecian harshness of language²; but together with more exact information respecting the intrinsic peculiarities of foreign nations, which might have led them to observe the difference of extraction, commenced the genealogical tissue of Grecian fable, which represented all other nations as proceeding from the Greeks, and whatever came to their knowledge they stamped with the mythic-genealogical impress. This, then, is the foundation for a criticism of the history of the Grecian colonies of the heroic age. Similarity of name and affinity of sound were perverted in the most wanton manner; the Medes were derived from Medea, the Persians from Perseus³, nay, even Pontic cannibals, the Achæans⁴, traced to the Greeks of the same name. But they testified sincere respect for those who were at an early period, in many particulars, more civilised than themselves, viz., the Phœnicians, Lydians, and Egyptians⁵. It is certain that before Pherecydes there existed a tradition, that strangers had come from those countries into Greece, and great care was taken to expatiate on, and set forth the services they had rendered her; at the same time, the marvellous tales related by emigrants and mariners, stimulated curiosity to behold the birthplaces of those reputed fathers of Grecian culture; Greek sages and others traversed Egypt and Asia, and gazed with astonishment on

² Strab. 14. 662; comp. Roth über das Wort. Barbar. p. 3, n.

³ Herod. 7. 61. 62; Hygin. 26; Buttmann über die mythische Verbind. p. 232.

⁴ Appian. Mithrid. 102.

⁵ To this applies Paus. 9. 36. 3: "Ἕλληνες δὲ ἄρα εἰσι δεινοὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια ἐν θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

the venerable monuments of hoar antiquity, and the solid and imperishable forms in which the political institutions of those regions were cast. This led to the mythical exaltation of the unknown north; Homer's mention of the Hippomolgi⁶, etc., was added to the legends of Abaris⁷, and Zamolxis⁸, and even Magi⁹ and Assyrians¹⁰ were drawn into the mystic circle of the barbaric philosophy.

In a consideration of the political intercourse, properly so called, the separate barbarian tribes, which the Greeks met with in their external settlements, must be distinguished from those already named, and in general from such as made head against the Greeks with the unity and power of states already arrived at political maturity. Against these, such as the Carians in Miletus¹¹, force was occasionally employed; but the Greeks for the most part seem, in the manner of the modern Europeans, to have obtained, by means of an alluring bait, a spot of sufficient extent for their settlements. When therefore the Locrians are said to have sworn friendship to the Sicilians¹² as long as they should stand upon that ground and bear heads upon their shoulders, at the same time having mould concealed in their shoes and garlic-tops on their shoulders; this does not precisely imply that it was unnecessary to keep faith with barbarians; for the Greeks themselves made use of similar artifices towards each other¹³. The Grecian co-

⁶ Comp. § 10. n. 46.

⁷ Herod. 4. 36; Suidas 'Αβάρ, etc.

⁸ Suid. Πυθάγορας.

¹¹ Herod. 1. 147.

¹² Polyb. 12. 6; Polyæn. 6. 22; Zenob. 5. 4; 4. 97; comp. Polyæn. 6. 53. on Agnon. of Strymon.

¹³ Strab. 6. 265.

⁹ Herod. 4. 94.

¹⁰ Suid. Δάμυς.

lonies sought by every means in their power to preserve peace with the conterminous barbarians, even though it required to be purchased by a tribute, as was the case on the Cimmerian Bosphorus¹⁴; but in their commercial intercourse they took measures to prevent their admission: hence the frontier markets Epidamnus¹⁵ and Halicarnassus¹⁶. Amongst the nations of more importance in a political point of view, the Phœnicians appear intentionally to have made way for the Greeks, till the command of Persia forced them into a war with them. On the other hand, we read of no attempts on the part of the Greeks to throw obstacles in the way of the maritime expeditions or settlements of the Phœnicians; but the enterprising character of the former, and the active nature of their sea-trade, must necessarily have led to a repugnance to admit Phœnicians into the Grecian seas. The Greeks were at an early period on friendly terms with the Egyptians. Although the accounts of the intercourse between the continent and Psammetichus and Psammes¹⁷, may seem entitled to little credit, this is counterbalanced by the decidedly historical authority for the traffic carried on between the Æginetans, the Asiatic Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians, and Egypt. This attained maturity by means of settlements made by the Greeks in Egypt¹⁸, singly and in bodies. The connection between Amasis and Cyprus, which he had subdued¹⁹, did not prevent Delphi from acknowledging him as a friend²⁰.

¹⁴ Strab. 7. 310, 311.

¹⁵ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 191.

¹⁷ Herod. 2. 160; Diodor. 1. 67.

¹⁸ Herod. 2. 152. 178; Strab. 17. 801.

¹⁹ Herod. 2. 182.

²⁰ Vitruv. 2. 8.

²⁰ Ib. 2. 180.

The relations of hospitality between Polycrates and that place²¹ were of a personal character. The Lydians did not emerge from obscurity till the time of Gyges; the Ionian and Æolian towns²² which were attacked by their kings, at first resisted, but with the growing ascendant of the Lydians they neither continued to place any confidence in their strength individually, nor entered into an armed alliance. Miletus established friendly relations with Alyattes by means of a treaty of hospitality²³. All seem to have paid tribute to Crœsus²⁴. "The benignant excellence of Crœsus²⁵," his predilection for the manners and arts of Greece, his hospitable court, and his magnificent donations, assembled around him the most illustrious of the Greeks²⁶; the tributary towns yielded him ready obedience; Delphi conferred upon him citizenship and honourable rank²⁷; and Sparta entered into an alliance with him²⁸. Courage and military feeling were at first aroused against the Persians; but upon that occasion too the Grecian policy lacked steadfastness and solidity, and prudent counsel was unheeded; the proposal of Bias to sail to Cynos, and that of Thales to establish a general council²⁹, were rejected: Harpagus reduced the towns singly: Miletus, according to ancient custom, had in good time concluded a separate treaty with the approaching conqueror³⁰; the rest, although falling under the power of tyrants, strove to obtain a promise that no barbarians should come within their

²¹ Herod. 3. 39, sqq.

²² Ib. 1. 15—26.

²³ Ib. 1. 22.

²⁴ Ib. 1. 16. 27.

²⁵ Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετή, Pind. Pyth. 1. 184.

²⁶ Herod. 1. 30.; 6. 36. 125.

²⁷ See § 22. n. 68.

²⁸ Herod. 1. 69. 70. 81. 83; Diod. Frag. V. 48. Bipont.; Paus. 4. 5. 1.

²⁹ Herod. 1. 170.

³⁰ Ib. 1. 152, 153.

walls, and this was given to them by the victors³¹. On the mainland they were still deficient in just views to enable them to estimate the power of Persia; Sparta's threats against Cyrus³² provoked laughter; Athens' embassy to Artaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, to obtain assistance against Cleomenes³³, is an evidence that till then no formal distinction had been drawn between them and the barbarians; but it is very probable that the insolence of the Persian prince, who first exacted homage by the presentation of earth and water, effected a considerable change in the sentiments of the Athenians. Nevertheless they were afterwards mean enough to send to him once more³⁴, for assistance against Hippias; the commencement of the antibarbarian principle dates from their participation in the Ionic insurrection. The Etruscans, if we except their probably friendly intercourse with Massilia, seem to have been upon a decidedly hostile footing with their Grecian neighbours; which however by no means operated as an impediment to Agylla's (Cære's) intercourse with Delphi³⁵. The Campanian Cuma must certainly have established treaties with them, otherwise its existence would have been precarious; Syracuse under Hiero was the first amongst the remaining Grecian states to maintain its ground against the Etruscans. The Carthaginians first encountered the Phocæans; the sea-fight with the latter³⁶ was the prelude to a long series of sanguinary battles in

³¹ Ib. 3. 89; Xen. Cyropæd. 7. 4. 4.

³² Herod. 1. 153.

³⁴ Ib. 5. 96.

³⁶ Herod. 1. 163, sqq.

³³ Ib. 5. 73.

³⁵ Strab. 5. 220.

Sicily, in which however the former took no further part. Was there ever any intercourse between the Grecian continent and Carthage? The first bond of alliance with Rome was contracted by the entrance of the Phocæans into the Tiber³⁷, and the next by Aristodemus, tyrant of Cuma³⁸; the latter was dissolved upon the rise of the Roman commonwealth; Rome did not become the object of Grecian politics till two centuries later.

THE CHANGES EFFECTED IN PERSONAL RANK UPON THE TERMINATION OF THE HEROIC AGE.

1. THE PRINCELY OFFICE IN ITS DECLINE.

§ 29. As the dissolution of the ancient alliances of tribes and provinces, and the subdivision into smaller communities, were succeeded by a thorough change in the external relations of the Grecian states, so the migrations and foundation of colonies led to the downfall of the heroic hereditary monarchy, the decay of the ancient political system, and the commencement of a new dispensation of government. The incitement to internal revolutions grew more frequent as the territories of individual states became narrowed, and the general inspection of the political machinery became more practicable. This led to the formation of republics,

³⁷ Justin. 43. 3.

³⁸ Dion. Hal. 7. 2, sqq.

it having been laid down as a necessary condition of that form of government, that it should have a small territory¹.

It is once more necessary to revert to the return of the national army from Troy. From the contrast between those who returned and those who remained behind, the consequences of that expedition diffused around the venom of political disaffection, which so corroded the sinews of the ancient system, that the forcible entrance of a new element could not be prevented. But the principle of destruction was contained in the nature of migration itself, as well that of the Doric and other migratory hordes collected by the force of circumstances or of their own free will. These did not march, as against Troy, under their own hereditary princes², but now formed a military retinue; and every tribe that happened to have preserved its unity of race, became mixed through the accession of adventures; the hordes did not recognise absolute authority in their leaders, nor were they attached to them by any uniform ties of paternal manners, laws, or religion; and lastly, they bore with them to their new seats a multitude of pretensions, and the confident expectation of possessions, in return for the dangers they had encountered. An army of this description constituted a living personal check on the leader. He no longer stood like the princes of heroic antiquity in the midst of a familiar circle, attached to him by the time-honoured customs of

¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des L.* 8. 16: Il est de la nature d'une république, qu'elle n'ait qu'un petit territoire. The verbal observation of Carnot to me, with regard to the termination of the French revolution, was: La France est trop grande pour être république.

² Στρατεύμα, Paus. 7. 2. 1. of the Ionians.

their forefathers, and the associations of their native land, where formal stipulations for the definition of legal relations were unknown, and the prince was the sole fountain of political order. Faith, confidence, the union of filial and parental feelings, the closest bonds of political association, were no more; the leaders of the military hordes were by the dangers of the expedition subjected to the ordinary necessities of humanity, and could not dispense with the voluntary services of their comrades in arms; this continued after the foundation of the new states, where relations were unsettled, and existence was precarious. Besides this there arose differences amongst the leaders themselves, which led to the formation of parties and solicitations for favour; and this again involved a reassertion of the principle, that the best and bravest man was entitled to be prince³, whilst it multiplied⁴ attempts to assert the claims of merit to a share in the powers of government. Thus the military nobility, in part even of princely lineage, or through their bravery, services, or possessions, raised to the dignity of an aristocracy, enclosed the monarchy within such narrow bounds, that it lost that power which at one time acted with such energy and effect upon popular life, and the chiefs of the new states, even though royally descended, could not, since the recognition of their comrades was purely voluntary, once more revert to the mythical-heroic germ from

³ Comp. §. 17. n. 25. The Milesians declared upon the occasion of a contention of this kind that he should reign, *ὅς Μιλησίους πλείω ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσαιτο*. Conon. 44.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. 3. 10. 7: Regal government was established in times of remote antiquity, because those distinguished for excellence were few in number, but upon their growing more numerous, *οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἐζήτουν κοινόν τι καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν*. Comp. 4. 10, 11.

which the ancient princely families, in their native provinces, had grown up and flourished so far above the mass of the people. The limitations of the princely power were probably in part stipulated during the preparations for an expedition, and the dangers of the march, by mutual promises and oaths⁵; but many of them bear the marks of having been produced by the violent inroads of the nobility. In Sparta there arose at the commencement of the Heraclidæ, and soon after in Messenia⁶, a mode of royal succession totally distinct from the heroic custom, namely, the joint government of two princes, which, as having the infallible tendency to weaken itself, must be regarded as one of the most effectual limitations of the princely power; the first Messenian prince Cresphontes wished to grant to the former occupants of the country equal privileges with the Dorians, but the latter compelled him to relinquish his purpose⁷; the second prince of Argos, Timenos the son of Ceisus, remained a prince in name only⁸; of a similar import is the statement that the Spartan king Eurypon had waved some of the prerogatives of royalty⁹. Simultaneous with these events, as if spread by the same contagious spirit of the age, was established the responsibility of the prince in Athens¹⁰, which must not indeed, as in the Æolic Cuma¹¹, and, in a later age, the Euthune of the functionaries at Athens, be construed into the formal authorisation of a tribunal to take cognizance of the royal acts, but must be regarded as a sign that the national council

⁵ See Append. ix.

⁷ Strab. 8. 361.

⁹ Plut. Lyc. 2.

¹¹ Plut. Qu. Gr. n. 2.

⁶ Paus. 4. 4. 3.

⁸ Paus. 2. 19. 2.

¹⁰ Paus. 5. 4. 5.

of nobles began to take a more active and influential part in the proceedings of government.

It was impossible for good fruits to result from such a state of things as this; it possessed within itself the tendency to change and revolution; the next step was to violence and outrage against the princes. The Messenian nobility slew Cresphontes¹², the Erythræan threw Cnopus into the sea¹³, the Ephesian revolted against the sons of Androcles¹⁴, the Milesian seceded to Myas and thence waged war against the Neleidæ¹⁵. It is, however, far from improbable that in the pernicious law of arms of that age, to which Hesiod¹⁶ incidentally alludes, right was sometimes trampled underfoot by the princes¹⁷; they could not nourish paternal sentiments in the emergencies to which they were reduced by the audacity of the turbulent; and the very existence of their government required that party spirit should direct their proceedings. But the Grecian princes did not find, or they omitted to seek, the support of the lower order, which was the bulwark of the princes in the middle ages, as it must ever be, unless sedition and violence have banished all natural feeling. It is true the participation of the multitude in political movements was occasionally by no means unimportant, and the course they took sometimes decided the event; however the common man had not yet raised him-

¹² Paus. 4. 3. 4. Comp. Hygin. 184. on Merope.

¹³ Hippian Erythr. ap. Ath. 6. 258. F, sqq.

¹⁴ Ephor. ap. Steph. Byz. *Βέννα*.

¹⁵ Polyæn. 8. 35. The tradition recounting the murder of the sons of Amphion by the Theban Sparti, may, with a multitude of others, be referred to the practice of drawing conclusions as to the heroic age from the character of later times; see Timagoras, ap. Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 162.

¹⁶ Op. et Di. 190: — *δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ αἰθῶς οὐκ ἔσται.*

¹⁷ *Σκολιαὶ Θέμιστες*, Hom. 11. 16. 387.

self to a direct and active share in the struggle for political power, and was not yet distinguished from the nobility by that strict line of demarcation which afterwards paved a way for the tyranny. Therefore the destruction of the princely authority was by no means consummated in the waves of democratic commotion, but in the immediate precinct of the throne. But after the lower order had in process of time worked its way to a higher position in the state, and began to make head against the nobility, by whom its regal stronghold had been invaded, it was too late to re-establish that form of government which had been almost universally abolished, and it could only be revived in its transcript the tyranny. In a few states which were distinguished by tranquillity and order, such as Achaia, the princely dignity terminated in the midst of the people without tumult or subsequent distractions. In others, after the same had ceased to be the highest political authority, we still find an honorary office of the same name, and the word *Basileus* continued to be so favourite a designation amongst the people, that it was willingly transferred to the subsequent tyranny, as if in mitigation and amelioration of the thing itself¹⁸.

Where and how long the princely government subsisted in the single states, can, in consequence of the scanty and unconnected accounts that have reached us, be stated very imperfectly. That at the commencement of the foundation of the new states after the first migrations, its abolition was by no means contemplated; but, on the contrary,

¹⁸ See § 50. n. 22.

that it was still deeply rooted in the spirit of the new age, may be gathered from the fact of its almost universally flourishing in those states. In Sparta, Messenia, and Argos, the government was obtained by the three principal tribes of the Heraclidæ, that of Aristodemus, from which descended Eurysthenes and Procles, Cresphontes, and Temenus¹⁹; from collateral branches sprung Aletes, the first prince of Corinth²⁰, Phalces in Sicyon, who took Lacestades, a native of the country, as co-regent²¹. The possession of princes, said to be descended from the Heraclidæ, some of whom supported their legitimacy on the by no means delicate fiction, that Hercules had, in the course of his wanderings, made kings' daughters pregnant in lawless marriage²², was boasted by almost all the other Doric states²³, such as Rhodes, the race of Tlepolemus²⁴; Cos, the descendants of Thessalus²⁵; and Phæstus, in Crete, which pretended to be built by the Heraclid Phæstus²⁶. Even the princes of Thessaly, the Aleuadæ, endeavoured to establish their affinity with the Heraclidæ²⁷, and their example was emulated by those of Macedonia²⁸. Allied by marriage with the princely house of Sparta was the Ægid Theras, who led the Laconian Ægidæ, and the Minyans to Thera²⁹. Amongst the princely races of old Achæan descent, the posterity of Tisa-

¹⁹ Paus. 4. 3. 3.

²⁰ Paus. 2. 4. 4; Diod. Fragm. v. 4. 13, Bipont.; Etym. M. Ἀλήτης. Comp. Böckh. Pind. expl. 213.

²¹ Paus. 2. 6. 4.

²² Comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 421.

²³ Ibid. 2. 108.

²⁴ Diod. 4. 58; Hom. Il. 2. 653, sqq.

²⁵ Il. 2. 678; Diod. 5. 54.

²⁶ Paus. 2. 6. 3.

²⁷ See Böckh. Pind. expl. 332; comp. Buttmann on the Aleuads in Berlin Abh. Hist. Philol. Cl. 1822. 1823.

²⁸ Thuc. 2. 99; Diod. 17. 4.

²⁹ Herod. 4. 147; Müller, Orchom. 353, sqq.

menus reigned in Achaia³⁰, that of Penthilus in Mitylene³¹ in Lesbos, and very probably in the Æolic Cuma³². Ionic princes, most of whom were Attic Codridæ, and some of the half-blood only, were found in various places: Neleus³³ in Miletus, Androcles³⁴ in Ephesus, Cnopus³⁵ in Erythræ, Æpytus³⁶ in Priene, Cydrelus³⁷ in Myus, Periclus and Abartes³⁸ in Phocæa, Andræmon³⁹ in Lebedus, Apoikos⁴⁰ in Teos, Damasichthon and Prometheus⁴¹ in Colophon, Ion of Eubœa⁴² in Chios, and afterwards Egertius⁴³, and the Epidaurian Procles⁴⁴ in Samos.

Add to these, besides those places where tyrants are expressly enumerated, the vague mention made of a king called Pollis in Syracuse⁴⁵, a descendant of the Heraclid Archias⁴⁶, who laid the foundation of that city, as well as of Aristophilides in Tarentum⁴⁷, Damagetus in Ialysus⁴⁸, on the island of Rhodes, and of Lesbian Basileis in the

³⁰ Paus. 7. 6. 2. According to Euseb. Chron. 709. Pantheus and Cometes reigned in Mycenæ after Tisamenus.

³¹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 13.

³² Plut. Qu. Gr. n. 2. Pollax. 9. 83, has a king Agamemnon.

³³ Paus. 7. 2. 1; Polyæn. 16. 12. His son Phrygius, Plut. de Mulier. Virtutib. 7. 37; Polyæn. 8. 35; Parthen. 14; comp. Zenob. 5. 17; comp. Spanheim. ad Callim. Hymn. Dian. 226.

³⁴ Strab. 14. 632; Paus. 7. 2. 5. Etym. M. has Ἐσσην as the Ephesian word for king.

³⁵ Strab. 14. 633; Hippas ap. Ath. 6. 258. F. sqq.; Steph. Byz. Ἐρυθρα. Cleopus is a corrupt reading, Paus. 7. 3. 4.

³⁶ Strab. 14. 633. Ægyptus is corrupt, Paus. 7. 2. 7.

³⁷ Strab. 14. 635. Cyaretus. Paus. 7. 2. 7.

³⁸ Paus. 7. 3. 5. Afterwards Phobus and Blepaus are there, Plut. de Mulier. Virtutib. 7. 41. sqq.

³⁹ Paus. 7. 3. 2. Androcopus, Strab. 14. 633.

⁴⁰ Paus. 7. 3. 3; Strab. ubi sup. Damastes and Neoclus were afterwards there.

⁴¹ Paus. 7. 3. 1. Strab. 14. 633, has Andræmon of Mimnermus.

⁴² Paus. 7. 4. 6.

⁴³ Strab. ubi sup.; Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. mentions a Hippocles.

⁴⁴ Strab. ubi sup.

⁴⁵ Pollux, 6. 16. from Aristot. Ath. 1. 3. B.; Æl. V. H. 12. 31; Etym. M. Βίβλινος οἶνος.

⁴⁶ Böckh. Pind. Expl. 153.

⁴⁷ Herod. 3. 13.

⁴⁸ Paus. 4. 24. 1.

legislation of Pittacus⁴⁹. Here we are, in all probability, to understand nothing more than a superior magistrate, who is thus vaguely designated in conformity to the predilection for the use of the word Basileus, before alluded to, but under which seems to have been concealed a more definite title, such as perhaps Prytanis in Syracuse, Ialysus, and on the island of Lesbos. We find it as the peculiar designation of an office of state, divested of royal authority indeed, but still associated with distinguished honour, and generally with the administration of a priesthood in Delphi⁵⁰ and Siphnus⁵¹; and it was retained till a late age in Megara⁵², Chalcedon⁵³, Cyzicus⁵⁴, and Samothrace⁵⁵, as the appellation of a functionary below the prince of the country, a sort of governor in Laconia⁵⁶, and this, in the true spirit of antiquity, was derived from that age when Basileus was the only designation for a head or chief.

Though these particulars concerning the kingly office during its existence are incomplete, and in part uncertain, the accounts of its decline in single states are still more unsatisfactory. Those which are extant relate, for the most part, to such states as had retained the old heroic monarchy. In Crete the kingly office and unity of state disappear together, immediately after the death of Idomeneus⁵⁷; Etearchus of Axos⁵⁸, recorded as a king in Crete, when Cyrene was founded, was apparently

⁴⁹ Stob. 42. 280, Orl. ed.⁵⁰ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 177.⁵¹ Isocrat. adv. Callim. 685; comp. Müller, Æginet. 155.⁵² Chandler, Marm. Ox. 2. 82.⁵³ Count Caylus recueil, 2. 55.⁵⁴ Ibid. 2. 71. 72. Compare, on the last-mentioned towns, Tittmann, gr. Staatsv.⁵⁵ Liv. 45. 5.⁵⁶ Ephor. ap Strab. 8. 364.⁵⁷ Schol. Hom. Od. 19. 186.⁵⁸ Herod. 4. 154.

nothing but a public officer; besides, this state can scarcely be considered as purely Grecian. In Bœotia, whither Opheltas of Thessaly had conducted the Bœotians⁵⁹, the last king on record⁶⁰ is Xanthus, who fell in single combat against Melanthus; in Achaia the regal office ended with Ogyges⁶¹; in Arcadia Aristocrates appears to have been the last king of the united state of Orchomenus and Trapezus⁶²; however, the word Basileus occurs as late as the Peloponnesian war, in reference to Orchomenus, it is true upon very uncertain testimony⁶³. In Argos the dignity continued to subsist, but latterly deprived of all power till after the great Persian war⁶⁴. In Cyrene it still maintained itself after the constitution⁶⁵ of Demonax, (between 550—530, B. C. ⁶⁶;) the atrocities of Pheretima exhibit it under the aspect of oriental degeneracy⁶⁷, and she herself may be compared to an Amastris or Parysatis. The subject of Athens will be more fully treated below⁶⁸.

II. THE DOMINANT CLASS.

a. *The Hereditary Nobility.*

§ 30. Before the nature of the political authorities in the various constitutions which arose after the kingly office had ceased can be discussed, we must ascertain the legal relation in which the aggregate inhabitants of the state stood towards the supreme political power, and the basis on

⁵⁹ Plut. Cim. 1.⁶⁰ Paus. 9. 5. 8.⁶¹ Paus. 8. 5. 8.⁶² Müller, Dor. 2. 108. 109.⁶³ Herod. 4. 161.⁶⁴ See § 45.⁶⁵ Strab. 8. 384; Polyb. 2. 41.⁶⁶ Ps. Plut. Parall. 7. 243.⁶⁷ Thrig. h. Cyren. 167, sqq.⁶⁸ Herod. 4. 102, sqq.

which the claims to participation in the government were established. If we direct our attention to the progressive stages of development, what we first of all observe is not a general citizenship, but a division of the collective members of the state into a higher and a lower class, without any community of civil rights. We shall, therefore, first treat of these two classes, and afterwards of that which they possessed in common, and whereby both, in conjunction as citizens, were contradistinguished from non-citizens. Amongst the former the hereditary nobility came forward with the most prominent characteristics.

How soon in the earliest stages of civil polity, after such as were distinguished by eminent qualities had established themselves as chiefs, every species of distinction which proceeded from personal merit began to be looked upon as descendible, has been already adverted to¹; but even after the heroic age it was a popular notion amongst the Greeks who were not yet capable of abstract speculation, that the transmission of a right by descent was valid; thus the Athenian populace, proud of the right of citizenship they possessed by virtue of their extraction, asserted a pre-eminence over those who were destitute of such claims. This respect for the perpetuation of a right by birth and descent, the relation in which a son, as the possessor of certain rights, stands towards his father as the source whence he derives them, has been expressed by more than one Greek phrase². Hence the continuance or the speedy revival of the hereditary nobility in the new-founded states was inevitable.

¹ See § 17.² See Append. x.

Our attention must first be directed to the princely nobility transmitted from the heroic age, which continued to subsist in the states that had sustained no change through the migrations, but which appertained to numerous leaders of the migratory hordes, and derived new force and sanction from the alliances they contracted with the chiefs of the country. After the abolition of the princely government this assumed the nature of a superior nobility invested with oligarchical authority, or when the range of the sharers in the government became more extended, that of a particular order in the class of the governing, distinguished by especial honours. Houses of this description were the Codridæ or Medontiadæ in Athens, to which the Alcæonidæ³ became allied by marriage; the Neleidæ⁴ in Miletus; the Basilidæ in Erythræ from Cnopus⁵; the Basileis⁶ in Ephesus from Androcles, all three races descendants of Codrus; the Penthilidæ⁷ in Mitylene from Penthelus, the son of Orestes. Sprung from princely nobility of genuine or reputed Heraclid origin were the Bacchiadæ in Corinth⁸; the Ctesippidæ in Epidaurus⁹, and most probably in Cleonæ¹⁰; the Eratidæ¹¹, to which belonged the noble Diagoras, in Rhodes; the Hippotadæ¹² in Cnidos and on the island of Cos; the Aleuadæ¹³ at Larissa in Thessaly; the

³ See Böckh, Pind. expl. 300, sqq.⁴ § 29. n. 33.⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 4; comp. § 29. n. 35.⁶ Strab. 14. 633. Suid. Πυθαγόρας has Βασιλιδαι. Comp. § 29. n. 34.⁷ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 13.⁸ Herod. 5. 92; Paus. 2. 4. 4. In Miletus there were also Βακχιδαι, Hesych. Βακχ. Were they related to the others?⁹ Paus. 3. 16. 5; Schol. Soph. Trach. 55.¹⁰ Müller, Dor. 1. 81; 2. 109.¹¹ Böckh, Pind. expl. 165; Müller, Dor. 2. 147.¹² Diodor. 5. 9. 53; Tietz. 3; Lycoph. 1368.¹³ § 29. n. 27.

Thespiadæ¹⁴, seven houses in Thespiæ, descended from Hercules and the daughters of the mythical prince Thespius; the Phalanthiadæ in Tarentum¹⁵, from the leader of the expedition to that place. The Emmenidæ, in Gela and Agrigentum¹⁶, derived themselves from the race of Polynices, not to mention the possible descendants of Theras in Thera, concerning whom no exact particulars are known; from Minyas, the Psoloeis and Œonolai in Orchomenus¹⁷; from Opheltas, the leader of the Bœotians from Thessaly, the Opheltiadæ in Thebes¹⁸, where the Cleonymidæ were considered as related to the royal house of Labdacus¹⁹. The Ioxidæ²⁰ in Caria pretended to trace themselves to Ioxus, the grandson of Theseus, the Cinyradæ²¹ in Cyprus to the renowned Cinyras; and lastly, the Deucalionidæ²² in Delphi carried their pedigree to a most incredible height.

The Theban Sparti²³ were, it is true, not precisely sprung from the heroic princely blood, but were descended from the most ancient military nobility, and the confidants of the Cadmean princes. Their name reminds us of Autochthones, and was interpreted accordingly, being proverbially used to designate ancient or native nobility²⁴; their genuine-

¹⁴ Diod. 4. 29. 41; 5. 15.

¹⁵ Schol. Horat. Od. 2. 5. 12; comp. Steph. Byz. 'Αθηναί, where, however, Tarentines in general are meant.

¹⁶ Müller, Orchom. 329; Böckh. Pind. expl. 115.

¹⁷ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 198.

¹⁸ Plut. de Sera. Num. Vindict. 8. 208. 209.

¹⁹ See Dissen ad Pind. Isthm. 3. p. 499, sqq.

²⁰ Plut. Thes. 8.

²¹ Pind. Pyth. 2. 27, sqq.; and Schol. Apollod. 3. 14. 3.

²² Plut. Qu. Gr. n. 9.

²³ Σπάρτων γένος, Æschyl. Eum. 400. Σπαρτοῦς ἀνακταῖ, Eurip. Phœn. 1022; comp. 954. 1015; Schol. on 674. 941. 944; Pind. Pyth. 9. 145; Schol. Isthm. 7. 13; 1. 41; comp. Dissen. ad Pind. p. 535; Schol. Apoll. Rh. 3. 1178. 1185; Hygin. 67.: Draconteum genus; comp. 178.

²⁴ Platon. Sophist. 247. C.

ness was said to be discoverable by a mark on their body²⁵; Epaminondas descended from one line of them²⁶; and some of them were yet in existence at the time of Plutarch²⁷. The Gephyræi, the race from which the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton²⁸ were descended, asserted that they were sprung from companions of Cadmus. Very slight indeed was the connection between the heroic age and nine families in Trœzen, which boasted that their ancestors had once purified Orestes from the guilt of murder²⁹; amongst the hundred noble families in the Italian Locri, which derived their origin from some of those noble virgins who, according to the tradition, it had been once necessary to send annually to Ilium³⁰, to atone for the impiety of Ajax, the son of Oileus; in Ithaca, the Colidæ and Bucolii called themselves descendants of the Homeric shepherds Eumæus and Philoitius³¹, and the heralds in Sparta descendants of Talthybius³².

The sacerdotal nobility which, as was observed above, was incorporated with the general nobility of the land, so as to enhance the estimation in which this was held, in consequence of the peculiar qualifications requisite for the priesthood, and the sacred art of the soothsayers and physicians perpetuated in exclusive bodies, required a rigorous family-scrutiny; and this, to a certain extent, con-

²⁵ Dion. Chrys. 1. 149: σημεῖον λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ γένους, λόγῳ τις, οἶμαι, ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος. Comp. Hygin. 72.

²⁶ Paus. 8. 11. 5.

²⁷ Plut. de Sera. Numin. Vindict. 8. 228. Consult, on this extensive subject in general, Ionsius, de Sparti in Græv. Synt. dissert. 210.

²⁸ Herodot. 5. 55. 57.

²⁹ Paus. 2. 31; 7. 11; 1. 22. 2; comp. Müller, Dor. 1. 333.

³⁰ Aristot. ap. Polyb. 12. 5. 6, sqq.

³¹ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 180.

³² Herodot. 7. 134.

tinued to be exercised till a very late age; the beginning of the line was naturally sought in the heroic time, and gods and princes were gorgeously announced as its founders; the prophetic race of the Iamidæ³³ from Olympia, disseminated through a number of Grecian states, Laconia, Arcadia, Syracuse, etc., derived its origin from Iamus, a son of Apollo and Evadne; the Branchidæ at Miletus from Apollo's son Branchus³⁴; the Asclepiadæ in Epidaurus, Cos³⁵, etc., the Eumolpidæ in Athens and Eleusis³⁶, the Ceryces³⁷, were said to be descended from the sons of gods in those places; and the Clytiadæ³⁸ in Elis, from the celebrated prophet and prince Melampus. Certain houses, like that of the Attic Eteobutad³⁹ Peripoltas, who accompanied Opheltas to Bœotia in the capacity of seer, occupied a lower position in the genealogical scale; but this was still in existence at Cheronea⁴⁰ at the time of Plutarch; that of the Lycomedæ in Athens, from which came Themistocles⁴¹, and of Telines, from whom Gelon's ancestors in Gela had inherited a priesthood⁴².

As next in importance to the princely nobility transmitted from the heroic age, must be added the houses of those founders of states, who, it is true, had not inherited heroic nobility, but who, from their exalted rank in the new states, and through the honour of the heroic worship which generally fell to their share, conferred upon their

³³ See at large, Boeckh, Pind. expl. 152. 153.

³⁴ Conon, 33.

³⁵ Sprengel, Gesch. d. Med. 1. 340, sqq.

³⁶ Creuzer, Symb. 4. 355; comp. Müller, Prolegom. 250, sqq.

³⁷ See Zeibich de Cerycib. mystic. Creuzer, Symb. 4. 356. 357.

³⁸ Boeckh, Pind. expl. 315.

³⁹ See their pedigree in Müller, Minerv. Poliad. Sacra, p. 8. ⁴⁰ Plut. Cim. 8.

⁴¹ Paus. 9. 27. 2; Plut. Them. 1; comp. Müller, ubi sup. 44, sqq.

⁴² Herod. 7. 154; Schol. Pind. p. 2. 27.

posterity a certain splendour of illustrious birth. Such were the Protiadæ in Massilia, descended from the Phocæan mariner Protis and the daughter of a Gallic king⁴³, whom he espoused before the settlement on the site of Massilia. Least furnished with the stamp of ancient birth, and purely derived from a more recent age, was the nobility conferred by participation in an expedition and the foundation of a state. Houses of this description, from the increase of which the nobility before described may have forfeited various privileges, formed the aristocracy in Apollonia and Thera⁴⁴; it is probable that the numerous illustrious races in Ægina⁴⁵ extolled by Pindar, were of a similar description, such as the Myletidæ in Syracuse⁴⁶, etc. Lastly, it is worthy of remark, that in those districts which like Attica preserved the population of the heroic age in its greatest purity, Autochthony was a subject of pride and a mark of nobility⁴⁷; whilst in such as had been colonised, the name of the ancient and aboriginal inhabitants was regarded with contempt, as of the Iagnetes in Rhodes⁴⁸ and the Thebageneis⁴⁹.

Of what description therefore were the qualifications which permanently determined the rank and rights of the nobility as the governing order of the country? In this enquiry it is necessary to postpone the consideration of the hereditary distinctions of birth and family, and first of all to

⁴³ Athen. 13. 576. A. B. Hesychius somewhat singularly has, 'Οψαλίδαι οἱ ἀρχηγέται τῶν Αἰτωλῶν.

⁴⁴ Aristot. Pol. 4. 5. 8: ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτον κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας. Concerning the duty of the nobility in Apollonia to guard the sacred sheep of the sun, see Herod. 9. 93.

⁴⁵ See Append. vii.

⁴⁶ Thuc. 6. 5.

⁴⁷ See Append. xi.

⁴⁸ Hesych. Ἰγνητες. Comp. Steph. Byz. Γνής, on the Eteocrates, see Höckh Creta, 1. 140, sqq.

⁴⁹ § 34. n. 25.

examine the external qualifications, which, in the more ancient as well as in the modern states, were looked upon as the basis of rights and pretensions. This consisted in the possession of land, which, as already stated, was probably promised to those who accompanied an expedition⁵⁰, and to which were annexed obligations towards the state, especially that of bearing arms for it, whilst this was again associated with military honour and the use of a nobler sort of weapons. This endowment, a reward for services performed and to be performed, is exhibited to us in the infancy of the new-founded states, in the light of a nobility of merit: this relation must, however, soon have been superseded by one of another description. For the adequate estimation of personal merit, which in the nature of things must continually be recurring, as constantly requires a return to general principles; by which it must be determined what position in the state individuals are entitled to occupy as men and as citizens. But to prevent the confusion liable to arise from such a wavering state of things, it is requisite that there should exist a supreme authority, firmly established, endowed with political intelligence, and possessed of the necessary power to carry into operation those measures which it shall deem conducive to the welfare of the community. The nearest approach to this standard of perfection, with which we are acquainted, is the regal office; but how deficient in these attributes was the monarchy of the age that followed the great migrations—a narrowly limited authority, which bore within itself the seeds of its own de-

⁵⁰ Thus the Cyrenæans invited people to dwell, *ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνάδασμῳ*, Herod. 4. 159; comp. 4. 163. After the development of the democratic principle, on the other hand, the expression was *ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσῳ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ*, Thuc. 1. 27.

struction! Hence, we soon behold revived in the Grecian states of more recent origin, that principle which had prevailed in those of the heroic age, and is rooted in the nature of all earthly polities, viz. the hereditary transmission of distinctions, which were in the first instance granted to merit alone; the external endowments with property, the obligation to services for its possession, and the rank associated with it, were continued by descent in particular families; the nobility maintained the purity of their race by refusing to intermarry with the inferior classes, as was the case with the Bacchiadæ⁵¹; in some instances, as in Leucas⁵², even the alienation of property was prohibited, and their power consequently the more firmly established. It results therefore that the hereditary nobility who at the decline of the kingly power constituted the governing order, were distinguished by these three characteristics: the possession of property, military honour, and the hereditary transmission of these privileges, together with which the sacerdotal character may occasionally be discerned, but, as has been several times observed, not so as to mark a distinct class.

As landed proprietors, the nobility were called Gamori⁵³; this appellation was however peculiar to the Doric states, and to Syracuse in particular⁵⁴. Here the Gamori were the possessors of the land, who themselves dwelt in the city, the seat of government, and kept husbandmen

⁵¹ Herod. 5. 92. 2. *ἐδίδσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγον ἐξ ἀλλήλων*.

⁵² Aristot. Pol. 2. 4. 4.

⁵³ See Valcken. ad Herod. 5. 77; 66. 22; Ruhnck. ad Tim. 67; Hesych. *Γάμοροι*: οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγείων τιμημάτων τὰ κοινὰ διέποντες. This alludes to liturgies, wherefore Ruhnck's alteration into *κτημάτων* is unnecessary.

⁵⁴ Herod. 7. 155; Diod. Frag. V. 4. 26. Bipont, where see Vales. and Wessel. Concerning Argos, see Æschyl. Supplic. 678.

on their estates; nevertheless upon the occupation of the country the ancient inhabitants in some instances retained their landed possessions, as in Phlius⁵⁵, etc., but they can hardly have had an equal right to form part of the governing order; again, the noblest and bravest of the new settlers received larger shares, to which were attached more valuable privileges. The same practice prevailed in Attica⁵⁶; the husbandmen paid a rent to the noble landlords; but the denominations were not synonymous, for the word Geomori in Attica was employed for the agricultural labourers in the service of the nobility termed Eupatridæ; it is probable, that the word Cleruchi, afterwards used in Attic politics, was of more ancient use⁵⁷; and this may have been the real name of the Samian nobility, who are called Geomori⁵⁸ by an authority in whom no great faith is to be reposed.

The military title of the nobility was Hippeis⁵⁹, knights. In several states, in accordance with the nature of the country, cavalry formed the nucleus of the armed force, and was, therefore, the noblest kind of service; with this was coupled the possession of landed property, large tracts of land being bestowed upon them for the keep of their horses, or, as was effected by Phidon in Cuma⁶⁰, their own possessions were laid under contribution for that object. In these countries, therefore, nobility and cavalry were virtually identical terms⁶¹, as, for

⁵⁵ See § 33. n. 10, sqq.

⁵⁶ See § 44. n. 15.

⁵⁷ Near Cyzicus there was a district called κληρος, Polyæn. 1. 40. 9; comp. Timæus, γεωμόροι κληροῦχοι.

⁵⁸ Plut. Quæst. Græc. 7. 211. 212.

⁵⁹ Aristot. Pol. 4. 10; 10. 11; in Chalcis ἵπποβόται, Herod. 5. 77: in Lebadea ἵπποται; in Argum 5. Pind. Nem. στρατιωτικὸν γένος.

⁶⁰ Heracl. Pont. 11.

⁶¹ Aristot. Pol. 4. 3. 2, ὅσαι πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν, comp. 6. 4. 3.

instance, in Thebes⁶², Thespiæ⁶³, Lebadea⁶⁴, Orchomenus⁶⁵, in Chalcis and Eretrian Eubœa⁶⁶, in Magnesia on the Mæander⁶⁷, and most probably in Colophon⁶⁸, Crete⁶⁹, and in Cyrene, where the nobility were called Capetii⁷⁰. Amongst the Dorians, heavy-armed infantry constituted the national force⁷¹, whereas the cavalry was very imperfectly organized; nevertheless, the word Hoplitæ will hardly be found in any state as an appellation for military nobility⁷². In Sparta, where there was no cavalry whatever till the time of the Peloponnesian war⁷³, the noble youth of the army were called Hippeis⁷⁴. The foregoing observations prove that the important passage in Aristotle⁷⁵, which states that the monarchy was immediately succeeded by the aristocracy of knights of noble birth, and this again by a democracy of the collective Hoplitæ, will, upon an attentive examination of the subject, be found inapplicable to the majority of the Doric states.

Under each of the two names mentioned above, which designate the external endowments of the nobility with property and military rank, are naturally included such families as were distinguished by more ancient and superior nobility; and, by virtue of their right to inherit these distinctions,

⁶² Θῆβαι εὐίπποι, Eurip. Phœn. 17; πολυάρματοι, Soph. Antig. 149; εὐάρματοι, 845; πλῆξειπποι, Pind. Ol. 6. 145.

⁶³ At least there were Eilarcheons there, see Müller, Orch. 4. 1.

⁶⁴ Inscript. Wheeler, 374.

⁶⁵ Diod. 15. 79.

⁶⁶ Strab. 10. 448; Valcken. ad. Herod. 6. 22; Tittmann, gr. Staatsv. 648.

⁶⁷ Aristot. Pol. 4. 3. 2.

⁶⁸ Heindorf ad Plat. Theæt. § 27; compare above, § 23. n. 13.

⁶⁹ Ephor. ap. Strab. 10. 481.

⁷⁰ Hesych. Καπήτιοι οἱ περιφανεῖς τῆς Κυρήνης; compare ἀρμεθεῖς.

⁷¹ Müller, Dor. 1. 77. Hence the words γυμνήτες, γυμνήσιοι, were applied to the lower orders, and the bondmen in Argos (Pohl. 3. 82); compare Müller, Dor. 2. 55.

⁷² Thucyd. 4. 55; compare Strab. 10. 481.

⁷³ Müller, Dor. 2. 241.

⁷⁴ Pol. 4. 10; 10. 11.

the landed proprietors and knights of the country were, like the older nobility by right of birth, denominated Eupatridæ, Eugeneis⁷⁶.

b. The Rich.

§ 31. However easily the personal authority of such as were possessed of landed property and military distinction might have assumed an hereditary character, it nevertheless seems to have been necessary for the further continuance of hereditary power in the nobility, at a time when youthful feelings and aspirations characterised the Greeks, that the nobles should maintain their footing as the nucleus of the armed force, and as landed proprietors in the state. On the other hand, the alienation of landed possessions, and retirement from the career of arms, exposed them to a danger against which illustrious birth alone was not a sufficient security. For the source from which nobility had emanated did not cease to flow; the warlike exploits of the lower orders, and the prosperity which arose without the circle of the nobility, laid the foundation for claims in that class of the people, which, though less entitled to assert them, was numerically superior; and although these claims were not directed to the object of raising themselves to noble rank, by virtue of the same conditions which had once called the nobility into existence, they were, nevertheless, impatient of the rank the nobility asserted as an aristocracy; and the estimation in which the worth and merit of a citizen, upon whom particular privileges were to be

⁷⁶ Aristot. Pol. 4. 6, 5; Εὐγένεια ἴσταν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή. The denominations of the nobility by birth will be fully illustrated in the second volume.

conferred, were held by the lower orders, in spite of all their national reverence for heroic descent, now became associated with the possession of eminent personal qualities, or with wealth and property, and the civil benefits which might thence result to the state. To keep this aspiring disposition within due bounds, and to preserve the balance between its growing pretensions and those of the hereditary proprietors of the soil, was a task accomplished in but few of the Grecian states; and in those it was effected by the wisdom of the legislators and the force of immemorial usage, when the merit of the warrior had, from the earliest times, asserted a pre-eminence, as amongst the Malians and Arcadians, and still more, when it was supported by an equality of possessions, as in Sparta. On the other hand, in most of the remaining states the class of the rich trenched more and more upon the nobility by descent. Riches became the cry of the people¹, and even diminished the respect for that manly virtue which was not yet wholly extinguished, and still evinced itself in enterprise and action. The love of wealth was in every age peculiar to the Grecian character; the estimation of the person according to the standard of property, was essentially grounded in the tendency to navigation and commerce. When maritime trade began to flourish, and wealth became more easy of acquirement, movables and the precious metals were more highly valued than the substantial property of land; the multitudes that embraced a seafaring life, at the same time altered the estimation in which the military profession was held; notwithstanding knights or Hoplitæ still continued to be

¹ Χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ, Pind. Isthm. 2. 17; Dissen. Expl. 492.

the most distinguished portion of the military force, yet from the necessity that existed for seamen, there arose a dangerous counterpoise to the authority of the nobility, whose calling and honour centered in the land service; hence the pretensions of the lower orders unfolded themselves in their full force after the naval battles with the Persians. However, in states which were enriched by navigation and trade, the wealth which was thus acquired might very easily be added to the possessions of the noble landholders, who had been concerned in fitting out vessels, and they themselves thus preserve their ancient pre-eminence in point of property; when the Grecian historians and politicians, therefore, afterwards characterised the aristocracy as the class of the rich², and declared a share in the government to be based upon the principle of valuation³, in allusion to the political affairs of the age before the Persian war, as in the aristocracy of the Hippobotæ in Chalcis⁴, the Rhegians⁵, Agrigentans⁶, etc., this is by no means to be understood of property and rights, constantly varying, and only attached to the person of the holders for the time being; hereditary nobility possessed of property, or, at least, a class in which the hereditary nobility had the ascendant, is a far more natural interpretation, and is supported by historical authority; for example, amongst the Rhegians none but those who originally belonged to the Messenian tribe could obtain a share in the government⁷.

² Πλούσιοι, παχέες, Herod. Thucyd. etc.

³ Ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, Plat. de Repub. 8. 550. C. sqq.; ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 4.

⁴ Aristot. ap. Strab. 10. 447, ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες; Plut. Pericl. 23, πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντες.

⁵ Αἰρετοὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, Heracl. Pont. 25.

⁶ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 4.

⁷ Strab. 6. 257.

Considerable agitation seems to have prevailed in most of the Grecian states towards the end of the age which preceded the Persian wars; in Miletus there was a struggle between the rich nobility, called Plutis, from their riches, or Plontis, from their ships, and the lower order, denominated Cheiromacha⁸; the Gamori in Syracuse were expelled by the demus⁹, etc.; the political importance of wealth with a change of families, and without regard to the question, whether it had descended by inheritance and was associated with hereditary nobility, or was attached to such citizens as had but recently attained rank and station; the principle, therefore, of the census was established in certain states by means of express constitutions, and this was in some instances attended by an entire change in the public system, as was the case in Athens, under Solon, and in Cuma under Phidon¹⁰. In many others, similar changes were probably effected by convention, or, as amongst the Milesians, through the decree of an intervening state¹¹, or even from the encroachments of the bulk of the people, who forced themselves into the actual enjoyment of civil rights. This is a subject which will be more fully investigated in future chapters.

III. THE COMMON FREEMEN.

§ 32. Whilst in the infancy of those states which arose after the heroic age, the nobles come forward with such prominent and decided characteristics, owing to the external qualifications they retained,

⁸ Plut. Quæst. Gr. 7. 193: conf. Heracl. Pont. ap. Ath. 12. 524. Only one of the readings in Plutarch can be correct; according to his account, the rich were likewise called *ἀειναῦται*, and this supports the reading *πλουτίς*.

⁹ Herod. 7. 155.

¹⁰ Heracl. P. 11.

¹¹ Herod. 5. 28.

the lower orders appear to have been for a considerable space of time destitute of all certain and regular form. In those states whose population had not become mixed through migrations, their condition was, for several centuries, unaffected by any particular variation; in others, where the invading tribes formed the dominant class, the lower order consisted partly of the former occupants of the conquered country, as in Thessaly, Laconia, Elis, and the territory of Argus and Epidaurus, partly of the common and undistinguished mass which composed the migratory hordes, and had either remained in a subordinate station during and after the expedition, or, even supposing it to have acquired, for a time, property and privileges, very soon descended to its real level amongst nobler associates, and lastly, of after-comers. Thus Messenians and Chalcidians migrated to Rhegium; the latter, a body devoted to the Delphic god, were henceforward placed upon a servile footing¹; numerous husbandmen, from the Corinthian village of Tenea² went with Archias to Syracuse, where they probably formed a portion of the lower class. This class, whose most usual designation, *Demus*³, like the Roman word *Plebs*, became gradually extended, from the signification of a body subordinate to the nobility, to that of the aggregate people, and whose development was accompanied by an analogous progress in the idea of the legal rights associated with it, were not citizens in the same sense of the word as the nobility, but formed a sort of substratum⁴ to them, without political

¹ Strab. 6. 257.² Strab. 8. 380.³ See Append. viii.⁴ Aristot. Pol. 4. 10. 11, assigns as a reason for the existence of royal and oligarchical governments in the infancy of states, that the middle class was not

station or agency themselves, and bordered closely upon the nature of a servile order. The opposition between the nobility and the *Demus*, which gradually rose from this condition to the enjoyment of political rights, must be considered in a two-fold point of view—as beheld in the maritime and in the inland states.

In the former, which from their devoting little or no attention to navigation, we shall call land-states, it is necessary to observe the distinction between *the town* and *the country*, the former implying the seat of government, and the latter the dependent rural district in its vicinity. It has been shown above⁵ that the erection of towns was a prominent feature in the political changes effected in the state-system of Greece, and one of its principal causes; they were observed to rise in the greatest number in those districts which had been colonised; spacious towns were built at the foot of the citadels belonging to the ancient princes, in which the military retainers took up their quarters in the same manner as in a knightly castle, and even though destitute of the external distinctives of public buildings and fortifications, Sparta, for example, at first probably rather bearing the appearance of a camp than a city, whilst the public edifices of Elis were not erected till after the Persian wars⁶, the town nevertheless formed the central point of government. Thus in Elis Oxylus received the inhabitants of various townships into the city⁷; hence the followers of Cresphontes insisted that he should found⁸ one town, and not five;

numerous—δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον πόλιν τὸ μέσον—this, however, appears untenable.

⁵ § 21; comp. Append. viii.⁶ Strab. 8. 336.⁷ Paus. 5. 4. 1.⁸ Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 361; comp. Paus. 4. 3. 4.

and on that account the collection of the country people into towns (*συνοικισμός*) became a means to promote democracy. From designating the member of the community of a town in this sense, the word townsman was accordingly employed to signify state-citizen, full citizen. On the other hand, dwelling around the town, taking no part in town affairs, and fulfilling the political destination in a servile cultivation of the soil, were the characteristic marks of the lower class; and hence arose the appellation *Periœci*⁹. This is described by the ancients as the peculiar attribute of the Lacedæmonians, in contradistinction to the inhabitants of the capital, Sparta¹⁰, the occupants of the country round about the towns in Crete¹¹, and the dwellers around Argos¹² and Elis¹³: but if we strictly examine the political relation of the lower class, instead of regarding the indefinite expressions of the ancients, we shall find that the same character applies to the Attic Thetes¹⁴, the Demus of Epidaurus¹⁵, the twenty-five townships¹⁶ belonging to Sybaris, Messenia¹⁷, etc.

The condition of these *Periœci*, as far as political rights were concerned, was neither uniform in every place, nor the same at all times in single states¹⁸, but varied from a condition closely bordering on citizenship to the confines of bondage.

⁹ See Append. viii.

¹⁰ Herod. 6. 58; 9. 11.

¹¹ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 1; Sosicrat. ap. Ath. 6. 263. F.

¹² Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 8; Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. 7. 11. from which the word *δοῦλοι*, improperly used by Herod. 6. 83. must be emended. Comp. Herodotus himself, 8. 73.

¹³ Thuc. 2. 25; Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 23.

¹⁴ Concerning the word, see Append. xii. on the subject itself below, § 44.

¹⁵ Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀγρῷ διέτριβεν, Plut. Quæst. Gr. 1.

¹⁶ Πέντε δὲ καὶ εἰκοσι πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσχε, Strab. 6. 263.

¹⁷ See n. 8.

¹⁸ It was stipulated in the first treaty that Sparta's *Periœci* should be — *ἰσονόμους* — *μετέχοντας πολιτείας καὶ ἀρχείων*, Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 364.

In the first place, it is necessary to draw an accurate line of distinction between *Periœci* and bondsmen generally. The vague manner in which these appellations were employed, no less than their resemblance in political condition, has caused the *Periœci* to be so frequently confounded with those whose station was in reality much lower, namely, the *Penestæ* and *Helots*: the former were nowhere utterly divested of the character of citizens, and bondsmen or slaves, in the strict sense of the term, although the nobility, as in Sicyon and Epidaurus, in order to distinguish them from the rest of the population, compelled them to wear the rustic dress of the sheepskin, and degraded them by nicknames¹⁹, a proceeding for the most part ascribed to the tyrants; their relation may be distinctly recognised as that of an intermediate class between the nobles and slaves in Laconia, where the *Helots* stood below the *Periœci*, and constituted the class of slaves, properly so called, like the *Aphamiotæ* in Crete, and the *Callicryrians* in Syracuse²⁰. The subordinate relation in which the *Periœci* stood towards the capital of the country, occasioned their townships and districts to be distinguished by a dependent character; hence, Xenophon²¹ calls *Thespiæ*, etc. towns of the *Periœci* belonging to Thebes; the *Triphylians*, he, as well

¹⁹ Κατωνακοφόροι, "sheepskin-wearers," and κορυνηφόροι "cudgel-bearers" in Sicyon; Theopomp. ap. Ath. 6. 271. D.; Poll. 3. 82; Steph. Byz. Χίος; Etym. M. Εἰλωτες; comp. Ruhnck. ad Tim. 213; Κορίποδες, "dusty-footed," in Epidaurus, Plut. Qu. Gr. 1. To the same class probably belonged the Corinthian Κυνόφαλοι, who appear to have derived their name from the dog-skin cap which they wore. In Hesych. they are called φυλή, on which account I cannot with Müller, Dor. 2. 59. consider them as a sort of *Helots*; comp. § 51. n. 11.

²⁰ See concerning all, § 34.

²¹ Hell. 5. 4. 46.

as Pausanias²², denominates the Periœci of Elis: but it is necessary to observe, that notwithstanding their subordinate position with respect to legal rights, they still constituted integral parts of that state, from the centre of whose capital they were governed, but were in themselves devoid of the character of a community; which was a very different relation from that of confederate towns, although they might be dependent upon a powerful ally, as well as merely tributary or kindred places, such as the Triphylian Lepreum²³, and the Thessalian mountain tribes²⁴, as long as they were not internally incorporated with the governing state. Nevertheless the relation of several places inhabited by Periœci, was assimilated to that of towns dependent upon Hegemony, as for instance that of the Orneatians in Argolis²⁵. In the maritime states, which did not possess an extensive landed territory adapted to the objects of agriculture, or which did not make agriculture the basis of their public economy, a considerable portion of the lower class generally resided in the town; as in those of Sicily²⁶, the Cheiromacha in Miletus²⁷, etc. These were, according to circumstances, either seamen or handicraftsmen; thus they were fishermen in Tarentum and Byzantium²⁸, and artisans in Corinth²⁹. Demus is in this case the common denomination, and with this appellation is connected the increase in the political importance

²² Hell. 3. 2. 23. 30; Paus. 3. 8. 2.

²³ Thuc. 5. 31; comp. § 13. n. 38.

²⁴ Herod. 8. 73; comp. Müll. Dor. 1. 83; 2. 57.

²⁵ Herod. 7. 155. 156.

²⁶ Aristot. Pol. 4. 4. 1. 7.

²⁷ See § 26. n. 37.

²⁸ § 31. n. 8.

²⁹ Strab. 8. 382.

of the lower class³⁰. A prescriptive difference of ranks was more easily effaced where the classes resided together, from the part taken by the nobility in maritime affairs, and the share the lower order received of the profits; henceforward wealth became the general standard, and aspiring pretensions in the democracy were much more likely to arise from such a state of things than from the rustic simplicity of the Periœci. In Athens, at a later period, the harbour of Piræus was marked by a more democratic character than the adjacent capital³¹.

IV. CITIZENSHIP IN GENERAL.

§ 33. We have seen, that except in those states, where legislation very soon regulated the relations subsisting amongst their members, the personal essence of pure citizenship is not to be ascribed to the lower order, any more than its distinctive feature is to be defined as a share in the supreme power; this was not possessed by that order whose condition was alike devoid of systematic form and legal rights, nor was it deprived of the same by any temporary usurpation or encroachments on the part of the nobility, but its earliest state was politically passive, whence it had gradually to work its way to the acquisition of a share in free and influential agency. The true nature of that citizenship which was common to both orders, will therefore be best understood by comparing it with that which was opposed to it. Opposed to the per-

³⁰ See Append. viii.

³¹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 12. classes Colophon and Clazomenæ with Athens; it was possibly the same case there.

sonally free were the personally non-free, and to permanent residents and persons considered as natives, foreigners, or aliens.

To guard against any misconception as to the true nature of the former, it must be repeated, that although the lower class was destitute of all share in the government, and in some states was, in fact, scarcely distinguished from the slaves properly so called, it was, nevertheless, not so wholly devoid of the character of citizenship, that the aristocracy could be entitled to look upon this as their exclusive attribute, and regard themselves as alone capable of complying with its requisites; the rank asserted by the nobles as citizens invested with higher privileges, by no means served wholly to shut out the lower class from civil and political freedom. Even Gelon, who acted according to the right of conquest, did not reduce the Demus of the conquered Sicilian states Megara and Eubœa to the state of bondsmen in their own country, but sold them into captivity out of Sicily¹. Exceptions arising out of the provisions of private law, as when, in Thebes, foundlings became the bondsmen of him who educated them², or, in Athens, redeemed prisoners of war were the property of him who had ransomed them in case they neglected to repay the ransom³, and in general, that the strict law of debt could reduce to slavery⁴, concern individuals only, not a whole class; moreover, in the two last cases the body was only supposed to be temporarily impawned till the debt should be discharged.

¹ Herod. 7. 156.

² Demosth. c. Nicos. 1250.

³ Ælian. V. H. 2. 7.

⁴ Photius *συναχθία*.

But what mainly served to remove the barrier which had separated the lower order from the aristocracy, in such a manner that the former could be regarded in the false light of a servile class, was that the common freemen, like the nobility, had a class of this nature assigned to them as a political substratum, by which means they became exempted from the necessity of providing for the common exigencies of life, and enabled to qualify themselves for political agency. If this does not necessarily imply any immediate relation to political power, it is at least one of the most important modifications of general citizenship in Greece. A servile class of this nature arose in the interval between the first great migrations and the wars with the Persians, in the Grecian states generally, with the exception of Phocis⁵ and the Italian Locri⁶, and was composed either of the former occupants of the country reduced to a state of bondage, or of purchased slaves; sometimes the two were combined, as was the case in Crete with the Aphamiotæ and Chrysoneti⁷. But the necessity that one or the other should form a basis for the citizenship, at length became so settled and general an opinion amongst all ranks of the nation, that even the most humane and high-minded politicians of antiquity, Plato and Aristotle, retained it in their theories as a universally acknowledged principle. This servile class was, therefore, like an instrument for the welfare and perfectibility of the free citizen of the state; its legitimate mission was

⁵ Athen. 6. 264. C.

⁶ Timæus ap Polyb. 12. 6.; compare Ath. 6. 264 C.; 272 A.

⁷ Athen. 6. 263. Concerning the Aphamiotæ, see the next section.

accomplished in serving without claims or obligations to superior functions either civil or domestic; but the civil class being thereby raised one step above its natural condition, and standing as it were upon artificial ground, was exonerated from a care for the common necessities of life, and furnished with greater capacities for satisfying the political claims upon it; what it lost through the instrumentality of the servile class physically, was made up by its increased political efficiency⁸. In the rudiments of the new-founded states there could exist no fixed principle of distinction between the resident, or person regarded as a native, and the alien. The wandering hordes were more or less composed of dissimilar elements; mere participation in an expedition by no means constituted the exclusive character of any privileged class arising out of it. For in many of the new states a portion of the former inhabitants of the district were first of all received as citizens, on the faith of treaties to that effect, as in Elis⁹, Phlius¹⁰, Laconia¹¹, Trœzen¹², Sicyon¹³, Colophon¹⁴, Samos¹⁵, and Ephesus¹⁶. Till masses like these amalgamated, and the distinctive marks of exclusiveness could again arise, unquestionably the affair of a longer period than

⁸ See the admirable disquisition of Tittmann, gr. Staatsv. 622. where he considers the subject in the spirit of a cosmopolite.

⁹ Ephor. ap Strab. 8. 364. *κατὰ συγγένειαν παλαιάν*. Comp. Paus. 5. 4. 1. This is certainly not consistent with the statement in Strab. 8. 357. that the Epeans had been expelled.

¹⁰ Paus. 2. 13. 1. ¹¹ § 32. n. 17.

¹² Paus. 2. 30. 9. — *ἐδέξαντο* — οἱ Τροϊζήνιοι συνοίκους Δωριέων τῶν ἐξ Ἀργους.

¹³ The ancient Sicyonians probably formed the fourth Phyle, Αἰγιαλεῖς. Herod. 5. 68. ¹⁴ Paus. 7. 3. 1.

¹⁵ Etym. M. Ἀστυπαλαία.

¹⁶ Paus. 7. 2. 5. This refers to those who belonged to the Ephesian sanctuary. Compare, concerning the arrangements in the colonies, Müll. Dor. 2. 61.

a single generation, the circle was not closed against new comers¹⁷, and the necessity for assistance in cases of emergency perhaps frequently facilitated their admission. It is true that, for the most part, the after-comers were only considered as partakers of the rights of the lower order; but these were, nevertheless, the basis upon which general citizenship was afterwards raised up; when they were occasionally expelled again, like the Trœzenians from Sybaris¹⁸, this may undoubtedly be considered an indication of fastidiousness in the ancient citizens, but it might also be regarded as a sign of arrogance in the new comers.

However, a relation of so lax a nature as this could not long subsist; for the citizenship, like the privileges of the nobility in the new states, soon became hereditary, and was henceforward surrounded with barriers which were closed against aliens. Within these it was transmitted, with all those rights which had adhered to it in the course of political development, and which were regarded as inseparable from it, to the following generations; the best title to it was descent¹⁹, to which head may be referred the Athenian custom of naming the grandson after the grandfather, and deducing a legal title to the franchise from the third lineal ancestor²⁰. With regard to the mothers, these rules

¹⁷ Ἐπιοικοί. See, on this word, Schol. 3; Thuc. 2. 27.

¹⁸ Diod. 12. 9.

¹⁹ Bekker, Anecd. 259. *ἰγγενής* — ἀσὺς ἐξ ἀσῶν. Comp. 25.: *αὐθιγενής*. Ὀμηρ. *ἰθαγενής* — γνήσιον μὴ ἀλλοδαπὸν μηδὲ νόθον. (Thus we may explain *ἰθαγενής* Μελήσιος, as applied to Thales. Diog. Laert. 1. 22.) Comp. Hesych. *ἐπήλυδας*.

²⁰ *Ἐκ τριγονίας*, Pollux 8. 85; Strab. 4. 179. The statement in Hesych. *Ἐνδοῦγεναι* (accord. to Küster) *οἱ ἀπὸ ἐπτὰ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων ἀσῶν κατὰγοντες τὸ γένος*, can hardly have applied to a Greek state.

were not very strictly observed²¹; however, it may be assumed as a general rule, that to be a partaker of the full rights of citizenship, it was requisite that both father and mother should have been citizens²²; this principle is afterwards beheld in intense operation in those states where there was a general prohibition of all intermarriage with foreigners.

After the circle of the citizenship had, by means of the right of birth, become narrowed, and at the same time its common properties had assumed a more definite form, from the marked contrast which it presented to the servile class, the character and various denominations of naturalisation²³ likewise became more fixed. No universal principles can be expected in such a multitude of separate states; many amongst them kept their citizenship rigorously closed; Sparta is said to have imparted its full freedom to two foreigners only, Tisamenus and Hegias²⁴, before the time of Herodotus; Megara pretended to have conferred it upon no one but Hercules²⁵, before Alexander the Great's time; others were liberal with it, as Sybaris²⁶, and, upon the faith of an uncertain statement, Athens²⁷. However, that liberality in dispensing the franchise in general, could not be a political maxim amongst the Greeks, will perhaps result from the following reflections. Naturalisation might, it is true,

²¹ Comp. Meier de Bon. Damnator. p. 73.

²² See, on the subject of Byzantium, the city thronged with strangers, Ps. Aristot. Oec. 2. 3.

²³ The naturalised alien: *δημοποιητός, κατὰ ψήφισμα πολίτης*. Demosth. c. Nicostr. 1252; Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1345.

²⁴ Herod. 9. 33; comp. Paus. 3. 11. 6.

²⁵ Plut. Præcepé. Gerend. Reipub. 9. 286.

²⁷ Phot. and Suid. *Περὶ τοῦδα* from Ephorus.

²⁶ Diod. 12. 9.

appear admissible, and even advisable, in those places where there was a scanty population, as in the infancy of various new communities; however, the Grecian states by no means exhibited the desire to possess a large population. From the separation prevailing amongst them, and the favour of circumstances, which secured independence to numerically inconsiderable communities, as well as from the absence of projects of aggrandisement in those quarters, where a hegemony was able to call into action considerable bodies, they required but a moderate proportion of physical force to maintain a proper position, with regard to the neighbouring states; against more immediate danger they contracted alliances, or yielded to superior force, without any disposition to employ extensive numbers for their defence. On the other hand, the estimation of the citizenship was rather directed to its intrinsic essence; an opinion soon began to prevail, that the citizen ought to be possessed of a suitable qualification as regarded property, that the free exercise of rights on his part might not be impeded by a redundant population, and that it was necessary to preclude any disproportion between the number of the estates and that of the proprietors. Add to this their incapacity to govern larger masses, the notion that the state ought to be a symmetrical whole, and the prevailing disposition in favour of political machinery, which might be conveniently overlooked; and lastly, an opinion that it was highly salutary when the citizens in general were acquainted with each other, and lived upon a familiar footing²⁸.

²⁸ Plat. de Legg. 5. 738. C. E.; Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 2; conf. 7. 4. 8.

This, it is true, seems to be at variance with the solicitude displayed for the maintenance of families, the obligation of the magistrates to prevent the extinction of a house²⁹, and the orders for enforcing marriage³⁰; but this was not directed to the general principle of population, but resulted from that primitive religious feeling which regarded as sacred the perpetuation of existing families. It was a subject of affliction to an individual to have no issue; and the extinction of a family was deplored by the state as a public calamity. With this was connected the purely political consideration that certain duties appertained to certain families. On the other hand, the disposition to observe a fixed limit in the number of the citizens, is proved by the fact that, except in Sparta and Locri³¹, it was lawful for them to leave the country³², that the exposition of children was almost universally permitted³³, and particularly that the number of citizens sent out to colonies, was far greater than that of strangers adopted by naturalization. This must be combined with the bounty of nature towards the rising states, and the rapid increase in population, so that upon the lowest possible computation the total numerical amount of Grecian citizens must have been almost incredible. Finally, when war or other causes rendered an increase in the number of citizens necessary, it was a more obvious expedient to have recourse in the emergency to Periœci, or to individuals selected

²⁹ Demosth. adv. Macar. 1076; comp. Pol. 8. 89; Isæus de Apollod. Heredit. 179.

³⁰ Deinarch. c. Demosth. 51; Plut. Lyc. 15.

³¹ Plut. Lyc. 27; Stob. Serm. 42. 279. Orl.

³² Concerning Athens, see Plat. Criton, 51. D.

³³ Thebes formed an exception, Æl. V. H. 2. 7.

from the servile class at home, than to strangers; this is even proved by the fabulous accounts of the Spartan Epeunactæ³⁴ and the Chalcedonian Metœci³⁵.

After the distinction between citizenship and slavery, and alienage, has exhibited in a clear light the exclusive nature of the first, we may enumerate the following as its leading ingredients: The right of pleading before public tribunals; that of possessing landed property, whereas the alien could only be a tenant³⁶; and the right of bearing arms, and taking part in the proceedings of the popular assembly. To guarantee the same, it was necessary that the natural-born citizen should be recognised as a member by one of the Phylæ, Phratriæ, or other unions adverted to above, and that the naturalized alien should have derived his right from a decree of the collective people, emanating from the centre of the state. It could only be forfeited by the criminal through the operation of a judicial sentence, guaranteed by the body of the people. It was designated by the word honour (τιμή)³⁷, which, together with the right itself, became extended, from its original reference to the privileges of the nobility³⁸ to general citizenship; the privation of the same, as a state of infamy, was entitled (ἀτιμία)³⁹.

³⁴ Theop. ap. Ath. 6. 271. C. ³⁵ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 208.

³⁶ Xenoph. de Vectig. 2. 6; Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 154.

³⁷ Poll. 4. 5. 9.

³⁸ Thus applied to magistrates, Herod. 1. 59; comp. Sophocl. Aj. 661; Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 2; 6. 5. 11; hence τιμοῦχοι in Massilia, Strab. 4. 179.

³⁹ Conf. § 46.

V. THE CONDITION OF SLAVES AND ALIENS AS
OPPOSED TO CITIZENSHIP.

§ 34. Servitude was of two kinds—bondage and slavery.

Bondage arose in consequence of the migrations from the subjugation of the inhabitants of a district by invading hordes. This was, according to circumstances, attended either by force or treaty; the former expelled or subjected; the latter admitted gradations in servitude, by which means certain personal rights might be preserved; however, even after treaties, instances of the exercise of force were by no means rare. Thus, then, there was in their condition a continual tendency to servitude, in consequence of the ineffectual struggles of those originally but partially enslaved, to recover their former freedom, and the growing appetite for power in their new masters; as when the Spartans reduced the Messenians to bondage, men sprung from a common stock with themselves, and once possessed of equal rights. In the explanations of the words Helot and Penestes, it is laid down as their inseparable incidents, that bondsmen of this description should have been subdued by force of arms¹, and that they should all have been slaves by birth²; this involved the formal distinction between them and the purchased slaves of barbarian origin,

¹ Harpocr. and thence Suid. εἰλωτεύειν· Εἰλωτες γὰρ οἱ μὴ γόνυ δοῦλοι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οἱ πρῶτοι χειρωθέντες, Athen. 6. 264. A.; πενέστας τοὺς μὴ γόνυ δούλους, διὰ πολέμου δ' ἡλωκότας. To the same effect are more or less fully, Hesych. Πενέσται, Etym. M. Εἰλωτες, εἰλωτεύειν, Ammon. πελαστής, Heracl. Pont. 2. A corresponding derivation of the word Εἰλωτες is from εἶλον; conf. Müll. Dor. 2. 34; and against Götting's notes to Aristot. Pol. 465; Müll. Proleg. 428; and the interpretation of πενέστης by Λάτρις, see n. 15.

² See the preceding note.

with the assertion of the principle, the growth of a later age indeed, that the barbarians were, in consequence of their difference of race, destined by nature to serve the Greeks³. For this reason, and because the treatment of the bondsmen was less severe than that of the purchased slaves, the former are frequently placed a grade higher, and described as an intermediate class between freemen and slaves⁴. There is no common denomination for them, which, at the same time, expresses the distinction between their condition and slavery⁵. The Helots of Laconia and the Penestæ of Thessaly, are adduced as examples in the ancient commentators, and those belonging to other districts, and differently named, compared with them⁶. Their collective condition presents certain uniform features; they were natives of the province in which they served, pursued agricultural and other manual occupations, paid tribute, and in dress and demeanour bore the stamp of servitude. Occasional deviations from this rule were found in single districts.

The Thessalian Penestæ and the Maryandini of Heraclea are distinguished from the others by positive agreements, regulating the servile footing on which they stood; wherefore Plato might probably allude to their condition as more easy to be determined than that of the Helots⁷. Subjugated by the Thessalians, the dwellers around Arne⁸, from

³ Aristot. Pol. 1. 2. 18. 19.

⁴ Poll. 3. 83; μεταξὺ δὲ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων Εἰλωτες καὶ Θετταλῶν Πενέσται.

⁵ Thucyd. 5. 23. the Helots are called ἡ δουλεία. Photius, Πενέσται οἱ τῶν Θετταλῶν δοῦλοι.

⁶ Poll. 3. 83; Harpocr. Πενέσται; Phot. Πενέσται and Κλαρῶται; Etym. Gud. Εἰλωτες; Eustath. Il. 16. 1090. 48, sqq. R.; comp. Athen. 6. 263, D. sqq.

⁷ De Legg. 6. 776. D.

⁸ Archemachus, Hia. Eub. ap. Ath. 6. 264. B.

the stock of the Bœotians, were reduced to bondage, as well as the Perrhebian and Magnetes, according to Theopompus⁹, who, in all probability, alludes to single communities amongst them¹⁰, whilst the main tribes maintained themselves as the tributary nations described above¹¹. The former surrendered to the Thessalians, and engaged to till their lands, but without acknowledging a right in their masters to kill or sell them out of the country¹². As men reduced in war they were called Latreis¹³; as belonging to the state, and not the domestic slaves of individuals, Thettaloiketæ¹⁴; from their remaining in the country, Menestæ; from the indigence of servitude, Penestæ¹⁵. Their frequent insurrections may have from time to time aggravated the oppression under which they suffered: after the Persian war Scopas regulated their tribute¹⁶. It is not improbable that a species of bondsmen allied to them were the Cylicranes, in the vicinity of Heraclea in Trachis, said to have come originally from Lydia, and to have derived their name from the mark of a drinking cup, branded on one of their shoulders¹⁷. A similar treaty was concluded with the Heracleots on the Pontus by the Bithynian Maryandinians, and from the tribute which they paid afterwards named gift-bearers, (δωροφόροι)¹⁸.

⁹ Athen. 6. 265. C.¹⁰ Strab. 9. 440.¹¹ § 26. n. 37.¹² Archemach. ubi sup. and thence Suid. Πενίσται.¹³ Eurip. ap. Ath. 6. 264.: Λάτρις Πενίστης; Hesych. Πενίσται — τινὲς δὲ Λάτρις ἢ ἐργάται πένητες ἢ ὑπὸ κού. Comp. Ammon. Θῆς — Λάτρις ὁ κατὰ πολεμικὴν περίστασιν ἀλός καὶ ἐπὶ δουλείαν προσαχθείς. Thus Pindar Nem. 4. 88. says λατρίαν Ἰαωλκόν, subdued by force of arms.¹⁴ Pherecrat. His. Thess. ap. Ath. 6. 264. A.; Eustath. ubi sup. (see n. 6.)¹⁵ Archemach. and Eustath. ubi sup. Suid. Πενίσται. The absurd derivation from a certain Penestus was alluded to above. See § 12. n. 20.¹⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 1. 19.¹⁷ Polemon, apud Ath. 11. 426. A.¹⁸ Callistrat. ap. Ath. 6. 263. E; Strab. 12. 542; Poll. 3. 83; Hesych. δωροφόρους. Phot. Κλαρώται. Eustath. ubi sup. 53, sqq.

The most remote from express conventional stipulation, as to duties and rights, was the servitude of the Helots¹⁹. In Crete, Lyctus and the other considerable towns, possessed, besides the Perioeci, two other sorts of bondsmen, viz. the Mnoitæ, belonging to the state, and Aphamiotæ or Clarotæ²⁰, who were the agricultural labourers of the individual land-holders. The latter name expresses the idea of subjugation, and the division of the tillage land into lots, to which the former proprietors were attached in the capacity of serfs²¹. Little more than the name is known of the bondsmen belonging to other states. To this class belonged the Gymnesii in Argos²², so called from their want of military attire, the Callicyrians in Syracuse²³, the Bithyni in Byzantium²⁴, the Thebageneis in Bœotia²⁵, and the so called Pelasgians amongst the Italiots²⁶.

A relation which requires separate consideration is that of the slaves of the temple called Craugallidæ and Hieroduli²⁷. The instrumentality of

¹⁹ See below, § 42.²⁰ See in particular, Sosicrat. ap. Ath. 6. 263. F; Eustath. Il. 15. 1024. 35, sqq.; (ub. Ἀφαμιώται): comp. Athen. 6. 267. C.; Hesych. μνοία, μνία, μνῶται, Poll. 3. 83; Strab. 12. 542; Μινῶα σύννοδος, (comp. Götting ad Aristot. Pol. 473); Steph. Byz. Χίος, ub. δμῶται; Hesych. ἀφαμιώται, ἀφημιώστους, ἀφημιῶντας, (Küster, in reference to ἐφημίαι, says that ἀφημίαι signifies fields), Hesych. and Phot. κλαρώται, Etym. M. Πενίσται; Strab. 15. 701. According to Eustath. Il. 16. 1090. 48. the word θεράποντες was also in use.²¹ Ath. 6. 263. E.: Καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Κρήτες — Ἀφαμιώτας τοὺς κατ' ἀγρόν, ἐγχωρίους μὲν ὄντας, δουλωθέντας δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον διὰ τὸ κληρωθῆναι κλαρώτας.²² Poll. 3. 82; Steph. Byz. Χίος. Etym. Gud. Ἐλωτες; comp. § 30. n. 69.²³ Herod. 7. 155; Poll. 3. 83; Phot. Καλλικύρ. and καλλικύρ. Suid. etc. Comp. Titim. Gr. Staatsv. 503. n. 80; Müll. Dor. 2. 62. n. 1.²⁴ Phylarch. ap. Ath. 6. 271. C.; Zenob. 4. 54.²⁵ Ammon. Θηβαῖοι. Comp. Müller, Orchom. 387. 388. and his article Bœotia in Ersch. u. Grub. Encyclop. p. 263.²⁶ Steph. Byz. Χίος.²⁷ See Creuzer, Symb. 1. 251; Kreuser der Hellenen Priesterstaat and Adrian die Priesterinnen d. Gr. Müller, Dor. 1. 42. 43. 254. 258.

the Delphic god in sending out colonies has been already adverted to²⁸; it was in very early ages the custom to send out men for his service; their object was, in most instances indeed, the foundation of colonies, and, as examples, are adduced the Magnetes on the Mæander²⁹, and the Dryopians in the Peloponnesus³⁰; but those descendants of the Dryopian stock that inhabited the country around the Phocian Cirrha, Craugallion, thence called Craugallidæ³¹, must be considered as bondsmen. The Hieroduli³² who served in the Corinthian temples can only have been purchased slaves; one town in Crete, inhabited by Hieroduli, is only known to us from suspicious authorities³³; it appears to have been of an oriental character³⁴: we have already alluded to the causes³⁵ which led to the introduction of purchased slaves. The citizen of Greece, in nearly all the provinces of that country, sooner or later raised himself above the level of the mechanic; and it henceforward became a national principle, that it was requisite that there should be a class subordinate to the free citizens of the various communities, whose duty it was to relieve them from the necessity of pursuing laborious occupations, and providing the common necessities of life. A class like this could not always

²⁸ § 22. n. 73.²⁹ Athen. 4. 173. E.³⁰ Paus. 4. 36. 6; Müller, Dor. 1. 42.³¹ Harpocr. Κραυγαλλίδαι, Müller, ubi sup.³² Strab. 8. 378.³³ Sosicrat. ap. Suid. 1. 621; Comp. Hesych. δούλων πόλις. Vatic. app. 2. 94; Steph. Byz. δούλων πόλις calls it χιλιάδρος.³⁴ Οικείται ἀνδράποδα, were perhaps peculiar designations; Ammon, οικό-τριψ — οικότης — ὁ δοῦλος ὁ ὠνητός. The signification of Δούλος is more extensive, Ammon, δοῦλοι, comp. above § 34. n. 5. Θεράπων, διάκονος, ὑπηρέτης, πρόσπολος, etc. (See Chrysipp. ap. Ath. 6. 267. B. sqq.; Eustath. 11. 15. 1024. 35, sqq.; comp. Kreuser der Hellen. Priesters. 150, sqq.) refer to the nature of the service and not to the class.³⁵ § 33.

be formed out of the subdued natives: it was consequently necessary to supply the deficiency from other quarters, as was effected in modern times in Spanish America, after the extermination of the native tribes. Now it cannot be denied that war had produced prisoners as early as the heroic age, and the Phœnician traders had offered slaves for sale³⁶; however, it was an invariable usage in Grecian warfare to deliver up Greek prisoners for a ransom³⁷; the slave-trade was accordingly exclusively directed to the barbarians. Chios is said to have been the first state which carried on a trade in slaves³⁸, that is to say, which itself first rendered the purchase of slaves in barbarian countries³⁹ an object of active commerce. Hence resulted the principle, that it was necessary for the purchased slave to be a barbarian, and the accompanying notion, which was afterwards more fully developed⁴⁰, that the barbarian was by nature marked out for slavery, and deficient in such qualities as were essential to the character of political citizenship, which is closely allied with the remarkable designation of the native seats of the slaves, as countries or districts only, and their consequent appellation of Patriotæ⁴¹. For that reason the purchased slave could nowhere obtain admittance to the rights of citizenship, and never, as in Rome, by

³⁶ § 16. n. 8. 9.³⁷ § 27. n. 10.³⁸ Theop. ap. Ath. 6. 265. B. sqq.; comp. Steph. Byz. Χίος.³⁹ The essential words in Ath. ubi sup. are βαρβάρους κείνηται τοῦς οικότας.⁴⁰ Comp. § 28.⁴¹ Ammon. πολίτης — ὁ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐλεύθερος ἐλευθέρῳ πατριώτης — ὁ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας δοῦλος δούλῳ. Hesych. πατριώτης παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ οὐ πολίτης. Comp. Photius, πατριῶται, and Poll. 3. 54. As there were slaves, so there were ἵπποι πατριῶται, Xenoph. Cyrop. 2. 2. 26.

mere manumission on the part of his master. To be a Greek, except at Delphi, where all nations were admitted, was an indispensable condition for the enjoyment of civil rights. Such purchased slaves as were manumitted entered into the rights of the *Metœci*. Thus the Greeks preserved their internal political system pure from all admixture of barbarian nations, and this is most probably one of the causes of the strength and originality evinced by their national character, whereas the Romans united various and dissimilar ingredients by means of form only, and, although the union was as perfect as the discordance of the combining parts would allow, they were still obliged to have the nobler fruits of intellectual culture imperfectly engrafted upon the native stock from external sources. The treatment of the slaves as such, except so far as regarded the difference between slaves of the state, (*δοῦλοι τοῦ κοινού*), and those of individuals, was dependent upon private law and moral feeling, and does not come within the scope of our present investigation; the same remark holds good of the proportion their number bore to that of the citizens, which is a question of political economy, and wholly unconnected with political law.

The notion of foreigner, considered in a political point of view, that is to say, as implying a person not belonging to the state, might be taken in a more or less extended acceptation, according to the constitution of the state, whether simple or complicated, by federal relations or Hegemony: however, in confederacies, the individual communities were usually so exclusive, that when there was no positive provision for an interchange of civil rights,

the distinction of the foreign character was never abolished amongst them; but Hegemony could only produce an effect of this kind by compulsory means, and in such cases the preponderance of a powerful state may generally be perceived. Hospitality produced no more than a civilised and friendly connection, but no fixed rule of political rights. In general, the condition of the political alien was one of mere sufferance. Foreigners grew more closely connected with the state by becoming resident in it, as *Metœci*; but more in the obligations they incurred than the rights they acquired: the relation in which they stood was lower than *Xenia*, without the gratification of reciprocity, and the respect which is shown to a guest, who may himself be a host. Their *Prostates* was not a hospitable friend, but a person placed in authority over them, and their only advantage was that of a permanent asylum. The *Isoteles* in Athens were nearly upon a level with the citizens, at least with regard to taxation; however, this relation did not attain maturity till afterwards. Upon the whole, exact particulars are known of the Athenian *Metœci* only, and, therefore, this subject cannot be considered in detail till afterwards.

ARISTOCRACY (TIMOCRACY) AND DEMOCRACY IN DIFFERENT STATES.

I. THE GOVERNING CLASS.

§ 35. The preceding chapter contains a general outline of the different classes which existed under the more ancient constitutions of Greece. Before the nature of the constitutions themselves can be satisfactorily investigated, it is necessary to ascertain in which class in the several states the supreme power resided.

In Corinth, and in the other states of Doric extraction which follow, it was vested in the nobility.

This continued to be the case in Corinth as long as it was governed by the Bacchiadæ¹; it was not till the tyranny of the Cypselidæ (Olymp. 30. 3—49. 3)², that there arose a timocracy, which seems to have been essentially founded upon the principle of valuation, in which, though noble houses like the Oligæthidæ³ still subsisted, the people possessed more extensive rights than before⁴.

In the Corinthian colony, Leucas, the power of the nobility was based upon the inalienability of property, with the cessation of which the Demus⁵ arose; in Apollonia noble houses⁶, exercising Xenelasia⁷, and preserving good order⁸, maintained themselves till a very late age; in Syracuse the

¹ Herod. 5. 92; Paus. 2. 4. 4.

² Pind. Ol. 13. 2, sqq., 137.

³ This may be collected from Sosicles the Corinthian's description of the government of the Bacchiadæ (Herod. 5. 92. 2.)

⁴ Aristot. Pol. 2. 4. 4.

⁵ Æl. V. H. 13. 15.

⁶ Comp. § 49. n. 7—10.

⁷ Herod. 9. 93; Aristot. Pol. 4. 3. 8.

⁸ Strab. 7. 316.

Demus expelled the Gamori a short time before the Persian war, and then both fell under the tyranny of Gelon⁹; in the Corinthian-Corcyraean colony of Epidamnus, the hereditary nobility of the Phylarchs governed till a short time before the Peloponnesian war¹⁰.

In Epidaurus, the noble council of 180 members¹¹ seems gradually, and in process of time, to have placed the country-people, the Conipodes¹², upon a more respectable footing, as concerned civil rights; the continuance of the aristocracy is, however, implied by their firm attachment to Sparta. The same may be observed of Hermione, Træzen, the Halieis, and Phlius.

Ægina was governed by nobility, like its parent city, Epidaurus¹³; it was in vain that Nicodromus, towards the time of the Persian wars, excited the Demus to insurrection; eight hundred of his partisans were butchered by the victorious nobility¹⁴.

In Ialysus, on the island of Rhodes, the Eratidæ were renowned and powerful¹⁵. The authority of the nobility here, as well as in Lindus and Camirus, most probably derived a milder character from the civil polity¹⁶ introduced into it by the Lindian Cleobulus.

The government of the Rhodian colony, Gela, was likewise, first of all, aristocratic¹⁷; it was soon (Olymp. 68. 4.) followed by the tyranny of Cleander¹⁸; Gela's colony, Agrigentum, in the fortieth year after its foundation (Olymp. 53. 4.), in conse-

⁹ Herod. 7. 155, sqq.

¹⁰ Plut. Qu. Gr. n. 1.

¹¹ See Append. vii.; conf. Müller, Æginet. 133, sqq.

¹² Herod. 6. 91.

¹³ See below, § 41, n. 24.

¹⁴ Herod. 7. 153; conf. § 49, n. 60.

¹⁵ Aristot. Pol. 3. 4. 1; 5. 1. 6; 5. 3. 4.

¹⁶ See above, § 32, n. 19.

¹⁷ § 30, n. 11.

¹⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 10. 4.

quence of timocracy¹⁹, fell under the tyranny of Phalaris.

In Cnidus, sixty nobles formed a council, of which they were members for life, and were irresponsible for their decrees.

In Crete²⁰, after the termination of the heroic age, Cosmi, descended from noble families²¹, had replaced the princes; the noble council, the Geronia, was composed of the Cosmi who had quitted office²²; but it frequently happened that when these last were unwilling to resign their powers, factions ensued, and led to the notorious Acosmia²³.

Noble houses of Messenian origin²⁴ governed in Rhégium, till the tyranny of Anaxilas.

The subject of Sparta will be treated in the chapter concerning the codes of the various legislators.

The Ætolian-Doric Elis was governed by ninety nobles, who were elected in the manner of the Spartan Gerontes, and for life, but dynastically²⁵, consequently according to the privileges of a dominant class. At a later period, a Bule of six hundred persons²⁶ was added to it from a more extensive circle of nobility. It was unlawful to mortgage landed property²⁷. This ancient aristocratic institute was ascribed to Oxyllus.

A no less close system of aristocratic government prevailed in the Æolic states.

In Thebes, according to an ancient law, no one

¹⁹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 4; conf. § 49, n. 51.

²⁰ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 171; conf. Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 11.

²¹ Aristot. Pol. 2. 7. 5. ²² Ibid. and Strab. 10. 484.

²³ Aristot. Pol. 2. 7. 7; conf. Göttling ad Aristot. p. 476.

²⁴ Ibid. 5. 10. 4; Strab. 6. 257.

²⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 8. *δυναστευτικὴν* is the correct word, as it serves to express the precise difference between their mode of election and that in Sparta, to which it in other respects bore resemblance. ²⁶ Thucyd. 5. 47.

²⁷ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 5.

was allowed to participate in the government who had not ceased to carry on trade in the market for ten years²⁸. This in itself does not, indeed, breathe the spirit of a narrowly-circumscribed order; but towards the time of the Persian war, Thebes groaned under dynasts²⁹. In Thespiæ the supreme power³⁰ resided in Demuchi, belonging to the house of the Thespiadæ; in Orchomenus, in the knights³¹, who retained their power till the age of Epaminondas.

Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos, was governed by the Penthilidæ; but upon their parading the streets armed with clubs, and committing unbridled outrages, they perished through the efforts of Megacles³². But dynasts once more stirred up the fury of civil contests, and order and tranquillity were not restored before the freely elected sovereignty (Æsymnety) of Pittacus³³.

Ancient nobility governed in Cuma; the Basileus was compelled to stand at the bar of their tribunal³⁴; Phidon introduced the census, but at what time does not appear; whoever could keep a horse was entitled to take part in the government³⁵. Likewise in Magnesia, on the Mæander, the knights possessed the chief power³⁶.

It was the same case with Minyan-Doric nobility in Thera³⁷; in Cyrene it led to monarchy, with which, after violent commotions, Demonax, the

²⁸ Aristot. Pol. 3. 3. 4.

²⁹ Thucyd. 3. 62; Paus. 9. 6. 1. The Thebans, in the passage of Thucydides referred to above, call this *οὐ πάτριον*.

³⁰ Diod. 4. 29; conf. § 30, n. 14.

³¹ Diod. 15. 79.

³² Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 13.

³³ Ibid. 3. 9. 5; Strab. 13. 617; Diog. Laert. 1. 74.

³⁴ Plut. Qu. Gr. n. 4. 7. 172. R.

³⁵ Heracl. Pont. 11; conf. § 31, n. 10.

³⁶ Aristot. Pol. 4. 2. 2.

³⁷ Ibid. 4. 3. 8.

Mantinean, attempted to unite democratic institutions³⁸, but his work was never consolidated.

Cyprus, a state which can hardly be considered Grecian, was always governed by dynasts of the oriental character.

Amongst the Ionic states, nobility chiefly predominated in Athens, the subject of which will afterwards be treated in detail. In Ephesus, affairs were managed by a noble council, with civic deputies³⁹. There seems to have been no popular assembly whatever. The government of the Basilidæ in Erythræ was apparently of a similar nature. The former was precipitated by the tyrant Pythagoras⁴⁰, and the Demus rose against the latter⁴¹. The wealthy class governed in Colophon; but their number was greater than that of the rest of the citizens: from the moment that Gyges took the town, the constitution was destroyed⁴². In Samos, after the murder of the autocrat Damoteles, the Geomori composed the dominant class; but dissension raged between them and the people; the commanders of an auxiliary fleet, sent to aid the Perinthians led the ships' crews and the captive Megarians⁴³ against them; but liberty once more succumbed to the tyranny of Polycrates. A governing nobility maintained their footing longer in Chios⁴⁴. The aristocratic government of Phocæa can only be recalled by the re-appearance of Massilia in history; in the latter, the circle of the nobility was, for a considerable time, rigorously

³⁸ See below, § 41, n. 35.

³⁹ Strab. 14. 640; conf. § 37, n. 16.

⁴¹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 4.

⁴² Ibid. 4. 3. 8; conf. Herod. 1. 14, and Xenophanes ap. Ath. 12. 526.

⁴³ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 211. 212; compare below § 49, n. 38.

⁴⁴ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 11.

⁴⁰ See § 49, n. 34.

closed, and even after the other portion of the wealthy class had gained admission to their ranks, they maintained themselves with calmness and dignity⁴⁵.

Nobility governed in Naxos, till the daughters of a rich countryman were violated by two libertines, whereupon Lygdamis incited the people to tumult, and from a demagogue made himself tyrant⁴⁶.

In Eubœa, Chalcis was under the authority of lordly Hippobotæ, till these yielded to the youthful Demus of Athens⁴⁷; in Eretria, the Hippobotæ retained their power till Diagoras led the people against them⁴⁸ after the Persian war. The Chalcidian colonies, the Italian Cuma⁴⁹, and Sicilian Leontini⁵⁰, were originally subject to the power of nobility; in the former place it was subverted by the demagogue Aristodemus; in the latter, it led to the tyranny of Panætius, and afterwards to protracted civil feuds. No exact particulars have been transmitted concerning the remainder of the Chalcidian towns in the vicinity of Leontini, and Chalcidice in Thrace; the laws of Charondas in the former⁵¹, and those of Andromadas in the latter⁵², can hardly have regulated the orders.

Amongst the Achæan colonies, Sybaris had a numerous monied aristocracy, which was, however, so far exclusive in its character, that the Demagogy of Telys could be asserted against it⁵³. Crotona's magistrates were not held responsible⁵⁴, and, there-

⁴⁵ Ibid. 5. 5. 2; Strab. 4. 179.

⁴⁶ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 1, and Aristot. ap. Ath. 8. 348; comp. Herod. 5. 30.

⁴⁷ Herod. 5. 77; comp. Append. xiii. ⁴⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 10.

⁴⁹ Dion. H. 7. 4, sqq.

⁵⁰ Aristot. Pol. 5. 10. 4.

⁵¹ Ibid. 2. 9. 5.

⁵² Ibid. 2. 9. 9.

⁵³ Diod. 12. 9. Compare, on the destruction of the town through dissension, Steph. Byz. Σόβαρις.

⁵⁴ Jamblich. in Vit. Pythag. 257.

fore, probably proceeded from an aristocracy. Here, and in several of the neighbouring towns, the ideal theory of an aristocracy of the virtuous, who ruled the state by force of the moral law inherent in them, was for a short time realised⁵⁵ by Pythagoras. The massacre of the Pythagoreans was succeeded by anarchy, till Achæan ambassadors regulated the orders upon the same system as those of the mother-state⁵⁶.

In Thessaly, not only the Penestæ, but likewise the Demus groaned under oppression. Commotions⁵⁷ becoming frequent, the Aleuadæ united themselves to Xerxes, the Thessalians were desirous of joining the Greeks⁵⁸; but even after the Persian wars popular liberty could not flourish.

In Delphi, as a separate state, and distinct from Phocis, there reigned a nobility of remote antiquity, called the Deucalionidæ⁵⁹; at their head were five persons denominated the *Consecrated*⁶⁰, who superintended the service of the oracle⁶¹, and apparently presided over the criminal tribunal⁶².

Less rigorously connected with the family principle, and at the same time endangered by the ambitious efforts of the Demus, was the aristocracy in several states of the Doric race.

In Argos there was a council of eighty men, over which Artynæ presided; in addition to this a Bule⁶³, which is an evidence of the growth of the

⁵⁵ Diog. Laert. 8. 3.—περί τῶν τριηκοσίων ὄντες (οἱ Πυθαγόρ.) φρονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.

⁵⁶ Polyb. 2. 39. 1.

⁵⁷ Herod. 7. 6. and 172.

⁵⁸ Diod. 11. 2; comp. Herod. 7. 172—174.

⁵⁹ Ἀριστεῖς, Eurip. Ion. 428; comp. § 30. n. 22.

⁶⁰ Ὀσίοι, Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 174.

⁶¹ Eurip. ubi sup.

⁶² Ibid. 1236.

⁶³ Thucyd. 5. 47.

Demus; the power of the latter was consummated by the naturalisation of the Perioeci, after the loss of four thousand ancient citizens through Cleomenes⁶⁴. Sicyon's reputed purely Doric aristocracy⁶⁵ must not be looked upon as a constitution of the early age; it was not framed by Sparta till the Peloponnesian war. The original constitution, of which nothing determinate is known, soon yielded to the tyranny of the Orthagoridæ⁶⁶, about Ol. 27. After this the people rose in the scale of things, so that Sparta was subsequently compelled to limit their power. Megara, at first probably governed by Bacchiadæ, sent thither by Corinth, grew rich, and vernal by threw off the allegiance to the mother-state; the wealthy inhabitants were overthrown by Theagenes the tyrant⁶⁷; after him Megara was disgraced by the most reckless ochlocracy, which, amidst ostracism, palintocia, and a flagitious violation of the law of nations, bore itself with the most ridiculous arrogance⁶⁸. Its colonies Byzantium and Chalcedon, destitute of families of ancient and noble descent, soon allowed riches and trade to thrive, when the lower class of people also rose higher. The oligarchy in Byzantium, which Thrasylulus overthrew⁶⁹, had been established there but a short time before by Sparta. Coreyra, founded by the Heraclid Chersicrates⁷⁰, may, in the first instance, like the mother-city and its remaining colonies, have been subject to an aristocracy; but that this did not consist of Bacchiadæ

⁶⁴ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 8; Herod. 6. 78. sqq.; comp. § 32. n. 12.

⁶⁵ Ἀκρατος καὶ Δωρικὴ ἀριστοκρατία. Plut. Arat. 2.

⁶⁶ See § 49. n. 1.

⁶⁷ Arist. Pol. 5. 4. 5; comp. § 49. n. 16.

⁶⁸ See § 15. n. 68.

⁶⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 27; Diod. 14. 12.

⁷⁰ Strab. 6. 269.

may be inferred from the sea-fight with the Corinthians⁷¹, a short time before the tyranny of Cypselus (Ol. 28.) But Corcyra undoubtedly fell under the tyranny of the Cypselidæ⁷². This loosened all the ancient bonds, and it was succeeded by the predominance of a turbulent demus opposed to the wealthy class. Tarentum must, from the attention it devoted to maritime trade, have had an aspiring demus at a very early period; but this was kept in check by the rich men and the nobles, so that Aristotle⁷³ calls the constitution a Politeia; it was in vain that the Pythagoreans attempted to remove its defects⁷⁴.

Amongst the Ionian states, Miletus presents the spectacle of impetuous efforts on the part of the demus to make head against the aristocracy, which, after the kings⁷⁵ Thoas and Damasenor, took possession of the government; protracted collisions between the former, called the Cheiromacha, and the latter the Plontis or the Aeinautæ⁷⁶, alternated with tyranny. Abydos and Cyzicus, the colonies of Miletus, perhaps like that city, gradually assumed a democratic character.

It is not till after the Persian war that historical light falls upon the Pontic states. It is, however, recorded of Heraclea on the Pontus, that the demus prevailed at its foundation, but that a vicious demagogy very soon brought on oligarchy⁷⁷.

Achaia, held up by Polybius as a model of the democratic constitution⁷⁸, seems likewise, at the time when the princely power terminated, to have

⁷¹ Thuc. 1. 13.

⁷² Herod. 3. 49. sqq.

⁷³ Pol. 5. 2. 8.

⁷⁴ Diog. Laert. 8. 40.

⁷⁵ This is the construction which I put upon *τυραννῶν*. Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 193, as in the case of the Argive Phidon. Comp. § 49. n. 30.

⁷⁶ § 31. n. 8.

⁷⁷ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 3.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 2. 38. 6.

had no government of nobility; with steady pace the Achæans advanced on their ancient path, till, in the Peloponnesian war, Sparta's influence succeeded in disengaging Pellene from their connection.

The demus probably stood much higher in Arcadia. Tegea's attachment to Sparta, in the age before the Persian wars, does not prove the predominance of an aristocracy; it is probable that the bravest warrior enjoyed the highest consideration, but without any invidious reaction on a servile class; even Periœci cannot be traced with certainty. The mention made of a female dynast, called Perimede or Choira, at the time of the wars with Sparta⁷⁹, bears a somewhat enigmatical appearance. The legislators enumerated by Pausanias⁸⁰, probably belonged to a later age. Mantinea's democratic confederacy with the inhabitants of the surrounding district, which strengthened itself by their union into one capital⁸¹, was copied in the Cyrenæan institutions of Demonax. It is a remarkable fact, that the mass of the people had a share in the council, but the magistracy were chosen by select citizens⁸². A similar spectacle, with still greater simplicity of the rural character, is presented in the other states of Arcadia.

To these must be added the following races, governed by veterans as well as able-bodied warriors, selected from amongst them respectively:—the Malians⁸³, the Acarnanians, the Locrians, and Ætolians; and lastly, in all probability, the Dorians and Phocians.

⁷⁹ See § 49. n. 25.

⁸⁰ Paus. 8. 48. 1.

⁸¹ § 21. n. 8.

⁸² Aristot. Pol. 6. 2. 2.

⁸³ See § 37. n. 2.

II. THE ANCIENT ARISTOCRACY GENERALLY IN ITS RELATION TO THE DEMUS AND THE SUBSEQUENT OLIGARCHY.

§ 36. It has been more than once remarked, that the words aristocracy, oligarchy, and democracy, as the signs of various constitutions, have a dubious and fluctuating import which will not bear the test of close examination. This may be very true as regards the philosophical method of considering these terms; but if we confine our attention to the aristocracy of the earlier ages of Greece, we are naturally led to enquire whether that mode of government ought not to be accounted something more than an unnatural and temporary state of things, and rather be looked upon as the natural product of the age, and whether it was not considered in the same light by the Greeks themselves. In this enquiry it is not necessary to recur to the ultimate grounds of natural law; we must examine the Grecian political system itself, as exhibited in history, and upon this the following arguments are founded.

If, then, aristocracy is to be considered a mere departure from an original democracy, it would be possible to trace the existence of the latter in the heroic age: but this is disproved by the foregoing exposition. Or a constitution must, in the earliest stages of political development, have established popular government: but custom was, with few exceptions, characteristic of the age. In the migrations, indeed, there arose various kinds of treaty between the leaders and the hordes, and between the original inhabitants of a district and

the new-comers: but, again, the founders of the new states sometimes continued the prescription of the mother-country¹; the aristocracy in the greater portion of them assumed the form of an hereditary nobility; the demus rather retrograded than advanced, and was far from occupying a legally-recognised position, from which it might, as a legitimate order, have concluded treaties with the nobility as to its rank and rights; its dependence was during centuries divested of the conventional character, or where this had originally existed, prescription soon began to operate, by which means it was cast into the shade; but the regulation of the public-system might, through deliberations and decrees in single instances, have been modified in the more or less extended circle that happened to predominate.

Nevertheless, should it be asked whether public opinion was not entirely hostile to the existing state of things, and whether demands on the part of the people to participate in that, which the aristocracy exclusively possessed, may not be universally adduced from the earliest times as the reclamation of a property unjustly withheld from them—I answer, no. It may be said that in no instance can such attachment be proved on the part of the people to their aristocracy, as could be compared with their former devotion to the heroic princes; but tranquillity and contentment might be preserved amongst them for centuries by the beneficent indulgence of the governing body, while by means of individual

¹ Thuc. 6. 4. says of the Geloans: *Νόμιμα δὲ Δωρικὰ ἐπέθη αὐτοῖς*; where the Geloans also give to the Agrigentans their *νόμιμα*; 6. 5. *νόμιμα τὰ χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησε*.

concessions, which involved no particular danger to the nobles as a class, the aspiring, though not the rebellious demands of the people might be satisfied. For although a stirring and active spirit may have characterised the Grecian demus in the youthful vigour of its existence, there can be no doubt that its first efforts were directed to the object of providing for its physical well-being² and the security of its personal rights, whilst seditious commotions were for the most part the consequences of despotic oppression, of wanton attacks on personal security, and on chastity in particular, as in Naxos³; but claims to a share in the government were slowly and gradually developed. Now whilst the course of history proves that where a constitution has been assented to by all ranks and conditions of society, it may be still followed by repeated general revolutions, it is peculiar to the political development of those communities in which prescriptive usage prevails, to make the rights and grievances of *individuals* the subjects of litigation and contention⁴. Of this character were the claims of the Grecian demus; first, murmurs and struggles against the oppressive exactions of the aristocratic class, and then positive demands; for, like the Roman *plebs*, it grew bolder with the acquisitions it made. But that it never enquired after the ultimate grounds of the actual order of things, the distance between the nobles as the governing, and itself as the governed, and that it possessed within itself no political impulse, which in its earliest stages clearly conceived and conse-

² Aristot. Pol. 6. 2. 1. 2.

⁴ Aristot. ap. Ath. 8. 348. B. C.

³ See § 35. n. 45.

quentially developed the principle, that the supreme power was the indefeasible right of the bulk of the people, are evinced by the character of the Attic demus, for our only evidence of the democratic cries which it is said to have uttered in the earliest ages, is the deceptive echo of interested and partial advocates under the political system of after-times; whilst the real fact is, that it for several centuries yielded cheerful obedience to the Eupatridæ. Even where the mass seems to step forward most decidedly with the consciousness of its rights, and with claims for itself as the chief element of the state, we behold it willingly enrolling itself under a demagogue, and paving the way to tyranny, as if conscious of its own deficiency in solid and substantial claims, and full of reverence for the personal qualifications of the holders of power.

Clearly to comprehend, that the ancient aristocracy of the noble order was a firmly established form of constitution, and not such a dispensation of government as was unnatural and brought about by force, it is necessary to advert to those points in which it differed from the oligarchy which was introduced after the full development of democracy. The views entertained concerning the aristocracy of the earlier ages will be erroneous if we transfer to it the indignant expressions which the demus and its leaders in later ages applied to the oligarchs who were contemporary with themselves. The most prominent feature of the latter age is, that the rulers are characterised as the few, the people as the majority or all⁵, and the oligarchs as a single

⁵ Thuc. 2. 86:—τὸ πλεον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τὸ ἑλαττον τοῖς πᾶσι; 6. 38: οἱ πολλοί, τὸ πλῆθος, τὸ πλεον. Compare vol. III. cap. 7.

ingredient appertaining to the mass, and unnaturally separated from it⁶. The latter, accordingly, appear without any fixed and substantial character by which their condition of privilege and power could be justified and supported, but are confined to the mere relation of numbers, wherein the people naturally felt their superiority⁷. But instead of thus opposing to each other forms, without qualities in which substance and sign are equally unfixed⁸, and by which the rulers of the ancient aristocracy are divested of every thing which could have led them to power, or rendered them capable and worthy of wielding it, let us turn our attention from these arbitrary symbols to the true nature of their rank itself, and to their qualifications for the same. Thus considered they present themselves to our observation as Geomori, Hippobotæ, Hippeis, Eupatridæ, etc.; and since the Pythagoreans must be included in the enumeration, as the morally good and noble, and are essentially distinguished by their substantial qualities from the oligarchs of later times, who, through accidental possessions, or the caprice of fortune, and without due regard to political qualifications, but on all occasions with the impress of faction stepped from out the ranks of the people, and made them groan beneath their yoke. In the aristocracy of the earlier times the numerical disproportion was less apparent on account of their eminence for the qualities essential to political

⁶ Thus Athenagoras, in Syracuse, Thuc. 6. 39. says: *δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος*.

⁷ Τοῦ πλῆθους ὑπεροχή, Aristot. Pol. 4. 10. 2.

⁸ See Aristotle's strictures on the superficial notions prevalent in his time. Polit. 3. 5. 7; 4. 3. 6, sqq.; 4. 10. 2; comp. Eth. Nicom. 3. 5. 7; 4. 3. 6.

rulers. The smallness of their number had nothing odious in it; they may be characterised as the politically best (*ἄριστοι*), their authority as that of the best-aristocracy, or, in consequence of the distance between all earthly excellence and perfection, we may, with Plato⁹, call it timocracy, compared with which the subsequent oligarchy must only be looked upon as a degeneration, the Greeks themselves regarding it in the same light¹⁰. Hence that order of things does not appear to have been produced by an accidental or temporary ascendant, a mere usurpation of the political administration¹¹, during which the supreme power really belonged to the demus, nor as a deviation from the prescriptive course, unnatural in itself, and odious to the people; on the contrary, it was a form of government which was firmly rooted in the natural feeling, and allied to the heroic monarchy in good, as the subsequent oligarchy was to the tyranny in evil attributes.

Accordingly, if it be asked which of the three principles, that may be laid down in the political field under examination as standards for the various claims to participation in the sovereign power, is adapted to the above described order of things,

⁹ De Repub. 8. 547. D. sqq.

¹⁰ Plato de Repub. 8. 550. C. sqq.; Politic. 291. D. sqq.; Aristot. Eth. Nicom. 8. 10; Polit. 4. 5. 9. sqq. Aristotle overlooks the difference between the ancient and modern ages, when, in Pol. 4. 3. 8, he ascribes wealth and nobility to the *ὀλίγοι* in general, consequently to all the members of the oligarchical faction in his time—*ὀλιγαρχία, ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ὀλίγοι ὦντες κ. τ. λ.*, these qualities at that time frequently being merely incidental to number, as number had formerly been to quality.

¹¹ Aristot. Pol. 3. 4. 1: *κύριον μὲν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως· πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία. λέγω δὲ, οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις κύριος ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τούναντίον ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις.* Comp. 4. 5. 5; 5. 5. 8. These passages throw light upon 4. 13. 14, where Aristotle appears to allude to the administration—not to the legal title to supreme power.

viz.: 1. The oligarchical—unequal rights without regard to qualities, 2. The ochlocratical—equal rights with unequal qualities, 3. That which lies midway between the two, and though considered in a different point of view, a joint property of aristocracy and democracy—equal rights with equal qualities, we answer the third, whilst the first and second must be declared almost equally foreign to its spirit. Our attention must therefore be solely directed to aristocracy, and a healthful democracy¹² in its earliest stages.

All their varieties of intermixture and combination could scarcely be exhausted by the most detailed investigation, many cannot be ranged under any standard of political law; which chiefly applies to the degree of lenity or rigour with which power was exercised in arbitrary hands; although the people do not look with speculative refinement to the abstract principles of right, but for the most part judge according to the temper with which power is employed; whilst no fixed principle can be laid down as to the degree of personal merit which had raised and afterwards supported the aristocracy generally, but which must have varied in individual cases.

Another most important combination resulted from the exclusiveness which was secured to the aristocratic class, from the limitation to its own circle of intermarriage, the right of possessing

¹² It will immediately be perceived in what respects that which has been here advanced differs from the fundamental opinions in Tittmann's excellent work. See in particular, p. 364—366. 382. 496. 521. 524. 528. 533. of that work. It must be equally evident that the difference of opinion between him and myself upon general questions, exclusively applies to the earlier age, and turns upon particular facts only in reference to the constitutions after the Persian war.

COUNCIL AND POPULAR ASSEMBLY. § 37. 277

landed property and military distinction. By rigorously closing access to an order to withhold from the people the means of attaining a share in the supreme power, was more oppressive than to remove that power beyond their reach; on the other hand, it was making a greater concession to place them in a position from which they might obtain every thing as a right, than it would have been to satisfy the claims of individuals as it were through favour. Now, however variously the nature of a constitution may be modified by the regulation of its orders, this being the fountain, whilst the exercise of the supreme power is the stream flowing from it; still the preceding outline of the leading relations amongst the order may enable us to form an estimate of a particular constitution. Even the subject under examination, participation in the exercise of the supreme power, based upon the regulation of the orders, presents such manifold ramifications of aristocracy and democracy, that completeness of investigation would only lead us into subtilty¹³: we therefore limit ourselves to the task of considering the three chief bodies by which the chief power in the Grecian states was represented, namely, the council, the popular assembly, and the public functionaries.

III. THE COUNCIL AND THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY.

§ 37. In most of the Grecian states, governed by an aristocracy, particularly in those of Doric origin, the council, as an assembly of the aged, was entitled Gerusia, Geronia¹. Experience is the

¹³ See Aristotle's observations, Pol. 4. 5. 1, sqq.; 4. 10; 5. 6. 3.
¹ Γερουσία, γερωνία. Compare Müller, Dor. 2. 91. n.

characteristic of age, and even without legislative enactments, it is natural that in deliberative proceedings mature age should take precedence of youth; moreover, it was a rule in aristocratic constitutions that the members of the council should retain their seats for life, and its distinctive feature was the paternal and venerable character peculiar to old age; finally, in certain states, as in Sparta, it was legally ordained, that none but men of advanced age should be admitted; upon the same principle amongst the Malians it was selected from the veterans². In other respects the political qualifications of the members of the council were the same as those of their order, viz. timocratic; the ordinances which regulated the mode in which promotion from the aristocracy to the council was effected, and the order established in it, emanated exclusively from the collective nobles, and the council is only to be regarded as a particular circle set apart for the exercise of the highest power, belonging to the body of nobles which it represented. A remarkable example of their solicitude to insure the rights of the order against danger from the preponderance of single families, is afforded by the Cnidian law, by which the father excluded the son and the elder brother the younger, from a seat in the council³. The limitation of the number of its members was unquestionably very ancient, as the eighty in Argos, the ninety in Elis, the sixty in Cnidus, the hundred and eighty in Epidaurus⁴; but a change of persons by rota-

² Arist. Pol. 4. 10. 10. The *ὀπλιτευκότες* had the superintendence in the capacity of a council; those who were still in active service held the offices.

³ Arist. Pol. 5. 5. 3.

⁴ See § 35.

tion⁵ is opposed to the natural tendency of the aristocratic system to appoint members for life; hence, no more were chosen than were necessary to replace such members as had gone out⁶.

Βουλή, a word peculiar to the states of Doric origin, signifies in Homer⁷ the council of the nobles; with the progress of political society it became almost universally the designation of a council tending to democracy⁸, the members of which, in conformity to the change of families in the younger aristocracy, which was based upon easily acquired, and as easily dissipated external possessions, naturally changed in process of time. The determination of a certain number was here unavoidable; as examples, partly selected from later times, may be adduced the thousand in Crotona⁹, Locri¹⁰, and Rhegium¹¹, the above named six hundred in Elis, etc. A council of this nature was here and there instituted in lieu of an aristocratic Gerusia, as in Epidamnus¹²; or in such a manner, that the latter was not abolished. The thousand in Rhegium degenerated into an oligarchy, as well as the thousand in Agrigentum, who thus appertain to a later age, and were abolished by Empedocles¹³.

Both the Gerusia and the Bule appear as organs through which the participation of the collective

⁵ This principle is fully developed in Hüllmann, Staatsv. d. Alterth. 177—179.

⁶ Compare Aristot. Pol. 4. 5. 11.

⁷ Il. 2. 53; comp. § 18. n. 18, sqq.

⁸ Aristot. Pol. 6. 5. 13. *βουλή δημοτική*.

⁹ Jamblich. in vit. Pythag. 45; Porphy. 18. from Dicæarchus.

¹⁰ Polyb. 12. 16. 10. 11.

¹¹ Arist. Pol. 5. 1. 6.

¹² Heracl. Pont. 25.

¹³ Diog. Laert. 8. 66. — A council composed of so many members appears almost like a circle of full-citizens, by which the agency of the general body was superseded; as was afterwards the case with the 5000 in Athens. Comp. Hüllmann, Staatsv. 327. 328. This forms the transition to the civic deputies (n. 16.)

body of citizens in the supreme power was brought about and modified. This participation took place in the popular assemblies¹⁴, which, by virtue of the political tendency of the Greeks to publicity, existed under all the constitutions of Greece, except where tyranny had abolished all forms, but the mention of which in a state, is no proof of the existence of a democracy. Its character must be chiefly deduced from that of the class of persons composing it. A natural consequence of the narrow extent of the Greek states in general, was, that all the citizens attended the assembly; but here we must bear in mind the difference between the townsmen and the Periœci. Without reference to the dominant class, properly so called, the townsmen in general ranked above the Periœci¹⁵. This was chiefly displayed in their attending the popular assembly, which was their exclusive privilege, or one at least which, from circumstances, they enjoyed in a peculiar degree, those assemblies being uniformly held in the city, as the seat of government, and upon occasions, in which a speedy resolution was required, none but the inhabitants of the town being convoked. Hence it appears that only a part of the

¹⁴ The Doric *ἀλία* (*ἀλιτιάς*, the place of the popular assembly in Argos), the affinity of which with *ἡλία* is placed beyond doubt; (in Tarentum its name was *ἀλία*, see Hesych. 1. 230.) See in refutation of the erroneous derivation of the last word from *ἡλιος*, Steph. Byz., and Etym. M. *ἡλία*, where *ἄλις*, *ἀλίζεσθαι* is given as the root. Compare the Homeric *ἀολλής*, the Herodotean *ἀλής*, the Spartan *ἀπελλάζειν*, (Plut. Lyc. 6.); Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 215. 216; Müll. Dor. 2. 86. Herodotus likewise employs *ἀλή*, in speaking of non-Doric states, as Miletus, 5. 29; Thebes, 5. 79: however, it is probable that in these the word *ἐκκλησία* was in general use. After Homer, *Ἀγορά* is seldom found in the sense of popular assembly (Herod. 6. 11, it is applied to the Ionian council of war); it was probably employed in Crete alone as a fixed appellation for such a body (Bekker, Anecd. 210); it generally signifies the place where it met, and with reference to the multitude assembled there for that purpose, the Paphian and Thessalian *λίμνη* (Hesych. 2. 480, Bekker, Anecd. 210.) was equivalent to it: *λαϊκὰν* in Agrigentum (Inscript. Gruter, 401.) must probably be referred to a later age.

¹⁵ Compare § 32.

people exercised the supreme power, and so far, for instance, Sparta's constitution, in which it is probable that the townsmen alone, the Spartans properly so called, composed the assembly, may be termed oppressively aristocratic. Another expedient for limiting the number of citizens admitted to the popular assembly, was adopted in the subsequent oligarchies; for in order to give the disaffected and seditious no opportunity to assemble, the despots treated with civic deputies, called Probuli or Syncleti¹⁶, which certainly does not convey a very adequate notion of popular representation. In those states where the demus resided in the city, its presence in the assembly was a matter of course, and, as was observed above, this unfolded the germ of democratic self-consciousness much earlier than amongst the rarely-excited inhabitants of the country. However, even there the ascendant of the assembly was not firmly established till the commencement of the sixth century before the Christian era, nor had it yet succeeded in obtaining entire independence, for the preponderating influence of the council exhibited itself in so many particulars, that the assembly can scarcely be estimated, except in its connection with that body. This is mainly attributable to the nature of those subjects which the council submitted to it for consideration. The lowest privilege which ought to remain in the hands of a free people, is, according to Aristotle¹⁷, that of electing and judging the magistrates;

¹⁶ Aristot. Pol. 4. 11. 9; 4. 12. 8; 6. 5. 10; 13. 3. 1. 7; *ἐνίαις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆμος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ συγκελήτους*. Probably of a similar nature were the Ephesian *ἐπίκλητοι*, Strab. 14. 640, who appear to have been identical with the five *βουλαί*, Steph. Byz. *βέννα*; comp. Müller, Dor. 2. 86. 87; Tittmann, 527.

¹⁷ Pol. 2. 9. 4.—*μηδὲ γὰρ τοῦτον κύριος ὦν ὁ δῆμος δοῦλος ἀν εἴη*.

but the people were far from possessing such a power in those rigorous aristocracies under which the magistrates were exclusively chosen from among the nobles; the elections took place within this circle; it was only necessary that those who were chosen by their equals in rank, should be presented to the popular assembly; but irresponsibility, i. e., the absence of a liability to be called to account by the general body, was naturally founded in the relation of the orders to one another. But when riches had qualified new candidates for rank and office, the election was more frequently made by the people at large. A very remarkable regulation existed in Mantinea¹⁸, by which a certain number of citizens were chosen from the general body, and nominated electors. Questions concerning war and peace were, it is probable, most frequently put to the vote in the popular assembly. On the other hand, the courts of law, especially that which took cognizance of criminal matters, were, for the most part, the prerogative of the nobility, as was the right of making regulations concerning divine worship¹⁹. However, whatever matters may have been transacted in the popular assembly, the initiative was indubitably vested in the council alone; it weighed over every subject beforehand, and drew up a *Probuleuma*, which was submitted to the people. This practice existed for a time in full vigour, even under the more matured democracies, and in form it was always retained; therefore, in a democracy which was still in its infancy, no individual member of the popular assembly can possibly have possessed the right of making a

¹⁸ Aristot. Pol. 6. 2. 2.

¹⁹ See other modifications, Aristot. Pol. 4. 11.

positive and distinct motion on any state matter. The popular assembly can, during the whole of this period, have scarcely been any where so dependent as only to be convened for the purpose of receiving a decree of the council; it is much more probable that its lowest privilege consisted in deciding by a simple aye or no, but, at the same time, most of the popular assemblies were limited to this. The right of debate, from its nature, appertained to the council; but the manner in which it was exercised, was, probably, as in the Roman *conciones*²⁰, often very disorderly. Formalities, so closely interwoven with the political existence of Rome, and there of such vast influence, were never introduced to such an extent amongst the Greeks; consequently they cannot, in a considerable degree, have aided any attempt on the part of the council to restrict the popular assembly. Lastly, the same may be observed of their religious ceremonies, nor did they, like the Romans, attempt to influence its agency by means of religious scruples, and thus preclude the execution of any measure that might happen to be unpalatable to the aristocratic order.

¹ IV. THE OFFICERS OF STATE.

§ 38. In states, where the aristocratic body possessed the supreme power, all offices of importance, to which a portion of that power was delegated, were, like the council, emanations from the ruling order, and, therefore, the same qualifications were required for them as for that order itself; however, regard may very generally have been had to age,

²⁰ See my Rom. Hist. 304, sqq.

¹ Ἀρχαί, τέλη, οἱ ἐν τέλει, τιμαί. See Append. xiv.

and occasionally the higher officers were taken from the superior nobility, as the Demuchi from the Thespiadæ in Thespiæ². But the care of conducting expensive public works required considerable wealth; the command in war, eminent personal endowments, and the priesthood, immaculate nobility, and, in part, such as was inherent in certain families; hence it may be assumed, that within the circle of the nobility a scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*) very soon began to precede election. The admission of common freemen to offices of state, kept pace with the gradations in the decline of aristocracy³; when the importance of riches began to be acknowledged, the appointment to offices became associated with the census. However, whatever standard of eligibility in general may have been adopted, in particular instances regard was had to the qualities requisite for an office, a Dokimasia took place, and the more deserving candidate was elected. Election by lot must at this stage have been entirely unknown.

In considering that portion of the supreme power which was comprised in the functions of the officers, it is necessary to enquire whether it was confided to them by the state, directly or indirectly. In the political communities of Greece, many branches of the administration belonged to the state, not immediately, but in conjunction with certain corporate bodies, and the regulations for their management did not emanate from its centre⁴, but from the close circle of those corporations themselves.

² § 35, n. 30.

³ See the modifications, Aristot. Pol. 4. 12. 10.

⁴ Ἀπὸ κοινῆς ἐστίας, Aristot. Pol. 6. 5. 11.

Many of these offices, amongst others, those of a sacerdotal nature, exercised very great influence on the public system in general: through their existence, the range and the importance of such as directly proceeded from the state, became greatly limited. However, our chief attention must not be directed to what was thus introduced into the state, but to what proceeded from its centre, and diffused itself over the people at large. To these immediate offices were attached, from the very earliest periods of aristocracy, precedence in the council and the command in the field. The administration of justice was partially vested in priestly families; but the supreme judicial power was the attribute of the body of the people. Every magistrate of this kind stood in a direct relation to the aggregate people as the source of political power. Such a gradation in the higher offices of state as rendered one subject to the other, was scarcely to be met with in Grecian communities, except in military affairs, in which it was inseparable from the nature of their duties; therefore, in other departments it was a rare occurrence that inferior magistrates were appointed by superior ones, the only division being into magistrates and servants (*ὑπηρεσται*), not higher and lower magistrates. The number of regular offices in the ancient Grecian communities was small; it is a characteristic of young and aristocratic states, to institute as few magistracies in the strict sense of the term as possible; they prefer to keep unlimited power as near as they can to the main body of the ruling order, and to appoint temporary commissions adapted to the exigencies of the occasion, but not constituting

permanent offices⁵. The disposition to delegate power to boards or commissions of this nature, maintained its ground afterwards in the Grecian democracies; in the most extensive sense the liturgies belonged to this class. This tenacity of transferring the rights of the body of the people to individual authorities, is somewhat at variance with the practice of conferring seats in the council for life, and the custom mentioned by Aristotle⁶, prevalent in the more ancient democracies, of filling offices for longer periods of time: but again, there existed in many states securities against the abuse of official power—for instance, it was expressly and rigorously prohibited that any person should retain office beyond his appointed time⁷, or hold two offices together, or the same twice⁸.

Official powers were not very cautiously limited⁹. The council, it is true, constantly took part in the duties of the magistracy, but in many respects the latter possessed a discretionary power. But this power could not be exercised irresponsibly, as an enquiry into their conduct inevitably awaited them in the Euthyne¹⁰ at the termination of their official career.

The Euthyne may be called the Dokimasia inverted; if the latter had inspired the candidate with confidence before he entered office, the former was destined to prove, whether that confidence

⁵ Ἐπιμελείαι, originally the duties of an agent, afterwards their object, Aristot. Pol. 4. 12. 3, where the office itself is vaguely distinguished from permanent offices. See Æschin. c. Ctesiph. 398. 400; Boeckh Pub. Econ. 1. 257.

⁶ Pol. 5. 8. 3.

⁷ See on the subject of the Bæotarchs, Corn. Nep. Epam. 9; Paus. 9. 14. 2.

⁸ See Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 541.

⁹ See the excellent remarks of Hüllmann, Staatsr. d. Althert. 291; conf. Tittmann, 544.

¹⁰ The word εὐθύνη expresses the opposition to σκολίαι θέμιστες, the perversion of justice, crooked courses.

had been properly reposed or not, and the prospect of it to deter officers from improper conduct. The Euthyne was originally a limitation of the princely government of the nobles: this is the real meaning of the statement that it was introduced into Athens with the archonship of Medon¹¹, and thus it appears in the case of Cresphontes¹². This dependence of the magistracy upon the aristocratic class, and the perhaps irregular interference of the latter, led to the institution of a formal scrutiny after a magistrate had completed his term of service. This first took place within the circle of the holders of power, as in the Æolic Cuma¹³; the participation of the demus in it originated by degrees; it was the same case with the officers appointed for the scrutiny itself as peculiar magistrates, Euthyni and Logistæ¹⁴, in the nomination of whom the character of the constitution might become doubly apparent, inasmuch as it was asked, which order possessed the right of electing those officers, and what qualifications as to rank rendered eligible. The extreme of democracy was afterwards developed, not so much in the duties of the Athenian Euthyni, as in the right of accusing public functionaries in the popular assembly.

In certain states there arose a sort of magis-

¹¹ § 29. n. 10.

¹² § 29. n. 12.

¹³ § 35. n. 34.

¹⁴ Plato de Legg. 12. 946 sqq.; Aristot. Pol. 6. 5. 10: καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς οἱ μὲν εὐθύναι, οἱ δὲ λογιστὰς, οἱ δὲ ἑξαστάς, οἱ δὲ συνηγόρους. Comp. Schneider Comment. 502. Of a similar character would appear to have been the μαστῆρες in Harpocr., if we understand εὐθύναι, after μαστῆραι, in Hesych. as well as the Rhodian and Pallenian μάστροι, see Hesych. and Harpocr. Compare Photius μάστειρες. On Athens, see § 47. n. 49.

trates corresponding to the Euthyni, who became the representatives of the people in their transactions with the superior officers of state. Such were the Spartan Ephori, who did not attain their importance as they were instituted by Lycurgus, but with the further progress of the constitution, and on that account it is necessary to mention them here¹⁵; transcending the originally narrow sphere of their legitimate province, they entered upon that of the censors; the authority of all other officers was overbalanced by the antagonist authority of the ephoralty; like the Roman tribunes of the people, they converted what was intended for defence into a means of aggression, which ended by becoming highly detrimental to the due balance amongst the members of the body politic. The nomophylaces, so often spoken of¹⁶, did not in any state of Greece attain that importance which their name implies, and the preceding observations refer to none but the Ephors of Sparta¹⁷. But with the progress of the demus there arose an office, viz., that of the Demiurgi, which was as much of a democratic¹⁸ as that of the Probuli was of an aristocratic nature. They were to be found in Doric and in other states¹⁹; their province was not the representation of the people, they were popular agents; but it appears wholly incredible that they were any where previously to the Persian war the highest function-

¹⁵ The subject is fully investigated § 42. n. 77, sqq.

¹⁶ See § 40. n. 27. In Tarentum they were called *ρήτροφύλακες*, Phot. and Etym. M.

¹⁷ See Tittm. gr. Staatsv. 547.

¹⁸ Ibid. 358. 367.

¹⁹ Müller, Dor. 2. 141.

aries, as the misinterpretation of a word in Aristotle²⁰ might lead us to suppose; they were probably mere adjuncts of the superior officers in the measures they took for the good of the people²¹. The Epidemiurgi sent by Corinth to Potidæa, were inspectors and superintending officers²².

A survey of the individual magistrates with reference to the share of the highest power possessed by them respectively, can only include those who immediately emanated from the ruling body, and exercised a supervision over it in their turn. Aristotle calls the Basileis, Prytanes, and Archons²³, magistrates who went forth from the common and sacred hearth of the state with a mission to watch over all matters connected with the public worship. The nature of the subsequent Basileia has been already discussed; it was a mere shadow of the ancient princely splendour; but most closely and intimately allied with its real character was the dignity of the Prytanes.

The Prytaneum, a main ingredient in the political life of every Grecian state, which made any pretensions to independence²⁴, like the Prytanes, proceeded from the ancient monarchy. In the heroic age the high-priesthood was associated with

²⁰ Pol. 5. 8. 3: τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δῆμοι καθίστασαν πολυχρονίους τὰς δημιουργίας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας. These two words do not here express particular dignities, but are general designations for those offices of the democracy which related to *δῖα* and *ιερά*. Comp. Aristot. Pol. 4. 3. 14; Schneid. ad loc.

²¹ Etym. M. Δημιουργός. Amongst the Argives and Thessalians, οἱ περὶ τὰ τεύλη. Comp. Thuc. 5. 47.

²² Thuc. 1. 56. The Scolion compares them to Phylarchs, strictly aristocratic magistrates.

²³ Polit. 6. 5. 11: ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμὴν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀρχοντας τοῦτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις.

²⁴ See Casaub. ad Ath. 15. 700 D.; Spanheim de Vesta et Prytanib. in Græv. thes. n. 14; Blanchard sur les Prytanes in Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscript. v. 7, as well as in Naucratis, Athen. 4. 150. D. On Peparethos, Thuc. 3. 89.

it, and the sacred hearth of the state²⁵ was then in the princely castle, where the council used to assemble around it²⁶. With the commencement of the aristocracies the sacred hearth of the state ceased to be the object of royal care; the Prytaneum indeed continued to be the sanctuary of the state, where that fire²⁷ was kept up which was an emblem of its life, and of the divine protection it enjoyed, and the chief magistrate was appointed to tend it in lieu of the prince: but it remained the central point of government for a very short time; the Buleuterion or the Archeum was selected for the transaction of the strictly political affairs that daily presented themselves, but a sacred hearth of the council was removed to the former of these²⁸. From that time the Prytaneum, like the council-house²⁹, appears to have been a central point, where functionaries officially engaged resided, but where, at the same time, the religious character continued to predominate; on that account it was thenceforward fixed upon for the place of honour and the public meals, because there the person on whom distinction was conferred became most closely bound, and as it were consecrated, to the state.

²⁵ Ἑστία κοινή, the same as πρυτανεῖον, Poll. 9. 40; Ath. 5. 187. D.; and Casaub. Focus urbis, Cic. de legib. 2. 12. Compare, in particular, Creuzer Symbol. 2. 627.

²⁶ Comp. Hullman. Anf. d. gr. Gesch. 2. 23. According to Plut. Conviv. 8. 651, Celeus was the first who formed a union of brave men, and ὀνόμασαι πρυτανεῖον. Herein we chiefly perceive the operation of the hospitable principle, and this coincides with his reception of Demeter in Eleusis, Apollod. 3. 14. 7. Comp. Hymn. in Cerer. 184, sqq.

²⁷ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, πῦρ ἄσβεστον, Paus. 8. 9. 1; 8. 37. 8; Strab. 9. 396; Poll. 1. 7; Schol. Thuc. 2. 15; Proverb, τὸ λύχνον ἐν πρυτανείῳ, Theocr. 21. 36.

²⁸ Ἑστία βουλαία, Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 52; Æschin. de falsa Legat. 227; Harpocr. βουλαία; Suid. δέξιος.

²⁹ Æn. Poliorc. 10: ἡ ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἢ ἐν βουλῇ. Dio Chrys. 2. 254, τὴν δὲ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον. Comp. on Syracuse Cic. c. Verr. 4. 58.

Prytanes are recorded as chief magistrates in Corinth³⁰, Corcyra³¹, Miletus³², Eressus in Lesbos³³, Tenedos³⁴, Pergamus³⁵, Cos³⁶, Rhodes³⁷, etc. They were religious-political presidents like the kings, whose substitutes they had become, in many of those cities, guardians of the sacred fire of the state in the Prytaneum, and still filled with the quickening and warming power of the Basileia, in which the ethical predominated over the colder legal-political principle. On that account the word bears a close affinity to Basileus, and is not unfrequently used in its place³⁸, or as a significant designation for the sovereign dignity³⁹; it was probably first of all employed in Athens as a magistracy of the second class; afterwards it became here, as well as in other states, a denomination for the presidents of the community or council, changing periodically, according to the democratic system⁴⁰.

The archonship does not seem to have been so deeply imbued with the antique religious essence, as the word itself expresses presidency without any subordinate notion; it cannot be traced with any degree of certainty as having been em-

³⁰ Diod. Fragm. v. 4. 13; Bipont. Paus. 2. 4. 4.

³¹ Inscription Böckh. Pub. Econ. 2. 403.

³² Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 5.

³³ Athen. 8. 333 A. Might we not infer from this, that such was the case in the other Lesbian cities?

³⁴ Pind. Nem. 11. See on this point Müll. in Böckh. explic. 476.

³⁵ Spon. Miscell. 79. 348.

³⁶ Polyb. 27. 6. 2; Böckh. ad Pind. Ol. 7. expl. 169. Two, chosen annually, held the presidency for six months each.

³⁷ Suid. Χάρων. Charon wrote βασιλεῖς for the πρυτάνεις in Sparta.

³⁸ Æschyl. Prometh. 169; Dan. 374.

³⁹ As in Delphi, Paus. 10. 2. 2, where, however, πρυτανεύοντος may be less general; in Crotona, see Timæus ap. Ath. 12. 522 C.; in Cyzicus, Caylus, rec. 7. 67; Ephesus, Tittmann, 431, et ubi sup.; comp. van Dale dissertationes V.

ployed at an early period to designate a particular office⁴¹, not even in Athens, as will be shewn below, though it became general in the later age as an appellation for a permanent dignity.

Most of the other numerous titles of superior magistrates express the peculiar nature of the official duties annexed to them; as the Cretic Cosmi⁴², the Cosmopolis in the Italian Locri⁴³, the Æsymnete in Cuma⁴⁴ and Chalcedon⁴⁵, the Artynæ in Argos⁴⁶ and Epidaurus⁴⁷, the Hieromnamon in Megara, Byzantium⁴⁸, Chalcedon⁴⁹, the Aphester in Cnidos⁵⁰, the Tagos in Thessaly⁵¹, a word very frequently employed by the poets for ruler in general⁵², the Polemarch in several Bœotian cities⁵³, and, after the institution of the new Archons in Athens, the same with Tamias, in the poets frequently transferred from matters of finance to political government in general⁵⁴. It is probable that the appellations of Strategos, which existed in every democracy, and Proedros, for example in Mitylene⁵⁵, were less ancient.

⁴¹ The *εἰς ἀρχῶν* in Epidamnus, (Aristot. Pol. 5. 1. 6; comp. 3. 11. 1.) probably had another special appellation as a magistrate, and moreover belongs to a later age. Concerning Bœotian archons, in Platææ, Charonea, Thebes, etc., see Müller, Bœotia in Ersch. Encyclop. p. 272. It appears to me very doubtful whether these belonged to the earlier time.

⁴² § 35. n. 20.

⁴³ Polyb. 12. 16.

⁴⁴ Aristot. ap. Schol. Eurip. Med. 19.

⁴⁵ Was there one here so early? There were three in Cuma, see Tittmann Gr. Staatsv. 463.

⁴⁶ Thucyd. 5. 47.

⁴⁷ Plut. Qu. Gr. 1.

⁴⁸ Polyb. 4. 52.

⁴⁹ Müll. Dor. 2. 169.

⁵⁰ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 172.

⁵¹ § 26. n. 33.

⁵² Æschyl. Prom. 95. Comp. *τάγης*, Agam. 110. *ταγοῦχος* Eumen. 288. Comp. Sophoc. Antig. 1045.

⁵³ On Thebes, see Xenoph. 5. 2. 30; Thespiae Plut. Demetr. 39.

⁵⁴ Pind. Pyth. 5. 82; Nem. 10. 97; Sophoc. Antig. 1133; compare Stobæus Serm. 12. p. 115.

⁵⁵ Thucyd. 3. 25.

CONSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

I. THE RELATION OF LAW TO CUSTOM.

§ 39. When custom and law are conceived in their widest difference, the system which is governed by the former may be described as devoid of volition, and unconscious of an aim, existing in a form coeval with itself, and confirmed by tacit prescription; whilst the distinctive feature of the latter is the self-conscious conception of a rational standard attached to a political body, with a positive declaration as to its future validity. But in the materials which history presents, we cannot draw such a distinction as this. In none of the Grecian states founded after the migrations are we authorised to assume such force of prescription, that a state of total quiescence, a political life without any reflection as to its true destination, and a blind conformity to the natural result of circumstances, were enabled to subsist for any considerable length of time; sooner or later reflection unfolded itself. Now, although the force of habit and a certain slothfulness in rising to free resolutions, may have operated to a considerable extent, and many innovations which were produced in the course of circumstances may have been confirmed without any express declarations and decrees to that effect; still it is far more probable that the first introduction of an institution was preceded by a formal motion, and by deliberation. But acts of this nature were performed in the midst of the governing people, appear consequently as having

grown out of the very heart of nationality, and are deficient in that peculiar mark by which laws are distinguished; namely, that as it were from a position without the mass something is introduced into it; it must, however, be attributed to the defectiveness of our sources, that so many institutions are recorded only as actually existing, whilst the causes of their origin and their authors are unknown.

This is the proper place to estimate the political agency of those men, who, without being strictly entitled to the appellation of legislators, lived and wrought in the midst of the people, and by their counsel and conduct exercised practical influence on the decrees of the state. Nor must we omit to mention poetry, which acted in various ways, indirectly, but powerfully, upon the national mind. Such was the effect of the songs of Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Alcæus; Solon's elegy on Salamis bore a similar character, and until his laws appeared in their own austere simplicity, a poetical garb in a greater or less degree adorned every political doctrine and exhortation. But of a direct and personal character was the political agency of the men, whom antiquity emphatically denominated sages; political knowledge was the chief element of their wisdom¹. History has preserved a number of pithy apothegms², which are said to embody their respective ethical and political opinions; but from these vague and anecdotal attributes, no judgment can be formed as to the political exer-

¹ Dicaearch. ap. Diog. L. 1. 40. calls them *συνετοὺς τινὰς καὶ νομοθετικούς*.

² See Demetr. Phal. ap. Stob. 3. 44, sqq. Orl.; Plut. Sept. Sapient. Con- viv. 6. 586. 587; Diog. Laert. 1. 33; Hygin. 221.

tions of the men; we should rather regard the traditions which recount their political operations themselves. Mere reflection was not the occupation of any one of them; Solon and Cleobulus were legislators, Periander a tyrant; the others statesmen and men of business, and to these our attention must be particularly directed. To these must be added Thales, who was not only the political counsellor of Cræsus³, but spokesman in the Ionic federal council⁴, and who, after ineffectual efforts for the common good, greatly promoted the welfare of Miletus, by obtaining it the friendship of Cyrus⁵; Bias, who was the author of a political poem on Ionia⁶, and who made the patriotic proposal to cast off the Persian yoke by emigration to Sardinia⁷; Chilon, who was instrumental⁸ in the progressive improvement of the constitution of Lycurgus, although not in the institution of the Ephors⁹; Epimenides in Crete, the political pacificator of Athens by atoning for the murder of Cylon¹⁰, and the author of a poem on the public administration¹¹ of Crete; Heraclitus the severe and bitter censor in Ephesus¹²; and lastly, Hecataeus the logographer¹³. But a higher position must be assigned to Pythagoras as the master and educator of statesmen. It would

³ Herod. 1. 75; Diog. Laert. 1. 38.

⁴ Herod. 1. 170.

⁵ Diog. L. 1. 25.: *Κροίσου γὰρ πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐκώλυσεν, ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν* — applies to the end of the war.

⁶ Diog. L. 1. 83.

⁷ Herod. 1. 170.

⁸ Plut. Ages. 5.

⁹ Æl. V. H. 3. 17. et plura apud Periz.

¹⁰ Thucyd. 1. 126; Cicero de Legg. 2. 11; Plut. Sol. 12; Diog. L. 1. 110; Vatic. app. 3. 97. See several passages in Meurs. Sol. p. 30. and particularly Heinrich's Epimenides.

¹¹ Diog. L. 1. 111.: *συνέγραψε περὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ πολιτείας*.

¹² Plut. de Garrul. 8. 33.

¹³ Herod. 5. 36. 125.

be erroneous to consider him as one of the legislators; he claims the first place amongst those statesmen whose influence was direct and personal, as the man who wished to instil into his confidants, and through them into their respective states, exalted political virtue, by living precept and example, but not to lay down the law in the dead letter without the sanctifying efficacy of the feelings. Strictly speaking, he can scarcely be called a legislator, even for the small circle that immediately surrounded him, for here morality reigned, and virtue was expected to grow from the heart, and fertilised and quickened by the inner law¹⁴, to exhibit its influence upon life.

Amongst the causes which led to a departure from the path of prescription and usage, none operated more forcibly than dissensions amongst the members of the aristocratic order or the princes, as in Sparta; in addition to this, the people began to reflect upon the discordance between their own position and the privileged condition of the nobility, and this called up a spirit of resistance and presumptuous pretensions, which were the more effectually asserted when countenanced and supported by the designing and selfish of the upper order itself. Under such circumstances, the want of a new public system was sensibly felt, and the will and the decree that such should be established were a natural consequence. When this was not accomplished by a preponderating body, but resulted from a union between the contending parties, a previous contract guaranteeing the validity of the

¹⁴ Νόμος ἐμψυχός.

law about to be framed, a suitable basis was laid for legislation, it is true; but it was still very far from the intention of the Greeks to quit the path of custom and adhere to an objective standard; on the contrary, their innate tendency to the former first led to the mediation of Æsymnetæ and arbitrators.

The Æsymnetæ¹⁵, whom Aristotle¹⁶ designates freely-elected rulers, to distinguish them from the tyrants who were originally called by the same name¹⁷, were not designed to make laws so much as to allay the fermenting political matter by means of the vigorous exercise of their personal authority. Now although certain of the Æsymnetæ made laws and then abdicated, like Pittacus, this was no more essential to this species of authority, than when others, like Orthagoras in Sicyon, Cypselus in Corinth, and Pisistratus in Athens, perpetuated the same in their own families, and thus paved the way to tyranny. Their most important duties during their administration, were to re-establish justice and legal order, to modify and amend prescriptive usage, and, in general, rather to reconcile conflicting parties by means of their personal influence, than by judicial arbitration.

Nearly allied to the legislators, in the nature of their occupation, were the arbitrators¹⁸. Their duty was to separate the contending parties by

¹⁵ αἰσμητής, Il. 24. 347, αἰσμητήτης, αἰσμητήρ, Od. 8. 258, first signified an umpire in a contest (βραβευτής). Conf. Hesych. αἰσμητήρ and αἰσμηῆται, with the Comment. and the Etym. M.; αἰσμηνάω afterwards meant, to rule, Eurip. Med. 19. On the nature of the Æsymnetæ, compare § 50. n. 5.

¹⁶ Aristot. in Argum. Soph. CEd. Tyr.

¹⁷ Pol. 4. 8. 2.

¹⁸ Διαιτηταί, Herod. 5. 95; διαλλακται, Plut. Sol. 14; καταρτιστήρες, Herod. 4. 168; 5. 28; 106. 161; conf. Pollux 4. 153.

means of arbitration in a given case, or founded upon the whole combination of existing circumstances, and to adjust their respective demands. The establishment of general and permanent precedents was not necessarily annexed to it; but when this was considered expedient, the most natural course which could suggest itself was, to restore and confirm that prescription, the vigour of which had been impaired by dissension, so far as it was not itself repealed by the judgment delivered in the particular case in question. However, where arbitrators or *Æsymnetæ* were chosen, tranquillity was rarely restored; for from continued disunion proceeded, on the one hand, tyranny, and on the other, demands for determinate and comprehensive legislation.

As in these two species of authority, the mutual consent of the litigants to an adjustment of their differences, did not necessarily lead to legislation, so it did not require a previous compact for the introduction of positive laws. Nor does this merely apply to legislation generally, in which respect laws may even be the compulsory edicts of a tyranny, and, consequently, the conventional basis be altogether wanting; but it especially refers to the political development in the Grecian aristocracies under consideration, so far as a removal of the discordances between the people at large and a ruling order, the establishment of a general citizenship, was effected by the laws. For in this case the original impulse, as well as the execution, might proceed from one party, and equity might be exercised, and an equality of political relations established by the holders of power

for the time being, without the previous concurrence of the lower order. In this manner a prince might have satisfied the aristocratic order by means of legislation, and that order, in its turn, the people; it will seldom be found that moderation was the exclusive attribute of the lower orders.

Hence, in enquiring when law succeeded usage, our chief attention must be directed to the peculiar characteristics by which the law itself is distinguished from prescriptive usage and personal authority, and not to the antecedence of an agreement.

The chief of these is positive declaration. We cannot, as was above remarked, in any manner so separate the precept from the usage, as though the latter had been produced and modified without the co-operation of the former, and, as it were, tacitly acquiesced in what circumstances originated and maintained. From the proneness of the Greeks to reflection, their prevailing inclination for oratory, the opportunity afforded in every Grecian state for public debate, and the manifold occasions presented by changes in the external condition of the state, to reflect, and to deliberate in common upon the further expediency of a usage, it was inevitable that usage in itself should be made the subject of reflection, that its nature should be defined, and its future validity be ensured by positive declaration¹⁹; but the force of habit is the support of usage; consequently, it was more easy for the usage, as such, to obtain its sanction through actual practice, than it was for the verbal standard alone and separated from the usage. Thus, a standard enforced by

¹⁹ Hence *νόμος*, law in Sparta and Tarentum, conf. Müll. Dor. I. 134. 135.

actual practice again became incorporated with the life of the state, maintained its ground as part and parcel of the same, and was guaranteed by itself without appealing for its subsistence to the authority of any external law. The transition from the authority of the usage in itself to that of the word as a command superior to and determining it, was brought about in this as in various other channels of public life in Greece, by the all-powerful influence of poetry: the poet uttered in his descriptions that which he knew to be national. By contemplating the standards established by custom for regulating the general order of things, he was led to form political maxims; these, in their turn, infused themselves into the national mind, in whose centre and core poetry found life and sustenance; of vast importance, therefore, in the history of the political development of the Greeks is the rise of the *gnome*. But the victory of positive declaration over tacit custom was finally achieved by the introduction of writing, and thenceforward the law became confirmed in its independence, and stood in no danger of being supplanted by custom.

Still more important than the advancement of the law beyond the circle of prescriptive usage, and one of its chief characteristics, was the raising it above personal influence, into an absolute command, not rendered obligatory in any particular case by the will of the temporary depositary of power, but emanating from the aggregate mind of the state, durable, independent, and invariable. The gradations in its development correspond with the three constitutions—monarchy, aristocracy, and demo-

cracy. In the first, namely, the old Grecian hereditary monarchy, the law advanced least of all beyond the personal sphere; here uniformity of procedure was the safest course; but the separation of a standard of the same from the person became necessary, after a plurality of rulers and change of families in the aristocracy gave rise to a diversity of opinions; but this necessity became most imperious at the commencement of the democracy, wherein the change of magistrates necessarily prevented the continuance of that system which rendered the administration of political power dependent upon individual discretion, at the same time that the body of the people had not yet acquired the pernicious and insane habit of drawing every thing before their own immediate circle, and of determining upon every occasion by a fresh resolution, thus resolving the laws into psephisms.

Finally, with regard to the framing and introduction of the laws, this certainly may have been effected by means of formal motions and proposals in the midst of the sovereign people, after joint examination and reflection, and, at the same time, prescription to a considerable extent have become moulded into law: however, there is a disposition in the transmitters of historical matter, which is nearly allied to the attachment of the Greeks to personal authority, to ascribe the laws of a state to single persons, to represent them as the products of their individual minds, and thus almost diametrically to oppose them to national prescription. This was eminently the case in the mythical traditions, which represented the oldest legal polity as produced by the fiat of a supreme head, as in Crete

by Minos, in Attica by Theseus, in Tenedos by Tennes, etc. This was continued till the historical age. In spite of the frequent appeal to the ancestral and the prescriptive, the neglect of the root and influence of immemorial usage very soon rendered the path of historical research impracticable; even in ancient times people were too prone to discover evidences of design, of reflection, and positive precept, and in modern days it has been too often attempted to cultivate this barren field. This resulted from the inclination of the Greeks to view every thing in an historical light; the disposition which, in mythology, referred so many collective persons to the infancy of states, is here revived, and the Romulus and Remus of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, may be regarded as specimens of it; nor are the accounts of Lycurgus by any means exempt from it²⁰. To this must be added their proneness to ascribe as much as possible to one person, which, associated with that person's name, might be more conveniently retained in the memory and cited; thus, a number of Athenian ordinances are ascribed to Solon, in the enactment of which we shall immediately perceive that he had no share, if we consider them with reference either to their age or spirit.

The Greeks exhibit a still greater want of discrimination, when unworthily denying that which was the natural and spontaneous product of their own nationality, they represent a legislator as a compiler of various institutions, and his work as a collection of shreds and patches; as when Zaleucus

²⁰ Comp. Cicero de Repub. 12. 123, ed. St.

is said to have framed his laws upon the model of Laconian, Cretan, and Areopagite statutes²¹. This favourite notion of antiquity seems to have given rise to the tradition of the Roman legal deputation to Athens; and hence, finally, the Grecian historians are, both in religion and in politics, not only willing, but even solicitous to alienate their own national property, by representing their legislators Lycurgus²², Solon²³, and Cleobulus²⁴, as bringing home the institutions of foreign countries. This was mainly attributable to their desire to construct all their opinions on a genetic basis, so that the accidental discovery of a resemblance between a Grecian and a foreign institution, immediately led them to conclude that the one was derived from the other. However, it is natural to suppose that an acquaintance with foreign institutions, acquired by more extended intercourse, awakened and stimulated reflection on their own.

II. THE MEANS WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE AUTHORITY OF THE LAWS.

§ 40. After the heroic age religion still continued to be the ultimate ground and highest sanction of law; the gods, especially the tutelary deities of the state, were considered its guardians; to them was directed the oath of the citizen, and they were adjured to vengeance in the public malediction¹ pronounced against offenders. At the same

²¹ Ephor. ap. Strab. 6. 260.

²² Herod. 2. 177.

²³ Plut. Lyc. 4.

²⁴ Diog. L. 1. 89.

¹ Πολιτικὴ ἀρά. See concerning Charondas, Strab. 6. 289; comp. Plut. Alcib. 22; Blanchard in Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscript. v. 16.

time the lineal tie between the laws and the gods was not severed; for as the old tradition depicted the laws of Minos as the revelations of Zeus², so there existed in after ages a notion of especial confidence between the legislator and a deity; thus Lycurgus was regarded as the confidant of the Delphian god, and his laws were considered to be the divine declarations³, as in the subsequent dependence of Sparta upon the oracle of Delphi, the latter exercised as it were a perpetual legislative power; there was also a tradition of a confidential relation between Zaleucus and Pallas⁴.

The custom of considering the most ancient laws as framed by kings, appears to have given rise to a somewhat erroneous notion, viz. that it was requisite that absolute power should be lodged in the law-giver, such as was annexed to the Roman decemvirate⁵. Now the legislative functions of Draco⁶ and Solon coincided with their archonship, it is true, but it is much more probable that they were annexed to the dignity, than that on their account the archonship was conferred upon the legislators⁷.

But the main support of the laws was derived from the deep reverence which the people felt for

² Odyss. 19. 178.

³ Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 7. 588; Ælian V. H. 14. 29; Photius *ῥήτρα* — *ὡς ἐκ χρησμοῦ*. Comp. Suid. *ῥήτρα*.

⁴ Aristot. ap. Schol. Pind. Ol. 10. 17; Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 352. A. ed. Mor.; Plut. de sui laude, 8. 147; comp. Heyne Opusc. 2. 65. Note g.

⁵ See my Rom. Hist. 355.

⁶ He wrote laws *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, Paus. 9. 38. 4.

⁷ With reference to the eighteen years' presidency of Lycurgus, during which he is said to have promulgated his ordinances, Simonides says in the Schol. Plat. de Repub. 431. Tauchn. *ἤρξε*; from which, however, we cannot draw any strict inference as to the opinion of Simonides.

the divine protection extended over them, and therefore to effect cheerful and permanent obedience to their precepts, the legislators brought into requisition the whole ethical capacity of the citizens. The interfusion of ethics and politics, which passed from institutions of state-policy into the schools of the philosophers, was grounded in the national feeling of the Greeks; hence proceeded the ethical basis and framework of the ancient laws. This principle was intended to operate in habituating the citizen to a lawful way of life, by means of the closest connection between his moral feeling and his legal position. Both where the law was nothing but a confirmation of long-existing manners and where entirely original, it was proposed to call forth a line of conduct in accordance with them for the future, it was considered to be most firmly established when the character of the people was accustomed to a cheerful obedience to its dictates. The moral habit (*ἔθος*) was trained up to the law, by which means an ethico-political mode of feeling (*ἠθος*) was produced⁸; it was not intended that the laws should be raised above the state, and by the power conceded to them impart another direction to thought and will; but that a course of life closely interwoven with the law should be generated from the heart, its spirit be reflected in the disposition of the citizen, and exemplified in his actions; the moral impulses were to unite with the legal precepts, and grow into natural feeling, so that the citizen should be in no

⁸ *Ἡθὸς διὰ ἔθους*, Plato Leg. 7. 792. D.; Plut. de Ser. Num. Vindic. 8. 180; Aristot. Pol. 8. 1. 1. To make laws without instilling such sentiments as these, says Plato, Repub. 4. 426. E., is like cutting off one of the Hydra's heads.

otherwise dependent upon the law than upon his own will. None of the earlier Grecian legislators supposed that it could ever become permanently established by the power of rational conviction alone without the aid of habit; the specious maxim, that every habit is a fault, inasmuch as the good must ever be the result of examination and conviction, was unknown to the Greeks; even Plato's pattern-state was especially grounded upon habit, education, and manners⁹. However, all the codes did not equally subject the activity of the reason to habit. That of Sparta required implicit¹⁰ and rigid adherence to the legal precept in the minutest concerns of life¹¹; hence, the laws were few in number¹², and brief in expression. The ordinances of Zaleucus and Charondas, form the transition to those of Solon. Solon reckoned largely upon the power of the reason in the determination of the will. His political principle was that of right; this was intended to have its foundation in the approbation of the reason; the ethical principle was not prominently developed; his numerous laws contained more legal provisions than moral ones; hence, it was requisite that the course pursued in accustoming the citizen to the laws should be in accordance with their spirit, wherefore it was less a training of the manners than of the judgment; by the daily performance of juridical functions the citizen was expected to become familiarized with

⁹ Politic. 308. D. E.; Repub. 4. 425; comp. Legg. 1. 643. A. sqq.

¹⁰ Plut. Lyc. 27.: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἀφειμένον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι κατεμινύετο τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀρετῆς τινα ζῆλον ἢ κακίας διαβολήν.

¹¹ Thucyd. 1. 84. when he says that the Spartans were ἀμαθέστεροι τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροφίας παιδευόμενοι. does not express himself strongly enough.

¹² Charilaus said τοὺς χρωμένους ὀλίγοις λόγοις μὴ δεῖσθαι νόμων πολλῶν, Plut. Apoph. 6. 718.

the law. It must be confessed that there is here no trace of that depth of feeling which is nurtured by a calm observance of the moral duties; the impress of the Attic intellect is more conspicuous than that of natural feeling. The manner in which legal rather than moral forms confirmed the practical authority of the laws, will be more fully considered below¹³.

Now, as the Grecian legislators considered the most solid basis for their precepts to be a corresponding mode of feeling in the citizens, it was necessary that they should have the power of making legislative ordinances for the regulation of that feeling. In this respect the legislation of the Greeks appears in a character wholly at variance with the relation in which ethics stand to politics at the present day; for although the civil laws inculcated their precepts upon ethico-religious motives, these motives were not derived from any other source than that which was assigned to political law¹⁴, whereas the civil legislation extended itself in proportion to the demands which it made upon the ethical capacity of the citizens, made the main directions of moral and physical life dependent upon itself, and, in our opinion, committed encroachments upon the most sacred rights of persons, upon domestic privileges and private relations;

¹³ See § 47. and 48.

¹⁴ The earliest example of the foundation of an ethical mode of feeling intended to support the law, and flowing from any other source than the law itself, doubtless occurs in the Proœmia of Plato. See Legg. 4. 720, sqq.; 8. 854. D.; 9. 871. A.; 11. 927. B.; 12. 960. A.; comp. Timæus, 29. D. The Proœmia of Zaleucus and Charondas, even in their revived form, bear rather the character of commands than exhortations. See Heyne, Opusc. 2. 9, sqq. In Diog. L. 1. 60. 78, we are almost tempted to conjecture the remains of Pittacus and Solon's Proœmia; conf. at large Moser Excurs. V. Cic. de Legg.

moreover, in order more effectually to wind itself around the roots of ethical life, it rendered education¹⁵ the object of public concernment, but with totally different motives from those which actuate the states of the present day, and represented the laws as paramount to all this, and purely political, having nothing but an indirect connection with the divine superintendence over human affairs. But on the other hand, for the very reason that ethics were made dependent upon the positive law of the state, not one of the Grecian legislators ever considered the science in a higher point of view than a political one, and, consequently, did not extend it beyond the bounds of patriotism and legality, or conceive¹⁶ or desire to establish it in its real independence and universality. Hence it became the common aim of ethics and politics to produce civil virtue by adapting the aggregate life of the state to the laws: the state was, within its own limits, to train up its members to that perfection which was commensurate with its demands upon them; whilst its noblest attribute and nearest approach to perfection, was the power of rewarding civil virtue. This is not consistent with the narrow definition of the state as an institution of security, or as a union, by means of which personal liberty is to be placed in a just relation to civil, and the private condition of individuals to the aggregate condition of the public, whilst the ethical principle must be derived from another source, namely, reason or religion; for that very reason

¹⁵ Παιδεία, ἀγωγή.

¹⁶ Even Socrates' assertion, that he was not an Athenian nor a Greek, but κόσμιος, does not strictly imply that he was a Cosmopolite. Cicero Tuscul. 5. 37; de Legg. 1. 23; Plut. de Amor. Frater. 8. 371. Compare with what is advanced above, Zachariæ Betr. üb. Cicero de Repub. 241, sqq.

the ethics of Grecian legislation must only be considered in a political point of view. But we fully agree with those who are of opinion, that the total subjection of all the channels of ethical life to a legal standard, endangers the noblest attributes of man, viz., freedom, and the impulse to develop his natural character¹⁷.

Moreover, in harmony with the ethical tenour of the law was the antique mode of promulgating and inculcating it. For, as it once flowed from the lips of the paternal prince, as from a living fountain, into the hearts of his subjects, so now, when it had long ceased to be annexed to the person of the sovereign, it was conveyed to the feelings and impressed upon the minds of the auditory in forms of poetry and music. This was the case in Crete¹⁸ and Sparta¹⁹, and the laws of Charondas appear to have been sung as Scolia at the Athenian banquets²⁰. Thus the beautiful combination of ideas in the word *mode* or *measure*, as applied to music and morals, was expressed by the words *nomos*²¹ and *nomodos*²², and the intimate connection subsisting between music and the means taken to cultivate lawfulness of life, were amongst the principal causes which subsequently obtained for music so elevated

¹⁷ Schiller Solon's Verfass. The Grecian legislators were wrong in stimulating the moral duties by the compulsion of the laws. The primary requisite to moral beauty in the action, is the freedom of the will, and this is sacrificed as soon as it is proposed to extort moral virtue by means of legal penalties. The noblest privilege of human nature is that of judging for itself, and doing good for the sake of good.

¹⁸ Æl. V. H. 2. 39.

¹⁹ Clem. Alex. 1. 308, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νόμους ἐμελοποίησε Τέρπανδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος.

²⁰ Hermipp. ap. Ath. 14. 619; conf. Heyne, Opusc. 2. 166. n.

²¹ Aristot. Probl. 19. 28, διὰ τί νόμοι καλοῦνται οὕς ᾄδουσιν; ἢ ὅτι πρὶν ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα ᾄδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀγαθόρσοις ἐτι εἰώθασιν;

²² Νομφόδος, Scymn. 323; comp. Heyne, Opusc. 2. 109. n.

a rank amongst the fruits of human culture. When relations became more diversified, and intellectual development advanced, the laws were committed to writing, which, according to tradition, was first employed in legislation by *Zaleucus*²³; they were now publicly exhibited, engraved upon tables or hewn in columns²⁴.

Finally, in correspondence with the general character of the law was the public life of the citizens, in *gymnasia*, *syssitia*, etc.; the citizens were required to know each other as living in conformity to the law—love, unity, and confidence were to be produced by the public assimilation of thoughts and actions²⁵, so that by means of the intercourse between citizens morally allied to each other, the public mind was brought into unison with the law. From correct views as to that publicity, we shall be enabled to form a just estimate of what we might else overlook, the obligations of the citizens to watch over the integrity of the laws, and to assist, by word and deed, in denouncing their enemy²⁶. As the morality of all was intended to strengthen the law, so the vigilance of all was directed to impart security to it; this constituted a police of the noblest kind, and bore no affinity to the mercenary zeal of hirelings. The odium which usually attends the occupation of spies and informers, was lost in the joint and public nature of the service. Moreover, the police was only confided to particular functionaries in certain subordinate

²³ Strab. 6. 259; Scymn. 213; comp. Wolf. Prolegom. LXVI., sqq.

²⁴ Compare below, § 48. n. 8, on Solon's laws.

²⁵ Compare Plato, Leg. 5. 738. C.; Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 2; Eth. Nic. 8. 1, where see Zell.

²⁶ See the law of Charondas, Stob. 42. 287; conf. Plato, Legg. 11. 907. E.

departments, and the obligation of all to perform its duties was the chief cause why the *Nomophylaces*²⁷, whose name appears to express the nature of a superior police, were in no Grecian state entrusted with correspondent duties; their attention was confined to irregularities and disturbances in the popular assembly, as in Athens²⁸; the reprimanding the contumacious, as in Locri²⁹, etc.

Thus the law became a substitute for the once-existing authority of the princes, which was based upon their possession of eminent personal qualities. This was effected, politically, through the fear of civil penalties and through public spirit; ethically, by adapting moral life to legal precepts, and through moral shame³⁰; and religiously, through reverence for the divine safeguard of political order; and thus the law obtained that force which Grecian patriots ascribe to it³¹, and which can never be derived from the bare letter. If, in spite of this, many ordinances, in accordance with the national character, had but a short existence, it must be considered that they did not originate at the first development of a system, but arose afterwards, when it was in full operation, and, consequently, impeded it, and that after the primitive manners had grown relaxed, the remedy came too late.

In the provisions made for determining the rela-

²⁷ See Cicero de Legg. 3. 20; Xenoph. Ec. 9. 14; Poll. 8. 94; Suid. νομοφ.; Columella de re Rust. 12. 3. 10; conf. Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 549; and above, § 38, n. 16.

²⁸ See § 47. n. 24.

²⁹ Stob. 42. 278.

³⁰ Αἰδώς. Compare on the subject of the Roman *verecundia*, Cic. de Repub. p. 300, Stuttg.

³¹ Pind. Νόμος πάντων βασιλεὺς, ap. Herod. 3. 38; conf. 7. 104. of the Spartans—ἔπεισι γὰρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, sqq.; Νόμοι πόλεως βασιλῆες, Plato Sympos. 196. C.; Pittacus ap. Diog. L. ἀρχὴ μεγίστη ἡ τοῦ ποικίλου ξύλου.

tion of morals to law, is contained the solution of that important problem in legislation, how the permanence of the law is to be reconciled with the ever-advancing development in civil and domestic affairs. The importance of this question was most assuredly not unknown to any of the ancient legislators. Neither was any one of them so narrow-minded as to think it impossible that ethical and political virtue should advance. There reigned, indeed, in the ancient Grecian way of thinking, a notion of the peculiar excellence of the olden time, of superior nobility, of purer manners in their fathers, and of a natural falling off in the later generations of mankind from the perfection of their ancestors³²; and, accordingly, the firmest possible adherence to that which was considered archaic and prescriptive, must have appeared to them a means to preclude further corruption. On the other hand, the idea that Minos amended his laws³³ every ninth year, after an interview with Zeus, and the practice of introducing new institutions for a certain period only, and experimentally, as it were, must be considered less ancient. However, in reality, Lycurgus was the only lawgiver who seems to have contemplated absolute fixity of the laws. But this appears less startling, when we take into consideration the poverty of his code in objective standards, and behold in this not so much the attempt to regulate civil life by the law, as a desire to strengthen the latter by means of the former. This proves the tradition to be unfounded, that he endeavoured

³² Nestor ap. Hom. Il. 1. 262, sqq.; Hesiod. Op. et Di. 109, sqq.

³³ Heracl. Pont. 3—ἐποιεῖτο δὲ δι' ἐννάτου ἔτους τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν νόμων.

to render his laws inviolate, by exacting an oath from the Spartans, that they would observe them till his return, then going into perpetual exile³⁴. But on the other hand, the history of Sparta shows what unnatural restraint was experienced when those manners, which were confirmed by Lycurgus' enactments, continued to exist, in the despotic trammels of legal forms, after the mode of feeling from which they had first emanated had passed away.

No one of these legislators, who regulated the state according to the will of the collective people, could entertain the notion of a fixed and unchangeable standard, unless, like Lycurgus, he reckoned upon a corresponding immutability in the popular feeling. The efficacy of the law was derived from the assent of the people at large³⁵. Now, although this, far from being the offspring of caprice, was the expression of a feeling in perfect unison with the laws, having its support in long-existing manners, it was, nevertheless, tacitly declared in the resolution of the people as to accepting the law, that the right of depriving it of force likewise resided in them. So far the legislator left to the body politic the unrestricted liberty of making fresh provisions for cases in which the law might be inadequate, or in order to satisfy the urgent demands of the age. This might be effected without the strict abrogation of a particular law, or the introduction of a new one, when an ordinance was framed in the form of a popular decree (ψήφισμα), which was only intended to apply to a

³⁴ See Manso Sparta, 1. 1. 181, n.

³⁵ Harpocr. θέσθαι—ἔθηκε μὲν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἔθετο καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

particular case, but not to be inserted amongst the permanent laws. If this, on the one hand, when confined within proper bounds, appears as the due mean between the permanence of the law and the claims of development, it might easily degenerate into abuse whenever the principle was asserted, that it was necessary to regard, as law, the latest expression of the popular will³⁶. If, therefore, it was laid down as a general principle, that the duration of the laws was dependent upon the popular feeling, it was, in especial, necessary to provide against a possibility, that whilst that unison subsisted upon the whole, the effect of precipitancy or passion might expose them to danger³⁷. In Sparta, the young men were forbidden to censure the laws³⁸. Zaleucus and Charondas awarded punishment to inconsiderate expressions of a wish for innovation³⁹, and declared an attempt to propose new laws a capital crime⁴⁰. On the other hand, Solon is asserted to have exacted an oath for the observance of his laws, for a limited number of years only⁴¹. These three gradations at least correspond with the respective degrees in which the three codes subjected manners to the law. But the Solonic institution of the Nomothetæ⁴² decidedly proclaimed the principle, that the laws should not be stationary⁴³, as attempts at change were not only permitted, but legally enjoined.

³⁶ See Wolf ad Demosth. Lept. 310.

³⁷ Comp. Hüllmann, Staatsr. d. Alt. 304; Tittmann, griech. Staatsv. 525.

³⁸ Plato de Legg. 1. 634. E.

³⁹ Concerning the punishment awarded to any one who asked μή τι καινόν, see Plut. de Curios. 8. 61. 62.

⁴⁰ Stob. 42. 277; conf. Polyb. 12. 7; Diod. 12. 17; Bekker, Anecd. 220.

⁴¹ Ten years in Herod. 1. 29; a hundred in Plut. Sol. 25; Gell. 2. 12; conf. Meurs. Sol. 25.

⁴² See § 47. n. 56. § 48. init.

⁴³ Plut. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 6. 576—τοὺς νόμους ὁ Σόλων ἔφη μετακινῆ-
τοὺς εἶναι.

III. FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF CONSTITUTIONS GENERALLY.

§ 41. Thus far extends the exposition of that which is common to Grecian laws of every kind; especial consideration must now be devoted to those by which constitutions were framed, in contradistinction to such as only contained provisions for the direction of civil life¹. But this requires to be preceded by a general survey. A glance at the pretended codes of the heroic age proves that with the exception of that of ancient Athens, to which the name of Theseus is annexed, they could have been nothing more than a body of public regulations. Without enumerating the mythical progenitors of a people who are commemorated as legislators, or their immediate successors, such as Phoroneus, Apis, Triptolemus², Macareus on Lesbos³, and Tennes on Tenedos⁴; we may here mention the code of Minos, a collection of ordinances for the regulation of the state, which maintained their ground under the constitution which succeeded the kingly government; the laws of Rhadamanthus the judge and guardian of the ordinances of Minos⁵; these included a few institutes of very remote antiquity, such as the oath⁶, the

¹ The ancients called the former πολιτεία, the latter νόμοι. See Isocrat. Paneg. cap. 10.: νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν κατέστησε. Conf. Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 1. 9; 3. 10. 3; 4. 1. 5; Plato de Legg. 4. 712. E.; 5. 735. A. To the same effect is Plato de Legg. 4. 709. A.: νομοθεσία καὶ πόλεων κατοικισμοί. The relation in which the works of the political writers who employ those terms, stand to each other, cannot be treated of till afterwards.

² See the list in Fabric. bibl. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 28, sqq.

³ Diod. 5. 82.

⁴ Heracl. Pont. 3; Zenob. 6. 9; Suid. Τενέδιος.

⁵ Ps. Plato Minos, 320. C. Talos is there named with him.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 524; Porphy. de Abst. 3. 36; Hesych. Phot. Suid. Ραδαμάνθυος ὄρκος.

rendering self-defence⁷ and retaliation lawful⁸, etc. Some degree of mythical obscurity still involves the names of Onomacritus⁹, and Thaletas the singer¹⁰, the friend of Lycurgus; if their existence rests on an historical foundation, it may be safely asserted, that their profound knowledge of the art of legislation, extolled by Aristotle, was displayed in the age of the poets and statesmen alluded to above. Amongst the legislators for civil life in the heroic age are commemorated the Argive king Phidon, who regulated weights and measures in the Peloponnesus¹¹; Pittacus, who when Æsymnete in Lesbos restored the constitution which had been impaired by dissension¹², but whose laws merely embodied a few maxims of morality and natural justice¹³; Androdamas from Rhegium, who gave laws respecting heiresses¹⁴ to the Thracian Chalcidians, and perhaps was the author of that which declared that no citizen under fifty years of age should be a magistrate¹⁵; Draco in Athens, who, besides making penal laws¹⁶, established certain rules for the conduct of judicial proceedings¹⁷. Amongst the former, the prohibition of a proposal to alter a law on pain of Atimia¹⁸ bears a more general character.

The ordinances regulating the property of the citizens, and the right to a participation in the

⁷ Apoll. 2. 4. 9.

⁸ Aristot. Eth. Nic. 5. 5; conf. Neumann rer. Cretic. Spec. cap. 4.

⁹ Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. and Suid. Θαλήτας—ῥαψωδός. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathemat. 68. B. attributes to him a law against the Sophists.

¹¹ Herod. 6. 127; conf. Müller, Ægin. 55, sqq.

¹² Strab. 13. 617; Diog. L. 1. 74.

¹³ Ibid. ubi sup.

¹⁴ Ibid. ubi sup.; conf. Gell. Noct. Att. 11. 18; Suid. Δράκων.

¹⁵ Conf. § 45. n. 30.

¹⁶ Demosth. C. Aristocr. 640.

supreme power which was dependent upon it, must be reckoned amongst the fundamental laws of the constitution. Such were the ordinances of the princes as to the relation between land and population in the states founded after the Doric migration, e. g. that made by Oxyllus to prevent the mortgaging estates¹⁹. Of a similar character were the laws of the Corinthian Phidon, as to the numerical proportion between the landed estates and the citizens²⁰; those of the Bacchiad Philolaus²¹, who with his favourite Diocles the Megarian²², went to Thebes, and there amongst various other laws promulgated one on the subject of adoption, which was intended to maintain equality in the number of the estates²³; and those of the Cumæan Phidon, who, amongst others, enacted that whoever could keep a horse should have a share in the government²⁴.

Cleobulus is said to have been the lawgiver of the Rhodian town Lindus²⁵; the aristocratic government of that place was undoubtedly more ancient than his institutions; it is possible, as was before remarked²⁶, that he mitigated its character. The laws of Charondas, adopted by his native town Catana and several Chalcidian states, as well as by Rhegium²⁷, were only distinguished by the exactness of their provisions²⁸. Connected with the

¹⁹ Aristot. Pol. 6. 2. 5.

²⁰ Ibid. 2. 3. 7.

²¹ Ibid. 2. 9. 7.

²² On a Megarian hero Diocles, see Aristoph. Ach. 774. and Schol.; conf. Plut. Thes. 10.

²³ Aristot. ubi sup. ἵνα ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζεται τῶν κλήρων. Conf. Müller, Orch. 407.

²⁴ Heracl. Pont. 11.

²⁵ Plut. de ei 7. 514; Clem. Alex. Strom. 4. 523. B.; conf. Diog. L. 1. 89, sqq.

²⁶ See § 35. n. 15.

²⁷ Arist. Pol. 2. 9. 5; conf. Heyne Opusc. 2. 158, sqq.

²⁸ Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 8.

regulation of the supreme power is the law which authorized every citizen to sit in judgment²⁹. Zaleucus the legislator of the Italian Locri, probably did not organize the constitution in all its departments; his object was, to maintain an equality of property amongst the citizens³⁰, and he appointed definite punishments in lieu of arbitrary sentences³¹; he likewise instituted several political authorities, the Cosmopolis³², the Nomophylaces³³, and even the council of a thousand³⁴; but the enactment by which he declared an attempt to propose new laws a capital offence³⁵, ranks higher than the constitutions themselves. Fundamental laws of the constitution, in the strict sense of the term, were framed by Demonax the Mantinean in Cyrene; of whom it is recorded, that he instituted three Phylæ, committed to the people the supreme power, assigned demesnes to the king, and annexed the high-priesthood to his office, but confined the royal prerogative within very narrow bounds³⁶; this was of course attended by the appointment of a council and appropriate officers.

The laws of Lycurgus, Solon, and Clisthenes demand more minute enquiry; the consideration of the last two must be preceded by an examination of the ancient Attic constitution attributed to Theseus; but it is first necessary to devote a

²⁹ Aristot. Pol. 4. 10. 7.

³⁰ Ibid. 2. 4. 4: unless great losses had been sustained, the sale of real property was not allowed.

³¹ Ephor. ap. Strab. 6. 260. This is ascribed to Charondas, Diodor. 12. 16. who, in treating of these two, and Diocles the Syracusan, frequently transfers certain particulars from the one to the other.—*Ζαλεόκου νόμος* became proverbial for a severe law. See Zenob. 4. 10; Diogenian, 4. 94.

³² Polyb. 2. 16. 10. 11.

³⁴ Polyb. ubi sup.

³⁶ Herod. 4. 161, sqq.; Arist. Pol. 6. 2. 11.

few words to the spirit in which these codes regulated the classes and the supreme power in general.

Not one of the Grecian legislators was so entirely superior to the injustice exhibited in the habitual treatment of those who were not citizens, as wholly to abolish slavery in his dominions, and render all classes of society partakers of those rights to which they were equally entitled as men. That for a long time there were no slaves in the Italian Locri³⁷, must not be attributed as a merit to Zaleucus. His humanity was satisfied with affording unfortunate servants precarious protection against excessive cruelty in their masters. Not even the barrier between Pericæci and entire citizens was completely removed; consequently the operation of the laws which concerned the civic body was still confined to those who were possessed of the full rights of citizenship. But in this class, the best title to whose privileges the legislators considered to be conferred by birth, the various codes agreed in making the relation in which all classes of citizens stood to the law, uniform and immediate, and thus abolished all previous relations amongst the orders. In the same manner they all required, as an external qualification, permanent residence, and the possession of an estate; every citizen was required to have a home, a domestic hearth to defend, and thus in the relations of private life to become directly acquainted with duty and justice. But in the conjunction of right and property there was a twofold valuation, and this produced two regulations of the classes, which materially differed from each other. In the

³⁷ § 33. n. 6.

first, which was with more or less strictness contemplated by Lycurgus, Phidon, Philolaus, and Zaleucus, property, and in the nature of things the landed property of individuals, was as nearly as possible reduced to equality; precedence was not given to riches, but to personal worth and virtue, and thus it was attempted to repress the pernicious tendency of the Grecian character to gain. The citizens, all equally endowed by the state with that which the satisfaction of human necessities required, were in return obliged to dedicate to it their whole energy and power; and as this secured to the state a firm bulwark, and a living mine, in estimating the efforts and the merit of an individual, regard was only had to the exact measure of his real worth. Thus life was reduced to its simplest elements, and every thing was made dependent upon the strength and virtue inherent in the citizen. The other census introduced by Solon distributed obligations and rights according to the gradations of property; this enabled the citizen to assert those accidental advantages of fortune to which his merits in other respects might bear no proportion, his possessions being thrown into the scale together with his personal qualities. This notion, which involved the principle, that he who had most at stake would of necessity be most deeply interested in the welfare of the state, was moreover based upon a thorough knowledge of the Grecian character, whose predominant characteristic was the most ungovernable cupidity: the attempt wholly to overcome it had been abandoned in despair. A middle course was now pursued; and perhaps no one of the wise men of antiquity

was so deeply impressed with the conviction that such a course was the best, as Solon³⁰. Upon this principle a degree of importance could to a certain extent be attained even by the lowest order, whilst the first system, which established one unvarying measure of external qualifications, perpetuated the degradation of all who fell short of the standard of full citizenship.

The regulation of the political authorities under the various codes possessed this feature in common, that the supreme power was vested in the general body, and not in a single order; the remaining provisions, relating to the election of the council and the functionaries, and the extent of their official power, as well as the dependence of the popular assembly upon the council, etc., are the peculiar features which imparted to the individual constitutions a character more or less aristocratic or democratic, and on this account the four codes in question must be considered separately.

IV. THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN CONSTITUTIONS.

a. The Constitution of Lycurgus.

§ 42. The accounts of the life and institutions¹ of Lycurgus are evidently mythical, and their date uncertain². The doubts which have been raised as to his historical existence may perhaps be unfounded; but there can be no doubt that much,

³⁰ On the subject of the attempts to counteract the influence of money, consult Hüllmann, *Staatsr. d. Alterth.* 203; Müll. *Dor.* 2. 11.

¹ See an enumeration of the sources, with an estimate of their respective authenticity, Manso, *Sparta*, v. 1. Append. vi. p. 63, sqq.

² See Manso, v. 1. 71. n.; Müller, *Dor.* 1. 132, sqq.

which bears his name, had existed before his time, and was only confirmed by him, whilst a great deal more was constructed upon the groundwork he laid. Therefore, even supposing his code to have contained more than the three well-known rhetras³, it is by no means a matter of surprise, that Hellanicus should ascribe the constitution of Sparta to Eurysthenes and Procles⁴, and make no mention whatever of Lycurgus; and that opinion is continually gaining ground, which in the main regards Lycurgus as the regulator of existing institutions, and in particular instances only as the author of original laws⁵.

The population of Laconia had, before the time of Lycurgus, been divided into Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helots⁶, in successive stages of development. The collisions between the Doric Spartans and the Achæans, who had remained in the country in by no means inconsiderable numbers, the Ægidæ, and the Minyan settlers, occasioned several migrations of the non-Dorians⁷. These gave the Dorians, of whom only one colony emigrated to Tarentum, a firmer and a more commanding position, and increased their desire to become absolute masters of the country; but the Achæans resisted. In this manner an infraction of the treaty which had at first been concluded with

³ Plut. Lyc. 6; comp. Agesil. 26; Fleischessen 10. 149; comp. Müll. Dor. 1. 134. 135; and above, § 40. n. 3.

⁴ Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 366.

⁵ Comp. Müll. Dor. 2. 14, sqq.

⁶ Herod. 6. 58. 2. It is, however, unnecessary to adduce examples to prove that the word Lacedæmonians frequently occurs as the general appellation, instead of Spartans.

⁷ Ægidæ and Minyans under Theras to Thera, Herod. 4. 148; Paus. 4. 33; Minyans to Triphylia, Herod. ubi sup.; Achæans to Patræ, Paus. 3. 2. 1; 7. 6. 2; 18. 3; to Melos and Crete under Pollis and Delphos, Conon 36. 47; to Crotona, Paus. 3. 3. 1; 3. 2. 6.

them, and which secured to them equal rights with the Dorians⁸, took place on both sides. Some of the Achæan towns, Amyclæ, Ægys, Pharis, Geronthræ, Helos⁹, etc., were subdued by force, and their inhabitants reduced to slavery, and denominated Helots¹⁰. A more lenient fate attended those whose resistance had been less obstinate; they were named half-citizens, Lacedæmonians or Perioeci, and the relation in which the Doric full-citizens in Sparta stood to them, was of an aristocratic nature¹¹.

Before the time of Lycurgus the best tillage-land had been divided into equal allotments, according to the number of the Spartans. There were afterwards nine thousand estates¹². The men of Sparta, in its most flourishing days, amounted to eight or ten thousand¹³. The circle of these full citizens, thus qualified with regard to property, and by means of such an education as the law prescribed, endowed with martial virtue, was most rigorously closed against inferior persons and aliens¹⁴, and accessible to the genuine aristocracy of merit only, i. e., to those citizens who fulfilled the law with the greatest punctuality and cheerfulness; at the same time, the Heraclid hereditary nobility

⁸ Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 364; compare above, § 32. n. 18.

⁹ Paus. 3. 2. 5—7.

¹⁰ According to Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 365, all the Laconian Achæans were at first called Helots, and the war against them was named the Helot war. But in this instance the word has a retrospective force; it signifies subjection by force of arms (conf. § 34. n. 1), and does not apply to the Achæans as long as they were *ισόνομοι*.

¹¹ Ephor. ubi sup. In the account of Isocrates, Panath. 460. 461, the true facts cannot be recognised.

¹² Manso, Sparta, 1. 1. 109, sqq.

¹³ Herod. 7. 234; Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 12.

¹⁴ Compare § 33. n. 22. According to Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 12, the rights of citizenship were frequently conferred under the first kings. This, probably, refers to those bestowed upon the Achæans, Ægidæ, and Minyans.

was preserved in the utmost purity in the royal line¹⁵, and in certain families allied to the royal house¹⁶. The Homoioi¹⁷, who, when the constitution began to degenerate, were contradistinguished as ancient citizens from the Neodamodes, etc., were, in the earlier age, mere citizens, who were deficient in none of the honour of citizenship, in opposition to the dishonourable and the infamous¹⁸, and perhaps to the Epeunactæ, a class of new citizens, composed of the Helots¹⁹, emancipated in the Messenian war. The noble band of the three hundred knights, selected from the ranks of the young men, composed a body destined to attend the king; and from this were again annually singled out five Agathoergoi, as the ever-ripening fruit of civil virtue²⁰. In general, rights and authority increased with age²¹. At thirty, a person was entitled to attend the popular assembly²², and at sixty, eligible to the council²³.

Gradations of other descriptions, as occurring in a later age, will be mentioned in a subsequent portion of the present work.

The Lacedæmonians or Perioeci²⁴, to whom, like the Spartans, had been apportioned thirty thousand lots of land²⁵, which corresponded with their number, were endowed with rights in their

¹⁵ Ephors guarded the queen at the time of her delivery, Herod. 5. 41; Plat. Alcib. 1. 121. B. It was unlawful for a king to marry a foreign woman, Plut. Agis. 11. ¹⁶ Herod. 6. 57; Plut. Lysand. 2.

¹⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 4—11, and Schneid. ad eund. § 5; 5. 3. 9; de Repub. Laced. 10. 7; Demosth. in Lept. 489.

¹⁸ Ἀδόκιμοι, ἄτιμοι, Xenoph. de Repub. Lac. 3. 3.

¹⁹ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 6. 271. D. and comp. above, § 33. n. 32.

²⁰ Herod. 1. 67; 8. 124; Thuc. 5. 72; Xen. de Repub. Lac. 4. 3. conf. Ruhnken ad Tim. ἀγαθοεργοί. The Κατεστεῶτες of Thermopylæ can hardly have been identical with the knights.

²¹ Plut. an Seni Respub., etc. 9. 177—ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρῶσι.

²² Plut. Lyc. 25. ²³ Plut. Lyc. 21.

²⁴ Herod. 6. 58; Ephor. ap. Strab. 8. 364. ²⁵ Plut. Lyc. 8.

private capacity, and unrestricted in trade, and in this respect were more highly privileged than the Spartans themselves; but as a body they were subordinate to them²⁶, and excluded from a participation in the full rights of citizenship²⁷; they paid a tribute to the state²⁸, and were liable to be summoned with the Spartans to the defence of their country²⁹. Political duties of a superior nature were not confided to them till some time afterwards.

The Helots were serfs, and as many as were not immediately required by the state³⁰, belonged, together with the single estates, to individual Spartans³¹, but under such limitations, that they might at any time be claimed as public property. Lycurgus, probably, did not deem their condition worthy of much attention. We know of no institution for their protection. The notorious Helot chase, the Crypteia³², seems to have been continued from the time of the earlier wars against the Achæans, as a military exercise with sharp weapons, wherein it is highly probable that the unhappy Helots frequently fell victims to the outrages committed by

²⁶ Συντελείς, Eph. ubi sup. They followed the corpse of a king, χωρὶς Σπαρτηγίων (Herod. 6. 58; comp. the Comment. on 7. 234; 9. 11.), that is, in a separate procession? Compare on the obligation of the Megarians to appear at the obsequies of a Bacchiad, § 26. n. 58.

²⁷ Were they admitted to the popular assembly? The passage cited by Tittmann, griech. Staatsv. p. 89, viz. Plut. Lyc. 6. and 25, do not expressly say so; the contrary, however, cannot be demonstrated from Thucyd. 1. 80, ἀστυγεί-
τονας, but it may be gathered from it indirectly, conf. Müll. Dor. 2. 24.

²⁸ This may be inferred from the tributes of the Messenians, who were placed upon the footing of Perioeci after the first war, Paus. 4. 14. 3.

²⁹ Five thousand Spartan and the same number of Lacedæmonian Hoplitæ fought at Platææ.

³⁰ Ephor. ap. Strab. ubi sup.; Paus. 3. 20. 6; Plut. Lyc. 2.

³¹ Müll. Dor. 2. 34, sqq.

³² Aristot. ap. Plut. Lyc. 28; Heracl. Pont. 3; Isocrat. Panath. 462. The lenient description of Plat. de Legg. 1. 633. B. may be estimated at its real worth from a similar one in Protag. 342. C.—“the Xenelasia—an institution formed to enable persons to philosophise without being disturbed,” conf. Plut. Lyc. 20. ad fin. 31.

the young warriors, which doubtless often went unpunished. On this subject, as in the remaining accounts of the mal-treatment of the Helots³³, the acts of individuals which were wholly unconnected with political objects, are ascribed to the state, and with the most unwarrantable distortion of truth, sometimes represented as the express aim of legislation³⁴. In war they accompanied their masters³⁵ as pages. Part of them had been brought up with them from their infancy; these were denominated Mothones or Mothaces³⁶, and ceased to belong to the servile order; they were likewise occasionally enfranchised for their fidelity in war³⁷.

The regulation of the supreme power must, according to the relation subsisting between the three classes of inhabitants, as already described, be regarded only as the private statute of the full citizens; and when the legislation of Lycurgus is said to have been occasioned by lawless dissension³⁸, this must not be understood as referring to the position of the Spartans in relation to the Perioeci and Helots, but to discord amongst the first alone, especially between the two royal houses³⁹ and their adherents. The stability of the legal ordinances, the disposition of the people, who, steadfastly adhering to their immutable moral principle of action, ceased to be conscious of the power inherent in their own body to make what-

³³ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 6. 272. A.; Myron. ap. Ath. 14. 657; concerning his Acrisia, conf. Paus. 4. 6. 2; Plut. Lyc. 28.

³⁴ Aristot. ap. Plut. Lyc. 28. doubts whether the Crypteia was Lycurgan.

³⁵ Herod. 9. 28; 7. 229.

³⁶ Plut. Cleom. 8; Æl. V. H. 12. 43; Phylarch. ap. Ath. 6. 271. E.; Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 279.

³⁷ The name ἑρκετῆρες more especially refers to the preservation and care of wounded men and the charge of the corpses.

³⁸ Herod. 1. 65; Isocrat. Panath. 459. ed. Lange; Plut. Lyc. 2.

³⁹ Thuc. 1. 18.

ever changes in the laws they thought proper, and their cheerful acquiescence in their dependence upon the magistrates⁴⁰, who were accounted the best in the state, and the living fountain of legal order, caused the legislative power of the people to be so completely eclipsed by the executive of the officers⁴¹; so that what in reality appertained to the one is so frequently ascribed to the other.

According to the strictly aristocratic principle, the Geronia took precedence of the popular assembly. The Geronia was composed of the two kings, who were its presidents, and twenty-eight men⁴², chosen by the people from amongst the most virtuous⁴³ members of the state⁴⁴, of at least sixty years of age⁴⁵, who were elected for life⁴⁶, and irresponsible in office⁴⁷. Besides the most important part of their official duty, which was to prepare state matters for the popular assembly⁴⁸, and to direct the administration in general, they had, in conjunction with the Ephors, to watch over the public morals⁴⁹, and with the officers of state constituted the highest court of judicature⁵⁰. The kings voted in the same manner as every other geron⁵¹, and in the absence of a king, his nearest relation⁵².

⁴⁰ It is very justly observed by Nicol. Damasc. (522 Vales. exc., 156 Orell): *σιμνύονται δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ ταπεινῷ αὐτοῦ παρέχειν καὶ κατηκόους ταῖς ἀρχαῖς.*

⁴¹ Τὰ τέλη. See examp. Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 93. n. 20. 106.

⁴² Plut. Lyc. 5.

⁴³ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 15: *ἀθλον ἢ ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς.*

⁴⁴ The peculiar designation οἱ πρεσβυγενεῖς, occurs in Plut. Lyc. 6. et ibid. an Seni respub. etc. 9. 155.

⁴⁵ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 15; Plut. Lyc. 28.

⁴⁶ Polyb. 6. 45.

⁴⁷ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 17.

⁴⁸ Plut. Lyc. 6; Agis, 8. 9. 11.

⁴⁹ Gell. Noct. Att. 18. 3.

⁵⁰ Plut. Lyc. 26; Xenoph. de Repub. Lac. 10. 2.

⁵¹ Herod. 6. 57. On the question whether each king had one vote or two (Thucyd. 1. 20.), see Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 117. 121. n. 88; Müll. Dor. 2. 102.

⁵² Herod. ubi sup.

The popular assembly⁵³ met in pursuance of a Lycurgan rhetra at stated periods⁵⁴, between the brook Cnacion and the bridge Babyca⁵⁵; it determined by an acclamation of assent or dissent⁵⁶, consequently without debating⁵⁷, on what the Geronia submitted to it, that is, on peace and war, new laws, and the appointment of public officers. The administration of justice was not amongst its duties. It continued to be refractory after the time of Lycurgus, but was entirely brought under control by the law of Polydorus or Theopompus, which invested the king and the Geronia with power to dissolve it in case it should be bent on passing mischievous resolutions⁵⁸. The small assembly⁵⁹, as it was termed, was apparently unknown to the earlier age, and afterwards denoted a meeting of all the public officers and a species of civic deputies⁶⁰.

The kings, sprung from the two Heraclid lines of Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded to the government by right of primogeniture⁶¹; their chief marks of distinction were their place of residence⁶², demesnes⁶³, tributes of sacrificial victims⁶⁴, hides⁶⁵, and spoil⁶⁶, particular honour at

⁵³ 'Ο δᾶμος, Plut. Lyc. 6; Ibid. δημόται ἄνδρες, from Tyrtaeus.

⁵⁴ Ὀρας ἐξ ὥρας, Plut. Lyc. 6, is obscure.

⁵⁵ Plut. ubi sup. ⁵⁶ Thuc. 1. 87.

⁵⁷ The passage in Plut. Præcept. reipub. gerend. 9. 196, where *δημηγοροῦντος* must be read instead of *τινὸς Δημοσθένους*, from Æschin. in Tim. 173, to the effect that a citizen had spoken in the assembly, probably refers to an irregularity of later times. ⁵⁸ Plut. Lyc. 6.

⁵⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 8: τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν.

⁶⁰ Ἐκκληῖται, Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 38; 5. 2. 33; 6. 3. 3.

⁶¹ Herod. 5. 42; Paus. 3. 3. 8; Comp. Müll. Dor. 2. 101.

⁶² Plut. Agesil. 10; Xenoph. Ages. 8.

⁶³ Xenoph. Respub. Lac. 15. 3. Thence the βασιλικοὶ φόροι, Plato, Alcib. 1. 123 A.

⁶⁴ Herod. 6. 56; Xenoph. ubi sup. 15. 5.

⁶⁵ Herod. ubi sup.

⁶⁶ Herod. 9. 81; Polyb. 2. 62. 1. Like the Ἀθήσεις, Plat. ubi sup.

the public banquet⁶⁷, and the solemnities attending their obsequies⁶⁸. In the range of their duties⁶⁹ they were transcripts of the heroic princes, high-priests of the worship of the Lacedæmonian and celestial Zeus⁷⁰, and, in conjunction with the Pythii, directors of the concerns of the oracle⁷¹, commanders⁷² in war, and judges in those matters most closely connected with the physical existence of the state, namely, the maintenance of families and the law of inheritance, therefore supreme guardians⁷³. But their prerogative was narrowly limited; every month they took an oath to govern according to the laws⁷⁴; they were liable to be called to account after a campaign⁷⁵; the Ephors took cognizance of their acts in minor matters⁷⁶, and in affairs of magnitude the high court of the Gerontes and Ephors⁷⁷.

The Ephors, five men chosen from the ranks of the people⁷⁸, were, according to one statement, appointed by Lycurgus⁷⁹, and according to another by Theopompus⁸⁰; but it is probable that they were created neither by the one nor the other, as has been stated, for the purpose of limiting the

⁶⁷ Herod. 6. 57.

⁶⁸ Herod. 6. 58.

⁶⁹ The distinction between the βασιλεύειν of the kings, and the ἀρχεῖν of the officers, is evident from Herod. 6. 67. On the οἱ ἐν τέλει see Append. xiv.

⁷⁰ Herod. 6. 55; Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 4.

⁷¹ Herod. ubi sup.; Cic. de divin. 1. 43.

⁷² Herod. ubi sup. Hence Ἀρχαῖται, Plut. Lyc. 6, and Βάγοι, Hesych. With that were connected the care of the roads and the *proxenia*. Herod. ubi sup. ⁷³ Herod. ubi sup.; Poll. 3. 33.

⁷⁴ Xenoph. Respub. Lac. 13. 7; Nic. Damasc. 158 Orell.; Stobæus 42. 305.

⁷⁵ Herod. 6. 85. They proposed to deliver up king Leotychides to appease the Æginetans.

⁷⁶ Plut. Ages. 2. 5.

⁷⁷ Herod. 6. 85; Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 25.

⁷⁸ Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 14. Without doubt from the ὁμοῖος, therefore afterwards oligarchical. I cannot concur in the opinion of Götting, ad Aristot. Pol. 466, that there were originally ten ephors.

⁷⁹ Herod. 1. 65; Xenoph. Respub. Lac. 8. 3.

⁸⁰ Arist. Pol. 5. 9. 1; Plut. Lyc. 7; Cleom. 10; Cic. de Repub. 2. 33; de Legg. 3. 7, etc.; comp. Manso, Sp. 1. 1. 243.

royal authority, and thereby rendering it more durable; nor were they abolished by a royal law, but appear to have been magistrates charged with the administration of civil justice in the earliest ages, and confirmed in these duties by Lycurgus⁸¹; but about the time of the first Messenian war⁸², in consequence of the absence of the kings and the majority of the citizens, they stepped forward with greater boldness as the judicial substitutes of the former⁸³: soon afterwards, and perhaps in pursuance of express convention, upon the allayment of the tumult by Terpander⁸⁴, they became the representatives of the people, and like the Roman tribunes, imparted an offensive character to official power, which in the first instance had been merely defensive, by exercising an inquisitorial control over the actions of magistrates and citizens collectively. This augmentation of their power is partly to be explained from the peculiar tendency of the Spartan magistrates to raise themselves above the people, and the means they possessed to extend their encroachments over so wide a field, whilst, from the absence of positive enactments, the rule of law frequently resided within their own body as an emanation from the legislative power, to the exercise of which the people daily grew more indifferent. Their character, as representatives of the people, is strikingly exemplified by the fact, that the kings swore the constitutional oath to them, they giving them a popular guarantee for the security of their govern-

⁸¹ See corresponding opinions in Tittmann, 104; Müller, 2. 112.

⁸² Comp. Corsini fasti Att. v. 3. p. 9.

⁸³ Plut. Cleom. 10.

⁸⁴ Ol. 33. 4; Diodor. Fragm. v. 4. 37; Bipont. Zenob. 5. 9, where see Schott.

ment⁸⁵; besides which, they consulted the heavens every nine years on the subject of the royal authority⁸⁶. This power could scarcely have been conceded to them otherwise than by a formal decree of the people. Still more important was their mission as watchful substitutes of the law itself⁸⁷; selected from the body of the sovereign people, whereby they ranked as censors and judges above kings and people at once, with a power which the Roman tribunes never possessed, they having endeavoured to attain their highest aims by proposing laws, whilst the Ephors represented the laws themselves. On that account they were only responsible to their successors in office⁸⁸, and that imparts a peculiar significance to their dwelling beside the temple of Fear⁸⁹. Their functions comprised the superintendence of public morals⁹⁰, with the right to impose fines, and exact immediate payment of them⁹¹; all matters connected with strangers⁹², education⁹³, the scrutiny of magistrates⁹⁴, whom they might censure, accuse, or suspend⁹⁵; and their power in certain cases even extended to imprisoning the kings⁹⁶. This was associated with the conduct of public proceedings

⁸⁵ Xen. Lac. Resp. 15. 7.

⁸⁶ Plut. Agis 11.

⁸⁷ Hence their edict upon taking office, *προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις*, Plut. Cleom. 9; Ibid. de Sera Num. vindict. 8. 174.

⁸⁸ Plut. Agis 12.

⁸⁹ Plut. Cleom. 9.

⁹⁰ To this head must be referred the significant injunction in their edict, *κρίνεσθαι τὸν νότον*, Plut. Cleom. 9; comp. Müll. Dor. 2. 125. See other instances in Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 109—111.

⁹¹ Xenoph. Lac. Resp. 8. 4.

⁹² See an example of Xenelasia, Herod. 3. 148.

⁹³ Xenoph. Lac. Resp. 4. 3. 6; Athen. 12. 550; Æl. V. H. 3. 10; 14. 7.

⁹⁴ Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 17; Xen. Lac. Resp. 8. 4. Still the Gerontes were almost inviolable.

⁹⁵ See Herod. 6. 82, concerning the accusation of Cleomenes.

⁹⁶ Thuc. 1. 131; Corn. Nep. Paus. 2—5; Xen. Lac. Resp. 8. 4. only has *ἀρχοντας*.

and the charge of foreign affairs⁹⁷, amongst which the sending of the Scytale⁹⁸ occupies a prominent position. The superintendence of certain sacrifices of the Chalcioikos⁹⁹ was by no means unimportant; the inspection of the treasury¹⁰⁰, however, is probably to be assigned to a later period.

All other magistrates were insignificant in comparison with the Ephors; none of them had any share in the chief power; the Nomophylaces¹⁰¹ were, as already stated, unimportant; the Pythii, the assistants of the kings in oracular concerns¹⁰², the five Bidiæi¹⁰³, and the Pædonomos¹⁰⁴, directed public education; the Harmosyni¹⁰⁵ watched over female continence, the five Empelori¹⁰⁶ had the care of the market, the Polemarch¹⁰⁷ attended to military affairs, and partly to the Syssitia, and the Harmosts were governors in foreign dependencies¹⁰⁸.

b. The Constitution of Athens.

(a a). Before Solon.

I. THE FOUR PHYLÆ.

§ 43. On the subject of the Athenian constitution before Solon, besides the scanty statements of the progressive changes in the archonship,

⁹⁷ Thuc. 1. 87; Plut. Ages. 9.

⁹⁸ This subject will be treated in the second volume.

⁹⁹ Polyb. 4. 35. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 115; Müller, Dor. 2. 125.

¹⁰¹ Paus. 3. 11. 2.

¹⁰² Herod. 6. 57; Phot. Ποιθιοι.

¹⁰³ Paus. 3. 11. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Xen. Lac. Resp. 2. 2; Plut. Lyc. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Hesych. ἀρμόσυννοι.

¹⁰⁶ Hesych. ἐμπελ.

¹⁰⁷ Plut. Lyc. 12.

¹⁰⁸ One of Fourmont's inscriptions in the Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscript. 15. 417. contains most of the above titles, as well as a Harmost of the territory of Thyrea.

there is an account of a division of the inhabitants of Attica into four Phylæ, called Geleontes or Teleontes, Hopletes, Aigicoreis, and Argadeis, or Ergadeis¹, and contemporaneously with this into three orders called Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi²; and lastly, of a threefold sub-division of the Phylæ, viz., as will afterwards be shown, into the three classes above mentioned, Eupatridæ, etc., Phratris and families, and Trittyes and Naucrarias³. There is no doubt that researches on this subject must go back to the infancy of the Athenian state, and that this relation of the inhabitants of Attica to each other was of very remote antiquity.

In late years an opinion has become prevalent, that the relation of the Phylæ to each other was one of castes⁴. A peculiar way of life in each of them, the characteristic mark of a caste-like gradation of orders, and seldom found without extensively contributing to produce inequality amongst the inhabitants of a country, is unquestionably expressed by the names of the Phylæ; and there can be no doubt, that the difference in personal importance amongst the earliest inhabitants of Attica, very soon led to the assertion of the rights of classes. But no gradation of classes of any de-

¹ Herod. 5. 66; Eurip. Ion. 1566, sqq.; Plut. Sol. 23; Str. 8. 388; Polux 8. 109; Steph. Byz. Αἰγικόρειος (Αἰγικόρειος).

² Diodor. 1. 28; Plut. Thes. 25; Poll. 8. 111.

³ Poll. 8. 109—111; 3. 52; Harpocr. γεννήται; Phot. and Etym. M. τριττός; Mæris, γεννήται; Suidas, φράτορες, φρατρία, γεννήται; Schol. Plat. Rep. 409. Tauchn.

⁴ Niebuhr, R. H. 1. 226; Boeckh's observations prefixed to the Berl. Lectationscat. 1812; comp. Pub. Econ. 2. 28; Schömann comit. 341, sqq.; Creuzer, Symb. 3. 53; Buttmann, über Phratris, etc.; in Abh. d. Berl. A. d. W. 1818. 1819, p. 21, sqq.; Müller, Orchom. 307. n. 4. (However, compare his Proleg. 249, where the existence of priestly castes is contested.) See the contrary opinion in Eggo (Stuhr) Untergang d. Naturstaaten, 143, sqq.; Schubarth Ideen, üb. Homer, 62, sqq.; Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 567, sqq. 617, sqq.; Weisæ de rer. publicar. form. 90. n.

scription whatever could have been established before a unity of state existed, and certainly not as long as several sorts of inhabitants, distinguished by various modes of life, continued to dwell together in Attica in local communion, and as neighbours only, but without being associated by any political bond. But that the inhabitants of Attica were not originally united as citizens of one state, may, not to mention the authentic account, that before the time of Theseus there was no common Prytaneum⁵, be gathered from the many traditions whose purport is obviously opposed to such an assumption. The laborious explorers of Attic legends have, with some difficulty, managed to draw up a series of kings; when the genealogical thread fails, the line is continued by means of an Autochthon, like Cranaus, or the son of a god like Erechtheus, and as this proves the want of continuity in the kingly line, so the mention of internal wars and partitions⁶ is an evidence of the absence of political unity. But the tradition was embellished in two ways, first, by ascribing a number of separate institutions existing in various parts of Attica, to the citadel of Athens, as though that had been a common centre in the earliest ages, as it was afterwards, and secondly, by extending to the country generally, those *mythi* which related solely to this citadel, and to the limited territory originally belonging to it. The absence of a political bond of union amongst the oldest inhabitants of Attica, is one of the strongest evidences of the unfounded character of those

⁵ Thuc. 2. 15; Str. 9. 397; Diod. 4. 61; Plut. Sol. 28.

⁶ Apollod. 3. 14. 15; conf. Meurs. regn. Athenar.

traditions which recount the institution of the four Phylæ by Cecrops, the change in their appellations effected by Cranaus and Erichonius⁷, and the political regulations of Ion⁸. If an Ionic settlement really took place before that which is generally connected with the name of Ægeus or Theseus, it effected no change in the general condition of the country, and perhaps was limited to what was called the Tetrapolis⁹; therefore there can be no grounds for attributing the institution of the four Phylæ, as a regulation of classes for the whole of Attica as one state to Ion, or for deducing their denominations from the names of his sons¹⁰. Neither was this a general tradition, for the names of Teleon and Hoples occur singly, and without any reference to Ion¹¹, and the appellations of the Phylæ were derived from a mere allusion to their mode of life¹²; moreover, the derivation of the names of the Phylæ from the sons of Ion does not, as Strabo represents¹³, appear originally to have rested upon a corresponding territorial division, or distribution of classes, but must probably be referred to the general inclination of the Greeks to create mythical personages. This is perceptible in the account of Herodotus¹⁴.

The political union of Attica and the institutions that resulted from it, must be considered benefits of the age and government to which the

⁷ Poll. 8. 109.

⁸ Str. 8. 383: — ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. τ. λ.

⁹ Str. 8. 383. ¹⁰ See the passages referred to in n. 1.

¹¹ Apollod. 1. 9. 16; 3. 15. 6; Apollon. Rh. 1. 72. 73.

¹² Plut. Sol. 23: καὶ τὰς φυλάς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνος υἱῶν, κ. τ. λ.

¹³ Str. 8. 383.

¹⁴ Herod. 5. 66; 7. 94. 95; 8. 44.

name of Theseus is commonly attached. The accounts of Theseus as a legislator and statesman, are still more uncertain than those respecting Lycurgus; however, there can be no doubt that he is the representative of a new order of things, which united all the inhabitants of Attica by means of common and legal bands, and, as a mythical personage, justly merits the legislative celebrity he has acquired, which is even implied by his significant name¹⁵. It matters little whether he himself and alone—for there are no grounds to dispute the reality of his existence—or whether circumstances produced innovations. In his time Ionic institutions began to prevail; we may also gather from the tradition, that they did not grow up in Attica from a purely indigenous root, but were preceded by an influence which emanated from the Ionic states established in the Peloponnesus. Even Theseus' father Ægeus, whose name refers to the Achæan Ægæ, the sanctuary of Poseidon¹⁶, was not accounted the real son of Pandion¹⁷, the king who reigned before him; moreover, he went from Megara to the conquest of Athens¹⁸, which also bears a foreign appearance. But Theseus, according to the tradition, derived his origin from the Ionic Trœzen¹⁹, the city of Poseidon; he, like his reputed father Ægeus, was accounted Poseidon's son²⁰; his course led over the Isthmus, he opened

¹⁵ See the excellent note in Creuzer's Symb. 4. 119.

¹⁶ Od. 4. 506.

¹⁷ Apollod. 3. 15. 5; Plut. Thes. 13.

¹⁸ Ap. 3. 15. 6.

¹⁹ § 13. n. 43; and concerning Theseus as a Poseidonian hero, Müller, Proleg. 271. 272. 360.

²⁰ Diod. 4. 59; Plut. Thes. 6; Schol. Hom. Il. 3. 144; Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 887. Conf. Odys. 11. 630. and on the spuriousness of this verse, Plut. Sol. 20.

a way over the Megarian mountains, founded the Isthmia²¹, an Ionian Panegyris, which, we are tempted to believe, was formed for the purpose of uniting the Attic and Peloponnesian Ionians; even in the mythical relation of his age to Minos vestiges of an Ionic aggregate-interest are discernible; that is to say, when Onchestus, allied to the Ionians by the worship of Poseidon, rendered assistance to Megara which was besieged by Minos²²: it is not very improbable that the rise of the Amphictyony of Calauria took place in that age. In Attica, Theseus raised the Prytaneum of Athens into a common political sanctuary, established the Sunoikia, or Metoikia²³, made the Panathenæa a general festival²⁴, to commemorate the association around one centre, and, what was a natural consequence, placed the various tribes of Attica upon a common footing with regard to the same, and imparted to them one uniform political impress. Whatever neighbourly relation might have originally subsisted amongst the various tribes or classes in Attica, the institution of the Phylæ can neither have founded nor confirmed a fourfold caste-like division into warriors, husbandmen, etc.; on the contrary, it is much easier to show that it placed the four Phylæ upon a level in their collective relation to the state. To prove this, it is only necessary to mention that they possessed in common the above-named subdivision, consequently that each of them comprised Eupatridæ, Geomori, Demiurgi, besides Phratriæ and Trittyes, but that

²¹ Plut. Thes. 25; Hygin. 273.

²² Thuc. 2. 15; Plut. Sol. 28.

²³ See the testimonies in Meurs. Panath. cor. 3.

VOL. I.

²⁴ Apollod. 3. 15. 8.

not one contained the lower class of people properly so called. A full elucidation of the nature of this division, which involved the chief points of relation between citizenship and rank and duties in the state, is reserved for the following chapter.

However, it does not appear difficult to explain the difference which originally existed amongst the four classes of inhabitants in Attica indicated by the names of the Phylæ, and how it came to pass, that whilst they retained those names, which seem to turn upon a difference of political rank, they were ranged upon a level as co-ordinate Phylæ. The fundamental principle of the Attic Phylæ, as of all others, was that of tribes; however, it cannot be proved that the oldest inhabitants of Attica were subjugated entirely, and in every part of the country, by tribes which migrated thither at a later period; on the contrary, it is far more conformable to the general analogy of Grecian history to suppose that several tribes, original inhabitants as well as settlers, dwelt beside each other as neighbours in the country, and this is corroborated by the connection between the Phylæ and certain parts of Attica²⁵. In the mythical account, this was asserted as early as the kingly age, upon the occasion of pretended partitions of land²⁶. In Solon's time the character of the political parties depended upon their respective localities²⁷; there was an oligarchical party of the level country, the

²⁵ Comp. Schömann, *Comit.* 360, sqq.; Platner *Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. att. Rechts.* 45, sqq.; Buttmann, *ii. Phratr.* 27. Consult, in particular, Müller, *Attica in Ersch. Encyc.* 6. 217, sqq.

²⁶ See the *Fragm. from Sophocl. Ægeus ap. Str.* 9. 392. Conf. *Apollod.* 3. 15. 6.

²⁷ *Herod.* 1. 59; *Plut. Sol.* 13.

Pediæi; a democratic one of the mountains, the *Hyperacrieis*; and a more moderate one of the southern portion of Attica, *Paralia*, the *Paralii*. A connection between the Phylæ and certain districts, which partially coincides with this, is expressed in the ante-Ionic designations of the former, asserted to have proceeded from Cecrops and Cranaus, namely, *Cecropis*, *Autochthon*, *Actæa*, *Paralia* and *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, and *Dia-cris*²⁸. Nevertheless it cannot be assumed, that the local principle uniformly and exclusively determined the four classes of inhabitants, expressed by the names of the Phylæ. The *Argadeis*²⁹, the tillers of the plain, and the *Ægicoreis*, the goat-herds of the mountains³⁰, derived their names from their local position; but this was not the case with the *Teleontes* or *Geleontes* and the *Hopletes*: their appellations bear exclusive reference to personal qualities and occupations. Besides, even if we were to adopt the hypothesis of a division into mountain and plain, we want corresponding third and fourth portions. Now it is true that the *Paralia* was afterwards counted as a third part of Attica; but not one of the four Phylæ is exactly suited to it. Perhaps the following view of the subject may not be considered unsatisfactory. *Argadeis* and *Ægicoreis* are designations of those tribes which were indigenous in Attica as natives of the soil, and were engaged in husbandry and cattle-breeding; *Hopletes*, the warlike Ionic settlers. It

²⁸ *Poll.* 8. 109.

²⁹ From *ἀργος*, plain, which is analogous to the Argive *Ἀργεῖάδας* in *Steph. Byz.* *Ἀργος*. Comp. § 9. n. 24.

³⁰ *Plut. Sol.* 23.:—τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβαταῖς διατρίβοντας. Even at the present day herds of goats are very numerous in Attica. Müller, *Attica ubi sup.* 219.

is possible that the two forms of the fourth appellation, Geleontes and Teleontes³¹, had the same signification—the consecrated priests of Eleusis³², and the affinity of meaning may serve to explain the frequent confusion of the same letters in other instances³³. Though it cannot be denied that the last two appear as a sort of nobility compared with the first, that is no reason for assuming as certain, or even probable, a total absence of nobility in the Argadeis or Ægicoreis. That the occupation of the husbandman reflected no discredit is very evident from the rank of those priestly families which derived their names from agriculture, viz., the Butadæ³⁴, and the whole worship of Demeter. But that neither priests nor warriors subdued the rest of the inhabitants, and that no distinction of ranks could thence ensue, is apparent from what has been already stated as to the original separation amongst the native tribes. The Ionic *mythi* alone take Athens for their centre; Ægeus conquers Athens; this was the seat of the Hopletes; but they did not as yet, like the Eupatridæ, afterwards extend their authority over the whole country; even the history of Theseus only appertains to Athens in its earlier portion as the Ionian chief citadel; the Pallantides and other families

³¹ Both forms occur in the MS. Herod. Eurip. Poll. Steph. Byz. (see n. 1.); γεδόντας, in the Frankfort edition of Plut. Sol. 23, bears the appearance of an attempt at interpretation; the Cyzicen. Insc. Caylus recueil. 2. 60—62. 69, have Γελέοντ.; on the other hand, Apoll. 1. 9. 16, Τελέων is the father of Butes, 3. 15. 1, but Τελέοντι must probably be read instead of Ητελέοντι; in Apollon. Rh. 1. 72. 73, there is Τελέοντος. Conf. also Hygin. 14.

³² Γελέοντες, according to Wessel. ad Herod. 5. 66, illustres, splendidi. Conf. Creuzer. Symb. 3. 53. n. 4. 153. On Τελέοντες, see Append. xiv.

³³ Steph. B. has Τάβιοι instead of Γάβιοι; Antonin. Lib. 4. Τόργον, and Strab. 7. 325, Τόλγον instead of Γόργον.

³⁴ Concerning this noble house, composed of Teleontes, (according to Böckh, cultivators who paid rent,) see Müll. Minerv. Poliad. sacra p. 12.

had independent lordships in Attica³⁵. The union at length effected by Theseus, and the raising of Athens into the general citadel of the country, seem to have been accomplished without violence; at least there is not a vestige of a tradition to show that these measures were accompanied by the oppression of any portion of the population. Therefore the association of the four chief masses of the inhabitants into one whole, consisting of four Phylæ, as the chief constitutive portions of the united state, could have been nothing but a means to unite them as partakers of equal rights as classes; the Ionic Hopletes, the Eleusinian Teleontes, and the autochthonic Argadeis and Ægicoreis, stood upon an equal footing in their relation to the state, and each Phyle contained gradations within itself.

Lastly, it is evident that four Phylæ naturally proceeded from a corresponding number of chief ingredients in the population; and here it is unnecessary, with Suidas³⁶, to take the four seasons for a basis. But it is asserted that before Theseus there existed twelve small states³⁷; this number corresponds with that of the subsequent Phratrias³⁸. In these, too, it has been attempted to discover a political regulation; and in spite of the Ionic Tetrapolis, which is mentioned with them, to ascribe them to the ante-Ionic Cecrops: the same inclination to refer numbers and forms com-

³⁵ Plut. Thes. 13.

³⁶ Under φρατρία. Conf. Buttmann ubi sup. p. 25.

³⁷ See n. 5. The names are given, Str. 9. 397, from Philochor.: Κεκροπία, Τετράπολις, Ἐπακρία, Δεκέλεια, Ἐλευσίς, Ἀφιδνα, Θόρικος, Βραυρών, Κόθηρος, Σφηττός, Κηφισία, Φαληρός.

³⁸ This is likewise the opinion of Ignarra (de Phratriis, p. 19.) and Buttmann (ubi sup. 25.), but from another point of view.

paratively modern to the early times may be discerned here; but it is easy to perceive the introduction of the Ionic principle in the number twelve, which was peculiar to the political system of that people³⁹; in the earlier age the number of towns, which might have amounted to twelve or thereabouts, was merely accidental.

II. THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE PHYLÆ.

§ 44. The statements of the grammarians, that the Phylæ were divided into races (*ἔθνη*), Phratias, and families, Trittyes and Naucrarias¹, we do not interpret as though these designations in reality applied to one and the same object, and the distinction between them were merely verbal; but we shall endeavour to prove that the citizens contained in every Phyle, by means of the threefold division in question, and considered with reference to the manner, intention, and period of the institution, occupied three distinct grades of political rank. The first, viz., into national tribes, or, according to a more appropriate denomination, into classes, was a natural result of that inequality of rank and station which existed in the earliest ages, but required to be legally regulated as soon as the individual unions of Attica, wherein a corresponding inequality of rank had arisen, formed themselves into one state, in which it became necessary to provide a security for their common rank and collective rights. The stamp of antiquity is strongly impressed on the associations for worship called Phratias, and probably none of the separate com-

³⁹ See § 23. init.

¹ § 43. n. 3.

munities of Attica were without them: again, after the state became united they exhibit striking evidences of legislation in the determination of a fixed number and a uniform subdivision. But positive and systematic legislation regulated the Trittyes alone, an institution comparatively recent, which was connected with more advanced and complicated political relations, being designed to regulate the public revenue and the contributions of the citizens to the same.

The accounts of the grammarians, though partly taken from Aristotle's Polity of Athens, are written without proper attention to the subject, and at the same time incomplete and misplaced. In attempting to explain the nature of the three divisions in question, they constantly confound one with the other; but still the real fact, namely, that they were essentially and not merely nominally different from each other, may be gathered from their pages². The truth of what is here advanced cannot be fully and satisfactorily demonstrated without explaining the real nature of these three institutions.

The word *ἔθνος*, by which the Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi, as orders of a Phyle, are designated³, most commonly signifies *nation, race*; but according to the etymology, as well as the most ancient use of the word, community of race was by no means its peculiar characteristic. In the language of Homer, who throws the most important light⁴ on the names of ancient Attic insti-

² See Append. xv.

³ Poll. 8. 111; Etym. M. *Εὐπατρίδαι*; Hesych. *δημιουργοί*.

⁴ Conf. Buttmann, über d. W. Phratia, p. 36.

tutions, the word, in accordance with its original etymology⁵, means a horde associated and bound together by a similarity of manners and pursuits, and most frequently soldiers⁶, whose bond could only be an external one, namely, that of the march and the camp. This signification was never wholly superseded by that of nation⁷. That this only, and not that of nation or race, is applicable to the Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi, will be most satisfactorily illustrated by an examination of the nature of the Demiurgi, likewise upon the authority of Homer's language.

Homer never employs the word Demiurgi in the sense of a tribe, the distinguishing character of which is the internal union proceeding from a community of extraction; nor does he describe them as a race of slaves annexed to the district, or, as is even pretended, to the soil; but the most prominent notion which the name expresses, is that of working—occupation; they are work-people in the public service, mechanics and artists, heralds, soothsayers, singers, physicians, and architects⁸,

⁵ Etym. Gud. 161. 16. ἔθνος—ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἔθνος· ἐκάστῳ γὰρ ἔθνεϊ ἰδίον ἔθνος ἔπεται.

⁶ ἔθνος ἐταίρων, Il. 3. 32; 7. 115; 11. 585. 595; ἔθνεα πεζῶν, 11. 724; λαῶν ἔθνος, 13. 495; conf. ἔθνεα πολλά, Il. 2. 91; Δυκίων μέγα ἔθνος, 17. 552; Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος, etc., and ὀρνίθων ἔθνεα, Il. 2. 459; μυιάων ἔθνεα, 2. 469.

⁷ Xenoph. Symp. 3. 6.: τί ἔθνος ἡλιθιώτερον ἢ ῥαψωδῶν; Plato, Repub. 1. 351 C.:—ἡ ληστὰς, ἡ κλέπτης, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔθνος ὅσα κοινῇ ἐπὶ τι ἔρχεται ἀδίκως. Conf. Critias, 110 C.; Demosth. c. Aristocr. 668.: εἰ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο τί πονηρότατον νομίζετε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἔθνων, οὔτε τοὺς γεωργοῦντας, οὔτε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἀνείποιτε, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ μισθῷ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν εἰσθότας. The same signification may apparently be discerned c. Mid. 557. 28.: φυλὴν, βουλὴν, ἔθνος—γένος is employed in the same manner, e. g. Plat. Tim. 24 A.; Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 5. 6; 6. 2. 7. Hence Hesych. Ἀγροῖται—ἀγροῖκοι· γένος Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ ἀντιδιεστέλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς Εὐπατρίδας. Lastly, Cic. pro Sexto 44; in Pis. 23; de Natura Deor. 2. 29, etc., uses the word "natio" in the same sense.

⁸ Od. 19. 135; 17. 383, sqq.

etc., without the badges of the vile and the despicable; partly wandering, and summoned by the state⁹; amongst whom, according to ancient usage, dexterity and skill were supposed to be perpetuated in certain families, and transmitted as a patrimony to their descendants¹⁰. If, thus examined, the Attic Demiurgi cease to appear in the light of a caste-like lower order of the people, which character has been imparted to them and the Geomori by Diodorus, who wrote in an Egyptian spirit¹¹, or rather repeated the statements of Egyptian priests, who arrogantly pretended that the institutions of Attica were derived from those of Egypt, then it is very natural to conjecture that they did not form integral portions of the native population, but a class opposed to it, non-resident, and upon a level with the subsequent Metœci. This coincides with their being named Epigeomori, a species of after-comers¹², and their not being enumerated with the others¹³.

Accordingly there remain two orders of citizens properly so called, Eupatridæ and Geomori. But the signification of the word ἔθνος, derived from their manners and mode of life, as explained above, is only adapted to the Geomori, whereas the appellation Eupatridæ expresses mere nobility of family. But here it is necessary to revert to the preceding conjecture respecting the coalition of

⁹ Od. 17. 386.: οὗτοι γὰρ κλητοὶ γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

¹⁰ See Append. x.

¹¹ Diodor. 1. 28; conf. Hüllmann, Anf. d. gr. Gesch. 238, sqq.

¹² Bekker Anecd. 257, and Etym. M. Εὐπατρίδαι—ἐπιγεώμοροι δὲ τὸ τεχνικὸν ἔθνος.

¹³ In Dionys. Halicarn. 2. 8, where Eupatridæ and Geomori only are mentioned. On the other hand, the Eupatridæ are erroneously omitted in the perplexed account of Mæris in v. γεννηταί—ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τὸ παλαιὸν διεκκόσμητο διχῶς, εἰς τε τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημιουργοὺς, κ. τ. λ.

the four chief masses of the population of Attica into one state. For the denominations Teleontes, etc., transferred from them to the Phylæ, express various modes of life and a diversity of pursuits. But this equally applies to the nobility of each of the four Phylæ, and was even partially borrowed from it. For amongst the Argadeis and Ægicoreis there was a rural nobility composed of the richest proprietors of land and herds; but the names Teleontes and Hopletes were peculiar to the nobles; the lower class of people annexed to them must be understood as tacitly included. Hence a common name for the nobility, pervading all the four Phylæ, could not be taken from their way of life and occupation, for those were not uniform; but the essential quality of the nobility, illustriousness of birth, which was common to all the four species, furnished an obvious and suitable denomination, and in this manner the name Eupatridæ might be co-ordinated with the two others, which referred to the course of life and trade or calling. Now whatever reference it may appear to bear to family or race, the foregoing shows that the Eupatridæ are not to be regarded as a tribe sprung from one root and progressively extended, but as an order united by equal rank of extraction, which then maintained itself in its collective capacity by means of the exclusive nature of its nobility. Lastly, what had been produced in the natural course of things in the separate communities of Attica, was confirmed by legal regulations, inasmuch as the nobility of the four Phylæ received a corresponding political impress, and—once more to revert to the difference between our

opinion and that which perceives castes in the Phylæ—the institution of the four Phylæ is not to be looked upon as a subordination of one order to the others, but, since the citizenship of the early ages was most adequately represented by the nobility, as a regulation which placed the fourfold nobility upon an equal footing with regard to legal rights. The order of the Geomori was regulated at the same time with that of the nobility. Neither were these a race or tribe, or the most ancient inhabitants of Attica, who had been subjugated by settlers, and in consequence of the original difference of extraction separated from them in the manner of castes; but in the individual communities of the native inhabitants, the rise of the nobility was necessarily followed by the decline of the commonalty, whilst amongst the Ionians, even at the time of the migration, an equestrian order might have been singled out from the inferior warriors. The commons began to appear in a joint character after the nobility were united; by that means they likewise constituted an order, and their common characteristic, which is expressed by the name Geomori, was, that they were charged with the cultivation of the estates of the nobility as masters and proprietors, whilst the separation effected between nobility and commoners by means of the family principle, gave rise to an opinion that one order was descended from a noble, and the other from a base stock.

It results, therefore, that the Eupatridæ were the collective nobility of Attica, who, after the union of the four circles, formed one order, possessed the citadel of Athens in conjunction with

the king, performed the functions of the high-priesthood, administered justice¹⁴, and in war fought as knights in the foremost ranks of the army. The Geomori, the husbandmen who occupied the estates of the nobility, were denominated, from the rent which they paid, Hectemorii¹⁵, and from the nature of their labour, which was performed for hire upon the property of others, Thetes or Pelatae¹⁶.

We have still to enquire whether these orders, as well as the Demiurgi, had subdivisions or not. The perplexed statement of Pollux, that they had each thirty families, consequently the same subdivision as the Phratias, is disproved by the testimonies of other grammarians¹⁷. The foregoing has shown that the Demiurgi were not included in the Phylæ, but probably distributed amongst them in the same manner as foreigners or the occupants of hired lodgings are over various quarters of cities at the present day; moreover, the number of their families as such, and the same remark applies to the Geomori, bore no reference to their character as an order, this being the exclusive attribute of the Eupatridæ. But amongst these last there could be no limitation in the number of families intended to comprise the whole

¹⁴ Plut. Thes. 25.: γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας καὶ νόμων διδασκάλους εἶναι καὶ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς. Conf. Bekker. Anecd. 257. and Etym. M. Εὐπατρίδαι· ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ οἰκοῦντες καὶ μετέχοντες τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦμενοι.

¹⁵ Did they deliver a sixth, or retain that proportion for themselves? In support of the former opinion, see Plut. Sol. 13; Pollux 4. 168; Hesych. ἐκτημορ. and ἐπιμορ.; and Hemsterh. ibid.; Schol. Plut. Euthyphron. et Ruhnk. ap. Bekker comment. ad Plat. 2. 327; for the latter, Eustath. ad Hom. Odyss. 19. 28. Conf. Schömann, Comit. 362. n. 68.

¹⁶ Dionys. Halicar. 2. 9; Pollux 3. 82. Conf. Ruhnk. ad Tim. 211. 213; Casaub. ad Ath. 10. 12. p. 738.

¹⁷ See Append. xv.

body of the nobility; nobility of race, as such, being the natural offspring of circumstances, had been continued by custom, and its recognition did not depend upon conformity to an arbitrary numerical standard. So far, therefore, the families of the Eupatridæ were not regulated by positive laws. But, if the number of the families in the Phratias was really the result of legislation, then, in the case of the Eupatridæ, the natural and political family coincided; but still the regulation of the Phratias did not react upon the character of the families as members of the same order. However, it is a totally different question whether the families of the Eupatridæ were regulated numerically in relation to a share in the administration, which is a subject that cannot be discussed till afterwards.

If, in the arrangement of the classes, that difference of origin which had arisen naturally and had been continued politically, kept the nobility and the lower order separate, on the other hand, the institution of the Phratias and families appears to have been destined to gather the general body of the citizens within one great political circle. In describing the increasing circles of relationship, Dicæarchus calls the Phratia the union of several single families, effected by means of intermarriages¹⁸. Those of ancient Athens were of a different nature; they were twelve in number, therefore, three in every Phylæ, each consisting of thirty families, and every family containing thirty mem-

¹⁸ See Append. vii.

bers¹⁹. It cannot be denied that their appellation, and that of the persons contained in them, Gennetæ and Homogalactes²⁰, express natural affinity; but that the members were not necessarily united by natural ties, is evident from the licence exhibited in determining their number; and express testimonies prove, that the most prominent feature of this institution was a communion of worship ordained by the state²¹, in reference to which the Gennetæ, as sacrificial confederates, were denominated Orgeones²². However, the natural ties of kindred were neither foreign to, nor severed by, this confraternity of worship: it not only happened that natural and religious affinity were generally united in a family²³, but the whole institution was based upon natural relationship, and directed to its maintenance, whilst the two principles were intended mutually to act upon each other. Thus united,

¹⁹ Pollux, 3. 52. φρατρία δ' ἦσαν δυοκαίδεκα καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ γένῃ τριάκοντα, ἕκαστον ἐκ τριάκοντα ἀνδρῶν; conf. Harpocr. Etym. M. and Suid. in γ. γεννῆται. Amongst the moderns, Salmasius ad Jus Att. et Rom. 89—156; Van Dale Dissert. 728, sqq.; Corsini Fasti Att. Diss. 5; Ignarra de Phratris; Platner Beitr. 72. 101, sqq.; Tittmann, 282, sqq.

²⁰ Poll. 3. 52; Harpocr. γεννῆται; Ἀγάλακτες had the same signification, Poll. ut sup.; Suidas, ἀγαλακτ.

²¹ Harpocr. γεννῆται—οὐχ οἱ συγγενεῖς μέντοι ἀπλῶς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αἵματος γεννῆται, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ καλούμενα γένη καταμετρήντες; Poll. 8. 111.—καὶ οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ γένους γεννῆται καὶ ὁμογάλακτες, γένει μὲν οὐ προσήκοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνόδου οὕτω προσαγορευόμενοι; Etym. M. γεννῆται—οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ νόμων κοινωνίαν τινὰ ἔχοντες συγγενικῶν ὀργίων ἢ θεῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ὀργεῶνες ὠνομάσθησαν; compare the valuable passage in Bekker Anecd. 227; Hesych. γεννῆται, Schol. Plat. Criton, p. 7; Phileb. 41; Tim. 202. ap. Ruhnke.

²² See, besides the passages cited in the preceding note, Poll. 3. 52. and Schol. Demosth. adv. Eubul. p. 115. ed. R. But the word Orgeones was neither the peculiar nor the chief designation of the Gennetæ; it was likewise applied to any other freely-associated religious connection, and equivalent to θιασώτης, Bekker Anecd. 264. It is thus explained by Harpocr. Phot. Suid. ὀργεῶνες, Bekker Anecd. 191. 286, and this may be called its predominant signification.

²³ Hence it was the more natural that συγγενεῖς should be used for γεννῆται, c. g. Isæus de Apollod. Heredit. 160. 178; conf. Harpocr. γεννῆται; Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 8.

they were to penetrate political society with the feelings of affinity, friendship, and festal communion, and regenerate that principle upon which the state had been originally constructed, in the more enlarged political circle, where it could no longer possess genealogical efficacy.

Hence the most important occurrences of private life were extended beyond the sphere of individual families, and amidst political kinsmen acquired greater weight and sanction. The festive meetings originally held by single families, and bearing reference to domestic events, were raised into a public festival, which lasted three days, and was celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, called Apaturia²⁴. On the first day a banquet took place; on the second sacrifices were offered to Zeus Phratrios, and Athene; and on the third²⁵, the children born in the preceding year were presented and received with sacrifices²⁶. Amongst the Phratores and Gennetæ, sacrifices were performed²⁷ when a boy attained the age of puberty; and when a virgin quitted the house of her father and entered the family of her husband, she was received with a similar ceremony²⁸. Finally, the Phratores were bound to prosecute the murderer of one of their

²⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 8.—ἐν οἷς οἱτε πατέρες (see φράτορες) καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. The analogy of ἀγάλακτες from ὁμογάλακτες and ἀλοχος (see Suid. Ἀπατούρια) supports the derivation from ἄμα and πατέρες, conf. Müll. Proleg. 401. On the subject of the feast itself, see the perspicuous remarks of Creuzer, Symb. 3. 505, sqq.

²⁵ Concerning these three days, named δόρπεια or δορπία, ἀνάρρυνσις and κουρεῶτες, see Suid. Ἀπατούρια; concerning Zeus Phratrios Demosth. c. Macart. 1054. 10. On the edifice appointed for the feast, φράτριον, Pollux 3. 52. Of a similar character were probably the Delubra, Liv. 31. 30.

²⁶ Poll. 3. 52. 53; Harpocr. μέιον, οἰνιστήρια; Hesych. οἰνιστήρια; conf. οὐμιαγωγίω, Aristoph. Ran. 798. and the Schol.

²⁷ Κουρεῖον, κουρίον, Poll. 8. 107; Isæus de Philoctem. Hered. 135. ²⁸ Γαμήλια, Demosth. in Eubul. 1312. 1320; Isæus de Pyrrh. Hered. 62. 65. 66, from which the statement in Poll. 8. 107, Bekker Anecd. 228, Etym. M. γαμήλια, must be emended.

members in the same manner as kinsmen by birth²⁹.

This truly exalted institution, which exhibits antiquity under its most imposing aspect, must be viewed in the light of an attempt to unite the nobility and commonalty by means of family festivals and divine worship, and thus to produce a general citizenship. It results from the foregoing that there were three hundred and sixty families; every family contained thirty Gennetæ, giving ten thousand eight hundred Gennetæ in all. This systematic regulation of numbers must be regarded as the first attempt to ascertain the total numerical amount of the fathers of families, and as having inspired Lycurgus, and even the political theorists, Plato and Aristotle, with the inclination to adopt round numbers for the population³⁰, in which the wish to take the divisions of the year for the standard of political institutions probably had some share. It may safely be assumed, that the actual number of citizens exceeded that of the Gennetæ: a statement is likewise extant, that the supernumeraries were denominated Atriacasti³¹. These were entitled to succeed to the rights relinquished or forfeited by members of families; and as the Gennetæ were very numerous, vacancies constantly occurred; however, none but fathers of families and independent householders were entitled to become Gennetæ; in other respects, the difference between Gennetæ and Atriacasti cannot have been

²⁹ Demosth. c. Macart. 1069. 2.

³⁰ Conf. Böckh. Pub. Econ. 1. 36.

³¹ Hesych. ἀτριάκαστοι· οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τριακάδος. Hesych. is referring to private law when he says—ἐξω τριακάδος· οἱ μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες παῖδες ἢ ἀγχιστεῖς κλήρου, τελευτήσαντος τινος.

considerable; thus the Phratrias and families were an institution which regarded the citizens in their collective capacity, and as the growth of the age of Theseus, it is perhaps the most solid monument of that renown which he has obtained as the reputed author of the Athenian democracy. But it can by no means be asserted that the nobility were deprived of any of their positive privileges by this institution, which connected them with the lower people. An examination of the spirit of the age will immediately show that there are no grounds for such a supposition, although the real character of the distinction enjoyed by the nobility in the Phratrias and families cannot be ascertained. According to the testimony of Philochorus, however, the members of the first family amongst the thirty families of a Phyle³² were called Gennetæ, and at one time Homogalactes. This appears to imply that the Athenian Eupatridæ appropriated to themselves pre-eminently the appellation of Gennetæ, and the honour of family or race. Of a similar character were the exclusive pretensions of the Roman patricians to illustriousness of race³³. Assuming this to be correct, there must have been in each Phratría thirty, and in all three hundred and sixty noble Gennetæ, a number which again reminds us of the days of the solar year³⁴; but in this case, as in the attempt to fix the relation in which the Phratrias and families stood to the public administration, it is impossible to arrive at certainty.

³² Suid. γεννῆται—καὶ γεννῆται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρώτου γένους τῶν τριάκοντα γενῶν· οὗς καὶ πρότερόν φησι Φιλόχορος ὁμογάλακτας καλεῖσθαι.

³³ Liv. 10. 8. The plebeian Decius says—Semper ista audita sunt eadem, penes vos (patricios) auspicia esse, vos solos gentem habere.

³⁴ See the commentary on Harpocr. γεννῆται, Suid. φρατρία, γεννῆται, Hullmann Staatsr. d. A. 15, sqq.; Buttmann, über. d. W. Phratría, 25.

Lastly, the Trittyes were totally distinct from the Phratias both in origin and intention. According to Aristotle, every Phyle contained three Trittyes, and every Trittyes four Naucrarias³⁵. The names and number of the latter exhibit in a very marked manner the essential difference between the Trittyes and Phratias, and may serve to remove the erroneous assertion that families formed the subdivision of the Trittyes³⁶. Moreover, that the Trittyes were not organized till after the Phratias, appears probable from the very nature of the word itself, which, as it were, devoid of all reference to a substantial object, expresses a mere numerical relation, and is in itself comparatively modern. Another proof of this, as well as of the difference between the destination of the Trittyes and that of the Phratias, is the statement, that the Trittyes had been established to regulate the obligations of the citizens³⁷. From this it may be inferred that the political system had made considerable advancement towards maturity. It is evident that the institution existed before Solon's time, from the mention of the Prytanes of the Naucrarias during the tumults of Cylon³⁸; therefore it must be considered as an order connected with the liturgies, and was probably formed when the new Archons were instituted³⁹. We are, however, destitute of exact information as to their nature; it

³⁵ Phot. *Ναυκραρία*· — ἐκ δὲ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἦσαν νενεμημένοι τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, ναυκραρίαὶ δὲ δώδεκα καθ' ἐκάστην. *Comp. Poll. 8, 108. ναυκραρία — τέσσαρες κατὰ τριττὴν ἐκάστην.*

³⁶ See *Append. xv.*

³⁷ *Aristot. ap. Phot. ubi sup. τὰς δ' εἰσφοράς τὰς κατὰ δῆμους διεχειροτονοῦν οὗτοι (οἱ ναύκραροι) καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναλώματα. Conf. Hesych. ναύκραροι — τὰς εἰσφοράς ἐξέλεγον.*

³⁸ *Herod. 5. 71.*

³⁹ See § 45. *ad fin.*

is difficult to reconcile with the insignificance of the Attic naval power and cavalry before Solon, the statement that every Naucraria was obliged to provide two horsemen and one ship⁴⁰; it may have been instituted by Solon, and remodelled by Clisthenes⁴¹. It is unnecessary to derive the word Naucraria from the fitting out of vessels; the etymology from *ναλεῖν*, to dwell⁴², seems more probable. Assuming this to be correct, the object contemplated in the institution of the Trittyes and Naucrarias must have been the drawing up the registers for the liturgies, and this makes them analogous to the Phratias and families, which were ordained with a view to ascertain the number of the citizens. The accidental ambiguity of the word furnished a pretext for representing as its original meaning a sense which was not attached to it till after the rise of subsequent institutions. The Trittyes constantly retained the character of an institution for regulating contributions to the state burthens⁴³; hence, they were applicable to the opulent class only, and not to the people at large.

III. THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES.

§ 45. Whatever opinion may prevail as to the historical existence of Theseus, the tradition that democracy had been established by him¹, appears

⁴⁰ *Poll. 8. 108.*

⁴¹ *Conf. Boeckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 274. 275.*

⁴² See *Hemsterh. ad Poll. 10. 20*, where *ναύκληρος* occurs in the sense of householder. *Conf. Hesych. ναύκληρος· ὁ τῆς συνοικίας συνεστώς*; and *Pollux, 8. 108*, where the vagueness of the derivation from *ναῦς* is indicated. — *ναὺν μίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἴσως ὠνόμασται (ἡ ναυκραρία).*

⁴³ *Æsch. in Ctesiph. 425; Demosth. de Symmor. 184. 15; Plato de Repub. 5. 475. A.; conf. Schömann com. 361; Tittmann, 271.*

¹ *Eurip. Suppl. 353. 405, sqq. 440, sqq.; Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1370. 16; Plut. Thes. 32, etc. On the σποὰ βασιλείας, Pausanias found the inscription Θησεὺς, δημοκρατία, δῆμος, 1. 3. 2.*

at least to have reposed upon this basis of truth, that in an age represented as his, something in favour of the lower orders was effected; and this, as was before conjectured, may possibly have been the institution of the Phratrias and families, whilst the democratic spirit of his government is most accurately described in the words of Diodorus, "he reigned over the multitude legally" (not arbitrarily, and with a capricious disregard of justice)². Isocrates³ vainly endeavours to represent Theseus' departure from Athens as a voluntary abdication, to make way for democracy: but the tradition that he had been driven from Athens in an insurrection⁴, and that Menestheus⁵ or Lycus⁶ had been the leader of the party opposed to him, indicates that the new institutions had considerable obstacles to surmount before they could be consolidated, and we may plainly discern the continuance of party divisions in the inconsiderable authority of the recently united kingdom, whose founder was resisted as illegitimate by the Pallantides and other noble houses⁷. Menestheus, the successor of Theseus, is said to have been the person who effected his expulsion; the succeeding Theseidæ appear in the light of powerless rulers; the Neleidæ, who had been driven from Messenia by the Dorians, were unable to impart firmness to the throne; after the death of Codrus the power was usurped by the nobility⁸.

² Ἦρχε τοῦ πλήθους νομίμως, 4. 61.

³ Panath. 439.

⁴ Diod. 4. 62.

⁵ Plut. Thes. 32.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 627: Ἀόκος τις συκοφαντήσας ἐποίησεν ἐξοστρακισθῆναι τὸν ἥρωα. On the subject of ostracism, see also Euseb. Can. 800, and Syncell. ad eund. Θησεὺς ἐξωστρακίσθη αὐτὸς πρῶτος θείας τὸν νόμον.

⁷ Plut. Thes. 13; conf. Apollod. 3. 15. 5.

⁸ Pausanias employs a faulty mode of expression derived from the analogy

and the kingly office, which continued to subsist in name indeed⁹, became from that time a responsible magistracy¹⁰. Many writers, either misled by the character assumed by the subsequent demus in Athens, which pretended to trace its authority to the primitive ages, or, like the orators, propagating such a notion intentionally¹¹, denominate the old Athenian constitution after the death of Theseus or Codrus a democracy¹², which detracts from the fame of Solon no less than his did from that of Clisthenes; yet independently of the preceding statements concerning the relation between the common freemen and the Eupatridæ, we are not unsupported by credible authority in the assertion, that aristocracy prevailed till Solon's time¹³. The nature of the form of government by which it was succeeded, can be but imperfectly gathered from the confusion in which the subject is involved; and historical combination must endeavour to reunite the scattered fragments which

of the political phraseology of a later age, 4. 5. 4; ὁ δῆμος — ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησεν ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον.

⁹ In support of this we may adduce Paus. 7. 2. 1: δίδωσι Μένδοντι ἡ Πυθία βασιλείαν; conf. Perizon. ad Æl. V. H. 5. 13; Schol. Æsch. in Tim. 746. It is also more probable that at the separation of the archonship, the word βασιλεύς, as a prescriptive title, was transferred to the second Archon, than that it was created expressly for him. Therefore, Archon does not appear to have been originally a specific designation.

¹⁰ See n. 8.

¹¹ Thus in Ps. Plat. Menexenus 239. A. the ἰσονομία is deduced from the ἰσογονία.

¹² As Strab. 8. 397: ἐβασιλεύοντο μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον· εἰς εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέστησαν, κ. τ. λ.

¹³ Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 2: Σόλωνα — ὀλιγαρχίαν τε γὰρ καταλύσαι λίαν ἄκρατον οὖσαν καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον παῦσαι καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι τὴν πάτριον, where the last word must not, as in the speech of the Thebans, Thuc. 3. 62, be interpreted ancient, original; for Aristotle regards Solon as the author of a new system, not as the reviver of ancient ordinances. Conf. Dion. Hal. 2. 8: ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέκειτο προστασία (viz. amongst the Eupatridæ)· ἀγροίκους δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, οἱ τῶν κοινῶν οὐδενὸς ἦσαν κύριοι· σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι προσελήφθησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς. Diod. 14. 3: — τὴν παλαιὰν κατάστασιν, καθ' ἣν παντελῶς ὀλίγοι τῶν ὄλων προεστῆκεισαν. Æl. V. H. 5. 13: ἀριστοκρατία δὲ ἐχρήσαντο μέχρι τῶν τετρακοσίων, (i. e. Solon's council of the four hundred).

still exist, in such a manner that the old political edifice may at least be recognized.

We must, in the first place, direct our attention to the frequent limitation of the archonship. The distinction between the archonship and the kingly office, as before observed¹⁴, consisted in the formal responsibility annexed to the former. The dignity was at first retained for life, and descended in the line of the Codridæ and that of their near relations, the Alcmaeonidæ¹⁵. Medon, the son of Codrus, was the first of the series¹⁶; Alcmaeon was the last Archon for life¹⁷; the duration of the office was from that time (Ol. 7. 1.) limited to ten years; and after Hippomenes, the fourth of the list, had caused his fallen daughter to die an ignominious death¹⁸, other Eupatridæ, besides the two families above mentioned, were admitted to a share of power¹⁹. However, Hippomenes was succeeded by three more decennial Archons only. From Ol. 24. 2., there were elected nine annual Archons, an Eponymus, (who was for a long period denominated, by way of pre-eminence, *the Archon*), a Basileus, a Polemarch, and six Thesmothetæ, but all taken from the Eupatridæ²⁰. It is manifest that the authority and importance of the archonship were gradually diminished, by limiting the duration of the office, and increasing the number of the persons who administered it: in its general features it re-

¹⁴ See n. 8.

¹⁵ § 30. n. 3.

¹⁶ See the whole list in Euseb. Conf. Meurs. Archont. Ath. in Gronov. Thes. t. 4.

¹⁷ Euseb. et Vellej. Pat. 1. 8.

¹⁸ Æschin. in Tim. 175. et Schol. 746; Heracl. Pont. 1; Diod. Fragm. v. 4. 34; Bipont. Nic. Damasc. p. 42. Orell.; Phot. παρ' ἵππον; Suid. παρ' ἵππον, and Ἰππομένης, Diogenian. 3. 1.

¹⁹ Thus may apparently be explained Ἰππομένης—τελευταῖος ἐβασίλευσε in Suid. παρ' ἵππον, and Diogenian. ubi sup.

²⁰ Euseb.; and from him Syncell., 169. C.; ἀρχοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ εὐρίθησαν ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν.

sembled the Roman consulate; the Archons were the organs of the Eupatridæ, and in their relation to them their power was narrowly limited. More unrestricted was their authority over the lower class; and there was no appeal from their verdict in judicial matters²¹. That passage in their oath, wherein they promise "to observe the laws, be incorruptible, or give a golden statue as a fine²²," is strictly antique.

No doubt can be entertained that a popular assembly existed, but it was limited by the degree of authority exercised by the nobility. According to the above, it would appear by no means improbable, that a council of the Eupatridæ was selected from the Phratrias and families, and that this again led to the formation of a particular body, appointed to assist the Archon in the duties of the administration, and limited in number. In the attempt to throw light upon the nature of this body, it must not be forgotten that the public administration of antiquity, according to the development of the state, was chiefly distinguished by a judicial character, and most of the officers derived their titles from legal functions. Many of the public offices of Athens, which had maintained their ground from the earliest ages till a very late period, retained the judicial character alone, whilst it may be clearly discerned that their sphere of action had at one time been more extended. Let us examine the courts of justice before Solon's time. These, ac-

²¹ This was the case with the new Archons till Solon's time, Bekker Anecd. 449. et Suid. ἀρχ.—κύριοί τε ἦσαν ὥστε τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς ποιῆσθαι.

²² Poll. 8. 85.—συμφυλάξιν τοὺς νόμους καὶ μὴ δωροδοκῆσιν ἢ χρυσὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀποτίσαι. However, in Suid. χρυσὴ εἰκόνα, the conclusion ἐν ἄστυ, ἐν Πυθοῖ, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, and in Plat. Phæd. 235. E. Χρυσὴν εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον, must be regarded with suspicion.

according to an unquestioned testimony, borrowed from one of Solon's tables of the law, were the courts of the Ephetae, the Areopagus, and the Prytaneum²³. Here, neither the Prytaneum nor the Areopagus is counted amongst the courts of the Ephetae; but the Prytaneum is, indeed, afterwards added as a fourth to those held at the Palladium, Delphinium, and Phreattys²⁴; but the whole number, inclusive of the Prytaneum²⁵, is stated to have been five, although they are not enumerated by name²⁶. The truth may apparently be gathered from the valuable account preserved in one of the grammarians, concerning a court at the harbour Zea, of which the others make no mention, and which he includes amongst those at the Palladium, Delphinium, and Phreattys, etc.²⁷ These four courts, then, we suppose to have been the places originally appointed for the meals of the Ephetae; and the statement that there were eighty Ephetae²⁸, twenty from every Phyle, applies to them. But the Phylobasileis²⁹ sat in the Prytaneum. Draco established an appeal from their decision to the Ephetae³⁰. Solon suffered both the Prytaneum and

²³ Plut. Sol. 19. ὁ δὲ τρισκαίδεκατος ἄξων—ἔχει—ἀτίμων ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἀρξαι ἐπιτίμους εἶναι, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, ἢ ὅσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἐφετῶν, ἢ ἐκ Πρυτανείου καταδικασθέντες—ἐφυγον, κ. τ. λ.

²⁴ See a collection of all the passages bearing upon this subject in Matthiae de Judic. Athen. in Dess. Miscell. Phil. 149, sqq.

²⁵ Demosth. c. Arist. 645; Harpocr. ἐφέται.

²⁶ Poll. 8. 125.

²⁷ Bekker, Anecd. 311. On the harbour Ζεά, see Hesych. εἰς τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ λιμένων οὕτω καλούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρπου τῆς ζεᾶς; Phot. Ζεά—λίμνην Ἀθήνησι. On the competence of this tribunal, see Bekker ubi sup. ἐνταῦθα κρίνεται ὁ ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ μὲν φόνῳ φεύγων, αἰτίαν δὲ ἔχων ἐπὶ ἐκουσίῳ φόνῳ. In the court at the Phreattys were tried such as ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ φεύγοντες, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ τινι κρινόμενοι, οἳ ἐπὶ πλοίῳ ἐστῶτες ἀπολογούνται; the difference is inconsiderable, and it is easy to explain his silence as to the first court.

²⁸ Schol. Demosth. c. Aristocr. 98; Suid. ἐπὶ Παλλαδ.

²⁹ Poll. 8. 120; Plut. Sol. 19.

³⁰ Poll. 8. 125; conf. Meier und Schömb. Att. Proc. 15. 16.

courts of the Ephetae to exist, but raised the Areopagus above them both³¹. Hence the five courts and fifty Ephetae, five from each of the ten Phylæ, must be brought down to the time of Clisthenes. He abolished the old Phylæ; the Phylobasileis were continued³², but the Prytaneum in which they had sat became a fifth court, and fifty Ephetae, besides the president, five from every Phyle, were now chosen³³.

But even the separation of the Prytaneum from the courts of the Ephetae fails to exhibit its real character, and it is necessary to revert to the time when there was but one Archon. As the latter then possessed singly the power and functions which were subsequently divided, it was indispensable that he should also have a chief seat of government. This was not, however, the place occupied by the subsequent Eponymus, but the ancient sanctuary of the state and centre of public life, the Prytaneum. The public repasts which had been held there from the remotest antiquity³⁴, the duties of the Parasiti³⁵, who were in Athens, as well as in many other states, at one time important officers³⁶, to whom must, apparently, be added the Colagretæ³⁷, who collected the sacrificial victims, and finally, the purchaser of the oxen, Boones³⁸,

³¹ Plut. ubi sup.

³² Conf. Meier u. Schöm. ubi sup. 116.

³³ To this may be referred Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277, which may be explained from Poll. 8. 124.

³⁴ Σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. (It was afterwards removed, together with the residence of the Prytanes, to the Tholos, in the new Agora, see Paus. 1. 5. 1.) Compare on this point, and on what follows, Müll. Dor. 2. 137, from whose scheme of the ancient Attic constitution mine certainly differs in some essential points.

³⁵ Μαιεῖς, παρασίτους τοὺς τὰ δημόσια σιτουμένους ἐν τῇ πρυτανείῳ.

³⁶ Athen. 6. 234. E. 236. E. 238. A.

³⁷ Ruhnck. ad. Tim. 171; Böckh Pub. Econ. 1. 186, sqq.

³⁸ Demosth. in Mid. 570. 7; Böckh Pub. Econ. 1. 232.

who is known to us from a later age, all tend to prove that a political body was permanently assembled in the Prytaneum. This must have been the Archon and his noble council, perhaps entitled Prytanes, to whom may possibly be added the Exegetæ, the expounders of the prescriptive ordinances in religious matters³⁹. To explain the subsequent condition of the Prytaneum, which was wholly different, it is necessary to advert to the increase in the number of the Archons. This was not as though a board of eight councillors had been appointed to aid the Archon in the performance of his duties, but the reason why this change in the existing order was followed by such important results is, that the character and functions of the Archon were divided and parcelled out amongst various persons with separate titles, whilst the number of the seats of administration underwent a corresponding increase⁴⁰. The Prytaneum could no longer belong to a single Archon, for it was a joint possession. In this capacity it retained its full importance in relation to the state in general, but the once-united administrative power, of which it was the seat, now being distributed amongst new functionaries, it possessed but a very limited share of its original jurisdiction, of the extent of which some idea may be formed from the circumstance, that even afterwards the judgment fees continued to be called Prytaneia⁴¹; still it did not, as in the time of its total degradation, merely take cognizance of offences committed by unknown criminals and inanimate

³⁹ Timæus, 109, sqq.; Ruhnck. Bekk. Anecd. 252; Harpocr. ἐξηγηταί; conf. Meier, de Bon. Damnator. Præf. 7.

⁴⁰ Consult on the subject of these, Bekker Anecd. 449.

⁴¹ Böckh Pub. Econ. 1. 369, sqq.

objects⁴², but, as is evident from the law of Solon cited above⁴³, had jurisdiction over a more extensive range of offenders. Phylobasileis are recorded as judges in the Prytaneum⁴⁴, but after Clisthenes they were only presidents⁴⁵ of the Ephetæ, who also sat there: but this does not apply to the early age. The persons about the Archon appear to have been the presidents of the Phylæ and Phratrias; we may judge of the nature of their avocations from those of the archonship. When the duties of the latter were divided, their sphere of action was no longer so extensive as before; on account of their connection with the public worship, the presidents of the Phylæ were associated with the king-archon in the Basileum, in the charge of what bore reference to that object⁴⁶. It is possible that the name Phylobasileis first arose at this period, in lieu of Prytanes⁴⁷, which was probably more ancient. Now, it is reasonable to suppose that as the Phylobasileis formed the council of the Basileus in religious affairs, a council was also assigned to the Eponymus and the Polemarch singly, and the remaining Archons collectively. If we consider that the division of the authorities must have been followed by a corresponding division in the subjects of administration, the subsequent institution of the Trittyes and Naucrarias, which was above conjectured to have arisen with the division of the archonship, will probably be viewed in its true

⁴² Poll. 8. 120; Demosth. in Aristocr. 645; Paus. 1. 38. 11; Harpocr. Etym. M. ἐπὶ Πρυταν. etc.

⁴³ See n. 23; conf. Andocid. de Myst. 37.

⁴⁴ See n. 29.

⁴⁵ Προιστήκεσαν, Poll. 8. 120. However, they appear to have spoken for themselves also, Andoc. ubi sup.; conf. Meier u. Schöm. 20. n.

⁴⁶ Poll. 8. 111.

⁴⁷ Plut. Sol. 19. βασιλεῖς are mentioned in one place—πρυτάνεις in another.

light, viz., as created to provide a sphere of action for the Eponymus in his capacity of chief officer and guardian of the physical strength of the state. It moreover serves to explain the account of the political importance of the Prytanes of the Naucrarias in Cylon's time⁴⁸. They may, without hesitation, be looked upon as the Trittyarchs, who succeeded each other in monthly attendance on the Eponymus, and hence Thucydides⁴⁹ might, in narrating the affair of Cylon, name the Archons themselves instead of them.

Lastly, little can be said with certainty of the Areopagus, notwithstanding the considerable power it is asserted to have possessed in the mythical age. There is no doubt that the hill of slaughter⁵⁰, as it was called, was the seat of a criminal tribunal. All the legends and traditions of the age before Solon, relate to judgments against murderers⁵¹. But the subject of the judges themselves is involved in great obscurity, and it is doubtful whether they possessed any share of the administrative power in other departments. It is, perhaps, not assuming too great a license to reason back as to its former political rank, from the form imparted to it by Solon. Solon was, in all probability, only entitled its creator, because he raised its authority. Hence we may conjecture that there formerly sat in the Areopagus a council of the eldest of the nobi-

⁴⁸ Herod. 5. 71.

⁴⁹ Thucyd. 1. 126.

⁵⁰ Charax ap. Schol. Aristid. Panath. 107; Reisk. Manuser. of the royal library in Copenhagen explains *πάγος* as signifying every sort of elevated place, *Ἄρειος διὰ τὸν φόνον*. Ἄρης ὁ φόνος, ἔναροι οἱ πεφονευμένοι. (I have not yet met with the copy of that Scholium published under the inspection of Frommel.)

⁵¹ Sch. Eurip. Orest. 1648. Concerning Halirrhothius, Orestes, Cephalus, Dædalus, conf. Demosth. c. Arist. 641; Apollod. 3. 14. 2; 3. 15. 1; Plut. Sol. 19. According to the Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 447, the murderers of Cylon's adherents were arraigned before the Areopagus.

lity⁵², which was either on a level with, or superior to, that composed of the presidents of the Phratrias and afterwards of the Trittyes, and that this constituted a political body without the pale of the current administration, which being endowed with regular functions only in the capacity of criminal judges, was distinguished by this peculiar attribute.

b. b. *The Constitution of Solon.*

I. PERSONAL RANK.

§ 46. The aristocracy of the Athenian Eupatridæ, brought to the verge of dissolution less by the aspiring efforts of the lower order than by intestine dissensions, could not be re-established by the ill-judged criminal laws of Draco. In the first place, these laws were in no wise adapted to produce a radical change in the constitution, or to apply a remedy to the defects under which it laboured; the impracticable severity of their provisions necessarily endangered legal order, and crime became emboldened by impunity. Twelve years after the legislation of Draco, Ol. 42. 1, Cylon attempted to make himself tyrant; the murder of his adherents by the Alcmaeonidæ¹, involved these, the principal family of the ruling order, in the guilt of blood; and from this time the lower class derived strength from the continuation of party feuds². Till then it had not only paid tribute to the Eupa-

⁵² It is impossible to attach any importance to the statements purporting to determine the number of the Areopagites; as, for instance, 31 in the Schol. Æschin. Eumen. 731; there can be no doubt that the 51 mentioned by Philochorus (Siebel. 14.) were in reality Ephetæ. Compare on this point, and on the opinions of Hullmann, Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. Introduct. 10. 18.

¹ Thucyd. 1. 126.

² Plut. Sol. 12.

tridæ in servile degradation, but through the rigour of the law of debt abject poverty had been combined with bodily slavery³. Now, however, the ancient props of the rulers began to give way, the demands of the age became too imperious to be controlled, and a fundamental reform was indispensable, unless they wished to behold their despotic power overwhelmed by anarchy and confusion.

Solon, Archon Ol. 46. 1, was chosen mediator. Equity and moderation are described by the ancients as the characteristics of his mind⁴; he determined to abolish the privileges of particular classes, and the arbitrary power of officers, and to render all the participators in civil and political freedom equal in the eye of the law, at the same time ensuring to every one the integrity of those rights to which his real merits entitled him; on the other hand, he was far from contemplating a total subversion of existing regulations; for that reason he left many institutions, e. g. Draco's laws on murder⁵, in full force, or most wisely suffered them to exist in form, whilst the old and decayed substance was carefully extracted and replaced by sound materials. Whatever was excellent in prescription was incorporated with the new laws and thereby stamped afresh; but prescription as such, with the exception of some unwritten religious ordinances of the Eumolpids⁶, was deprived

³ Plut. Sol. 12.

⁴ Μηδὲν ἄγαν, Diog. L. Sol. 6. Τὸ ἴσον πόλεμον οὐ ποιεῖ, Plut. Sol. 14. Ἰσότης στάσειν οὐ ποιεῖ, Plut. de Amor. Frater. 7. 889. It is evident from what follows that this must not be interpreted absolute equality. Conf. n. 9. and 66, and see Solon's verses ap. Plut. Sol. 18.

⁵ See Andocid. de Myst. 39; Gell. 11. 18. says, that Draco's laws—tacito illiteratoque Atheniensium consensu oblitteratæ sunt. This is not applicable to all, nor to Solon's time.

⁶ Lysias adv. Andoc. 204. But the magistrates did not take the oath not

of force. The law was destined to be the sole centre, whence every member of the political community was to derive a fixed rule of conduct secured against the vicissitudes of arbitrary power, by the clear and explicit character of its precepts⁷.

The chief power was vested in the collective people; but in order that it might be exercised with advantage it was necessary that they should be endowed with common rights of citizenship. Solon effected this by raising the lower class from its degradation, and by subjecting to legal control those who had till now formed the governing order, as well as by rendering the liberty of both dependent upon the law. The essential properties of citizenship consisted in the share possessed by every citizen in the legislature, the election of magistrates⁸, as well as the scrutiny of their conduct, and the execution of the laws by the courts of justice. This change was brought about by two ordinances, which must not be regarded as mere remedies for the abuses of that period, but as the permanent basis of free and legal citizenship. The one was the Seisachtheia⁹; this was enacted by Solon to afford relief to oppressed debtors, by reducing their debts in amount, and by raising the value of money in the payment of interest and principal¹⁰; at the

to apply any unwritten law before the archonship of Euclid. Andoc. de Myst. 41. 42.

⁷ Demosth. in Lept. § 76. ed. Wolf. The statement in Plut. Sol. 18. that the laws had been intentionally so framed, in order to admit a great stretch of discretionary power in their administration, can at the most only be viewed in the light of an explanation borrowed from the practice of subsequent times.

⁸ Here we may apply what is said by Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 4. — ἀναγκαῖο-
τάτην δύναμιν — ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν. Conf. § 37. n. 17.

⁹ Plut. Sol. 15; Cicero de Repub. 2. 34; Hesych. Etym. M.; Suid. σείσαχθ.

¹⁰ The explanation that Solon cancelled all debts (χρεῶν ἀποκοπή, novæ

same time he abrogated the former rigorous law of debt by which the freeman might be reduced to servitude¹¹, and thus secured to him the unmolested possession of his legal rights. Moreover, it may be confidently asserted, that the Seisachtheia was accompanied by the conversion of those estates which had hitherto been held of the nobility, by the payment of a fixed rent, into independent freehold property; thus domiciliation, and the possession of freehold property, were the main-springs of Solon's citizenship. A second ordinance enjoined, that their full and entire rights should be restored to all citizens who had incurred Atimia, except to absolute criminals¹². This was not only destined to heal the wounds which had been caused by the previous dissensions, but as till that time the law of debt had been able to reduce citizens to Atimia, and the majority of the Atimoi pointed out by Solon were slaves for debt, that declaration stood in close connection with the Seisachtheia, and had the effect of a proclamation from the state of its intention to guarantee the validity of the new citizenship.

Hence, this sacred right could no longer be forfeited through the operation of private law¹³, but through the commission of such offences only as immediately regarded the public; on the other

tabulæ), is decidedly at variance with the passage in the oath of the Heliasts, οὐδὲ τῶν χρεῶν τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκοπᾶς, etc. Demosth. Timocr. 746; and the disappointment of the lower orders after the legislation, who, in all probability, put the construction of the modern Levellers upon Solon's *ἴσον*. See Plut. Sol. 14. But the enactment raising the nominal value of money, only operated in cases where payments were made, but did not extend to dormant capital.

¹¹ Plut. Sol. 15.

¹² Plut. Sol. 19.

¹³ In the instance, Demosth. c. Aristocr. 1250, οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοῦ λυσαμένου ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι τὸν λυθέντα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδιδῷ τὰ λύτρα, humanity seems to have superseded the legal precedent.

side, indeed, upon the principle of full rights for full services, the non-performance of a public duty might be followed by Atimia, or by the restriction or privation of the full rights of citizenship, and it frequently happened, even without the formality of a judicial sentence, that the neglect of an obligation to the state involved heavier penalties than a crime itself.

The regulation by which none but those descended from civil parents were recognised as citizens still continued in force; it was still the duty and the privilege of the Phratrias and families to see that it was duly observed, and Solon probably ordained the written registers¹⁴ with a view to perfect this institution. Marriage with a foreign woman does not appear to have been strictly prohibited¹⁵, and her children, although designated spurious (*νόθοι*), were admitted to the citizenship in its most important features, a few rights¹⁶, for the most part bearing upon the family-unions, only excepted. The right of naturalization was granted by Solon to deserving aliens, when six thousand citizens declared themselves in favour of the measure¹⁷, but these new citizens were likewise deficient in a few of the privileges of citizenship appertaining for the most part to the private rights of persons; they were not eligible to the priesthood¹⁸, but their children were; they could not give evidence, did not possess unlimited au-

¹⁴ Φρατορικὸν, also κοινὸν γραμματεῖον, Demosth. c. Leocr. 1092. 29; c. Bæot. 995. 28; Harpocr. Suid. etc., κοινὸν γραμματεῖον.

¹⁵ Conf. Meier de Bon. Damnat. 73.

¹⁶ Poll. 3. 21. Their youthful exercises were performed in the Cynosarges in the time of Themistocles. Plut. Them. 1, and Amator. 9. 9; Demosth. c. Aristocr. 641. 18. Phot. Κυνόσαργες.

¹⁷ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1375. 15.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1376. 17; 1380. 28. Conf. Platner Beiträg. 129. 131.

thority over their wives¹⁹, and could not be appointed Archons²⁰. The statement that Solon received a great many foreigners as citizens, and every artizan that presented himself²¹, appears highly improbable, as Solon was the first legislator who systematically regulated the condition of the Metœci.

The Metœci, as already stated, probably took the place of the former Demiurgi; their position was one of sufferance, but the protection of the laws was guaranteed them. Still their relation towards the state was not of a direct character; they were compelled to have a citizen for their representative (*προστάτης*)²², but he was not allowed to exercise a discretionary power over them, as an individual. Various oppressive services, such as carrying the vessels and screens²³, were not yet imposed upon this class²⁴, or, at all events, they were not yet treated with the same haughtiness as they were afterwards²⁵; but there can be no doubt that that was one of Solon's laws, which enacted that they should be reduced to slavery if they omitted the performance of their chief duty towards the state, viz., the payment of the *Metœkion*²⁶; for upon the same principle, the citizen in a higher sphere, who omitted to discharge his debts to the state, incurred *Atimia*; this was also the

¹⁹ Demosth. in Steph. test. 1133.

²⁰ Ps. Demosth. ubi sup. 1376.

²¹ Plut. Sol. 24:—*παντοίους Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ.*

²² Harpocr. *προστάτ.* Conf. Petit, Leg. Att. 248. ed. Wessel. Heffler Ath. Gerichtshof. 88. 89. Meier u. Schöm. Att. Proc. 561.

²³ *Σκαφηφορεῖν, ὕδριαφορεῖν, σκιαδηφορεῖν*, Poll. 3. 55. Harp. *σκαφηφ.* Bekker Anecd. 304; *Æl. V. H. 6. 1.*

²⁴ This is also the account in Petit, p. 95.

²⁵ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 507: *τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω.* Conf. Vatic. App. 3. 82.

²⁶ Meier de Bon. *Damn.* 37, sqq.

punishment of those who contaminated the civil blood by secret marriages with female citizens²⁷. However, the distinction of such Metœci as had deserved well of the state, by placing them, with regard to fiscal contributions²⁸, upon a level with the citizens, as *Isoteles*²⁹, was a proceeding naturally to be expected from the patron of trade and intercourse. The transition from this position to citizenship was, it may be supposed, easy and natural.

The servile order, exclusively consisting of purchased aliens and their descendants³⁰, did not, as a body, stand in direct relation with the state; individual slaves became the property of individual citizens, but a certain number were employed by the state as clerks, etc., and were abandoned to the arbitrary pleasure of their oppressive taskmasters; it was even lawful to put them to the rack, and they were debarred from all liberal instruction³¹. Still the illustrious Solon was not altogether regardless of the rights of humanity: he allowed the slaves to prefer a formal complaint against any one who treated them with wanton outrage (*ὑβρις*)³²; they might also apply for an order to be sold to another master³³; an immediate refuge from misuse was found in asylums; the Theseum, which was afterwards erected, belonged

²⁷ Ps. Demosth. in *Nær.* 1350. 20.

²⁸ Bekker Anecd. 267.

²⁹ Harp. Phot. *Mæris*, Ammon. *ισοτέλ.* Poll. 3. 56. Conf. Wolf. *Præf.* ad Dem. Lept. 70. Böckh *Pub. Econ.* 2. 77, sqq. Suidas must be emended from Harpocration. Bekker Anecd. 298, the order of succession is: *πρόξενος, ισοτέλης, μετοίκος*. Conf. Dem. Lept. 466. 6: *πολιτῶν, ισοτελῶν, ξένων* (i. e. *μετοίκων*).

³⁰ *Οικότριβες*, Hesych. Phot. Ammon. Bekker Anecd. 286.

³¹ Plut. Sol. 1; *Æsch.* in Tim. 147.

³² *Æsch.* in Tim. 42. 43.

³³ Poll. 7. 13; Plut. de *Superstit.* 6. 635.

to this class³⁴. Both the slaves of the state and those of private individuals were sometimes manumitted as a reward for signal services, such as denouncing state criminals³⁵, etc.; these received their liberty as a gift, others purchased it. Those who were manumitted³⁶ stood upon the footing of Metœci³⁷; the citizens who enfranchised them becoming their Prostatae³⁸.

With reference to a share in the supreme power, the citizenship must be first considered in its largest extent, as a common possession of which the lowest persons were not deprived, and which varied in degree according to age; and secondly, in connection with those rights which proceeded from a difference of valuation.

Every citizen had a right to speak in the popular assembly, and to judge upon oath in the courts³⁹; but the former of these rights might be exercised at an earlier age than the latter. Upon attaining the age of puberty, the sons of citizens entered public life under the name of Ephebi. The state gave them two years for the full development of their youthful strength and the practice of those exercises which might ensure its efficient dedication to the most important duty of a citizen, viz., the service of arms. Upon the expiration of the second⁴⁰, and, according to the most authentic

³⁴ Poll. 7. 13. from Aristoph. Etym. M. Θησεῖον from Philochor.

³⁵ Μηνύτης, see Taylor lection. Lys. 714.

³⁶ Ἀπελεύθεροι, ἐξελεύθεροι, Poll. 3. 83. The latter probably signified those who had been released from imprisonment for debt; Ammon. ἀπελεύθ.

³⁷ See Platner Appen. 127. On the χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες, Böckh Pub. Econ. 1. 281.

³⁸ Platner ubi sup.; Meier de Bon. 35, sqq.

³⁹ Plut. Sol. 18: συνεκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν: imperfectly in Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 4: ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν.

⁴⁰ This is signified by the ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῆσαι, Harpocr. ἐπὶ δ. ἡ. and Poll. 8. 105; Bekker Anecd. 255; Demosth. in Stephan. test. 1135. 1136. et passim. But to this must apparently be referred τὸν δεῦτερον ἐνιαυτὸν, in a fragm. Aristot. ap. Harpocr. and Phot. περίπολος, and Schol. Æschin. 764.

accounts, in their eighteenth year⁴¹, they received the shield and spear⁴² in the popular assembly, complete armour being given to the sons of those who had fallen in battle⁴³, and in the temple of Agraulos took the oath of young citizens⁴⁴, the chief obligations of which concerned the defence of their country⁴⁵, and then for the space of one or two years performed military service in the Attic border fortresses under the name of Peripoli⁴⁶. The ceremony of arming them was followed by enrolment in the book which contained the names of those who had attained majority⁴⁷; this empowered the young citizen to manage his own fortune⁴⁸, preside over a household, enter the

⁴¹ See in opposition to Harpocr. and Poll. ubi sup., who mention the twentieth year, Schöm. comit. 76, sqq.; Böckh ind. lectt. Berol. 1819—20; Platner Beiträge, 72, sqq.

⁴² See the last three passages cited in n. 40.

⁴³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 542.

⁴⁴ Demosth. de fals. Legat. 438. 17: τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγραύλου τῶν ἐφήβων ὅρκον. See the oath itself, Poll. 8. 106. Conf. Stobæus 41. p. 141, and Lycurg. c. Leocrat. 189.

⁴⁵ This is contained in the summary statements, Lyc. ubi sup.: μήτε ἱερὰ ὄπλα κατασχύνειν, μήτε τὴν τάξιν λείψειν, ἀμύνειν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ἀμείνω παραδῶσιν, Philostr. vit. Apollon. 4. 21: ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖσθαι καὶ ὄπλα στήσεσθαι, Ulp. ad Demosth. ubi sup.: μετὰ πανοπλιῶν ὤμνον ὑπερμαχεῖν ἄχρι θανάτου τῆς θρεψαμένης. Of the two readings in the formula of oath even according to the words καὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδῶσω, Poll. (the text of Kühn) πλεύσω δὲ καὶ καταρόσω, ὁπόσῃν ἂν παραδέξωμαι, and Stob. ubi sup. πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω, ὅσῃν ἂν παραδέξωμαι. The latter is unquestionably to be preferred, and with it coincide the concluding words in Lycurg. καὶ ἀμείνω παραδ. It was proposed that the land should be ameliorated by the labour of the tiller; this is referred to in the paraphrase of this passage in Plut. Alcib. 15. ad fin.

⁴⁶ See the last three passages cited in n. 40; Poll. 8. 106; Schol. Plat. Alc. 1. 69; Ruhnck. One is almost tempted to regard the expression of Pollux, περίπολοι ἐφηβοί, as a twofold appellation; it is at least certain that the name ἐφηβοί was likewise applied to the young citizens during the earlier part of their service. Hence, in Lycurg. ἐφηβοί γίνονται, of those who took the oath of Ephebi. The service of the Peripoli was likewise denominated στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, (which may be explained with Vales. ad Harpocr. 128, from Plat. de Legg. 6. 760, μόρια τῆς χώρας), Æschin. de fals. Legat. 330; Harpocr. στρατεία; Phot. στρατιά, etc.

⁴⁷ Ἀρχιάρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, Lycurg. ubi sup.; Bekker Anecd. 272; Harp. Phot.; Æsch. in Tim. 49; Taylor and others from λῆξις, patrimony. Conf. Tittmann 279. n. 4.

⁴⁸ Æsch. c. Tim. 122.

popular assembly, and speak⁴⁹. When he asserted the last right, viz., the Isegoria, Parrhesia⁵⁰, he was denominated Rhetor⁵¹, and this appellation denoted the difference between him and the silent member of the assembly, the Idiotēs⁵²; but the speakers were not singled out from the rest of the members in the manner of a corporation or particular order, or in the character of regular functionaries⁵³. What was called the Dokimasia of the Rhetors⁵⁴, was not a scrutiny of office, but a measure which was adopted in case a citizen who had forfeited the right of speaking in consequence of Atimia, presumed to exercise it⁵⁵, and it required to be preceded by a special motion to that effect⁵⁶. That this Dokimasia is, in the ancient authors, so frequently classed with that of the Archons and Strategi⁵⁷, must be explained from the growing political importance of oratory, which imparted a sort of official character, like that of the legally-elected military commanders and civil functionaries to the self-constituted demagogues of the day⁵⁸. Moreover, after oratory began to be

⁴⁹ Λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, Æsch. in Tim. 54; δημηγορεῖν, ibid. Conf. Valckenaer diatrib. in Eurip. rel. 254 A—C. It was usual to class together λέγειν καὶ γράφειν (viz., ψήφισμα), as Demosth. de Coron. 286. 4; 288. 8; in Androt. 602. 23; Theop. ap. Ath. 12. 532, C.

⁵⁰ Παρρησία, Bekker Anecd. 198.

⁵¹ Phot. and Suid. Πῶς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δῆμος συμβουλευῶν καὶ ὁ ἐν δήμῳ ἀγορεύων εἴτε ἰκανὸς εἴη λέγειν εἴτε καὶ ἀδύνατος.

⁵² Æschin. in Tim. 33; Dem. in Androt. 624. 28; in Aristog. 782. 26; Isocr. Paneg. cap. 2, etc. Conf. Schöm. Comit. 110. n. 18.

⁵³ Schöm. 112, sqq.

⁵⁴ Æsch. in Tim. 28. 54. 55. Harpocr. δοκιμασθεῖς; Suid. δοκιμασία; Bekker Anecd. 241; Schöm. ubi sup.

⁵⁵ Æsch. in Tim. 55. 56; Poll. 8. 45.

⁵⁶ Δοκιμασίαν ἐπαγγεῖλαι, Bekker Anecd. 241, and ἐπαγγεῖλαι, 256; Harpocr. δοκιμασθεῖς—ἐξητάζετο γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ βίος ἐνίοτε.

⁵⁷ Bekk. An. 235. Harpocr. δοκιμασθεῖς, from Lycurg.

⁵⁸ Hence we may also explain Dinarchus c. Dem. 51: "Rhetors and Strategi must παιδοποιεῖσθαι," etc. This was not a law framed exclusively for the former, but was applicable to all the citizens in common; amongst whom, however, Dinarchus singles out Demosthenes as an orator, conse-

studied systematically, the word Rhetor became confined to the class of professed sophists⁵⁹, Autoschediasts becoming comparatively rare, and a marked line being drawn between them and the remaining mass. Finally, the order of speaking depended upon age; those who were more than fifty years old being entitled to speak first⁶⁰.

Upon attaining his thirtieth year⁶¹, the citizen might assert his superior rights; he was qualified for a member of the sworn tribunal entitled the Heliæa. For this purpose it was requisite to take a new oath⁶² in the open place called Ardettus⁶³, which chiefly related to civil duties generally; but its conclusion prescribed judicial obligations⁶⁴. This must be distinguished from the short oath which it was necessary to take before a court of any description could be held⁶⁵. The word Heliast does not merely signify a judge; but the citizen who has fully attained maturity, and whose superior right is proclaimed in the performance of juridical functions, as the most important public agency

quently a citizen from whom more especially civil services might be demanded. It is a mere rhetorical antithesis in Dinarch. c. Aristog. 86. Likewise in πολιτεύεσθαι and στρατηγεῖν, Isocrat. ad Phil. 154; the first must be emphatically referred to δημηγορεῖν; conf. Valcken. diatr. 254 C.

⁵⁹ As in Demosth. de Coron. 285. 8.

⁶⁰ Æsch. in Tim. 49. 51. 383. 386. Conf. Tittmann griech. Staatsv. 188.

⁶¹ Demosth. in Tim. 747. 9; Poll. 8. 122. The Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 330, confounding the ages of the Dietetæ and Heliasts, has ἑξ ἐνιαυτῶν.

⁶² Poll. 8. 122; the name was supposed to be derived from a hero who ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας ὤρεωσεν, the people torn by dissensions, therefore without any immediate reference to a tribunal. Conf. Harp. Etym. M. Ἀρδῆττ. According to Bekker A. 44, the oath was no longer taken than in the time of Theophrastus.

⁶³ See Ibid. how it was changed after Clisthenes. Demosth. in Tim. 746. 747.

⁶⁴ Beginning at the words οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι τῆς ἡλιάσεως.

⁶⁵ Its chief contents were, to decide according to the laws, and in case these should be defective, to the best of their judgment; Dem. c. Boeot. 1006. 26.—ὦν—ἀν μὴ ὡς νόμοι, γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ δικάσειν ὁμωρόκατε. Poll. 8. 122, erroneously adduces this as the general oath of the Heliasts, and yet he there calls the Ardettus a court of justice, and mentions the Amphioria!

of which he is capable, just as the rights of younger citizens are implied by the act of public speaking. The judges of the courts of the *Diätetæ* and *Ephetæ*, which existed without the circle of the ordinary tribunals, were required to be still older men than the *Heliasts*, viz., fifty or sixty years of age⁶⁶.

Solon appointed gradations in the rights of citizenship, according to the conditions of a census in reference to offices of state, which, although not in themselves modifications of the highest legislative and judicial power, nevertheless exercised a most important influence upon it as advising and directing authorities. Upon the principle of a conditional equality of rights, which assigns to every one as much as he deserves⁶⁷, and which is highly characteristic of Solon's policy in general⁶⁸, he instituted four classes according to a valuation; these were the *Pentacosiomedimni*, the *Hippeis*, the *Zeugitæ*, and the *Thetes*⁶⁹. The valuation, however, only affected that portion of capital from which contributions to the state-burthens were required, consequently, according to Böckh, a taxable capital. This counteracts the unworthy notion that this regulation was intended to raise wealth itself in the scale of importance, and serves to exhibit its real object, which was to impose that burthen, which unpaid offices of state

⁶⁶ Poll. 8. 126; Schol. Dem. in Mid. 89; Bekker A. 235; Schol. Demosth. c. Arist. 98, etc.

⁶⁷ See on this species of *ισότης*, and that which was absolute and unqualified (the liberty and equality of the revolution), Plat. de Legg. 6. 757 B. C. Isocr. Areop. 222; Aristot. Eth. Nic. 2. 5. 9; 3. 7. 1; 5. 1. 2; 5. 7. 20, sqq.; 6. 1. 6; 6. 2. 4; 7. 1. 2.

⁶⁸ Conf. n. 4.

⁶⁹ Plut. Sol. 18; Poll. 7. 129; Schol. Demosth. de Symmor. 55; where the end is wholly useless. See the comprehensive exposition in Böckh Pub. Econ. 2. 29, sqq.

might prove to needy persons, on such as could administer them without prejudice to their domestic relations, so that a person who was declared eligible could only be dispensed from it by means of an oath⁷⁰, and thus to guard the state against the effect of that pernicious cupidity which is so frequently combined with indigence; it was at the same time a means to reward the citizen, who was obliged to satisfy the higher claims of the state, by the enjoyment of corresponding rights. The *Thetes*, the last of these classes, were not regularly summoned to perform military service, but only exercised the civic right as members of the assembly and the law-courts; the second and third, from which the infantry and cavalry were chosen, likewise acted as functionaries, and when irreproachable in other respects, and, according to the conditions of the census, sat in the council of the four hundred; whilst the highest class exclusively supplied the superior offices, such as the archonship⁷¹, and through this the council of the *Areopagus*.

This arrangement left the four *Phylæ* in full vigour, but attacked the very roots of those privileges by which the *Eupatridæ* had been distinguished from the rest of the citizens. The existing regulations were not abolished, it is true, for the *Eupatridæ* continued to hold the richest possessions, and consequently retained their position in the highest order; but how speedily must the fluctuations of wealth have been succeeded

⁷⁰ *ἑξωμοσία*. Demosth. de fals. Legat. 328; in Timoth. 1204; Æschin. de fals. Legat. 271. *ὑπωμοσία* only applied to a temporary impediment, Æschin. in Ctesiph. 462.

⁷¹ Plut. Arist. 1; Æl. V. H. 8. 10.

by the rise of other families! Sacerdotal privileges remained longest proof against revolutionary changes; hence, not to mention the priesthoods which were annexed to various noble families, the Phylobasileis long continued to be selected from the Eupatridæ⁷².

II. THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES.

§ 47. It has been said that Solon organized two councils, viz., of the four hundred, and the Areopagus, in order that two anchors might secure the state against the waves of seditious violence¹. His real merit consisted in remodelling previously-existing political bodies, so as to render them adequate to the object for which they were designed. The line of procedure in public matters enjoins us first to speak of the council of the four hundred; the council of the Areopagus, which may be called the key-stone of the arch, must be considered last.

In lieu of the former council of administration, of which no memorial has been preserved², Solon instituted a council of four hundred citizens taken from the first three classes, one hundred from every Phyle³, of which no person under thirty years of age could be a member⁴. The appointments were renewed annually; the candidates underwent an examination⁵, and such as were deemed eligible drew lots⁶. There is not a vestige from which it can be inferred that Solon originally appointed election of the members; those who in-

⁷² Poll. 8. 111.

¹ See Plut. Sol. 19.

³ Plut. Sol. 19.

⁵ Demosth. in Mid. 551. 1; Lysias, c. Phil. Dok.

⁶ Βουλευται ἀπὸ κλήρου. See the authorities in Tittmann, 240. n. 58.

² Conf. § 45. ad fin.

⁴ Xenoph. Memorabil. Socr. 1. 2. 35.

curring dishonour might be expelled by the majority⁷. The internal organization, the change of the Prytanes, etc., cannot be ascertained in consequence of the alterations introduced by Clisthenes. It appears probable however, that as the twelve Trittyes corresponded with the twelve months of the year, each of the Phyle held the Prytany for three months, whilst the Naucrarias succeeded to the Proedria in each Prytany by rotation, and the Epistates changed daily. The principal political duties of this council were to receive propositions on state-matters from the Prytanes, who assembled daily for that purpose, to deliberate on the course to be pursued, and in case of need to prepare the affair for the popular assembly. It seldom acted independently of, or before the popular assembly, and never when the affair in question was of a legal nature⁸; it was only destined to act through the medium of that body to which it was to give the aid of its intelligence and advice. However, various departments of the public administration were confided to its management⁹; to these referred its decrees (ψηφίσματα), which were only valid for the current year¹⁰, besides which it could impose fines, at a later period, to the amount of five hundred drachmas¹¹. Nevertheless, it was still subordinate to the body of the citizens, to which appeals might be made¹². A

⁷ They first of all voted with beans, and afterwards with olive leaves (ἐκφυλλοφορῆσαι); see Meier de Bon. Damn. 83. n. 278.

⁸ See the fragment of the oath of the Buleutæ in Dem. in Tim. 745. 13, and 746. 9. 10: οὐδὲ δῆσω Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα. On the exception in the case of traitors and debtors to the state, ibid. 745. 14, and Andocid. de Myst. 45.

⁹ See Böckh Pub. Econ. 1. 165.

¹⁰ Demosth. in Aristocr. 651. 16. 17; Bekker Anecd. 289, where, singularly enough, προβούλευμα is used instead of ψηφίσμα. On the longer duration of some, see Schömann comit. 157. n.

¹¹ Demosth. in Euerg. 1152. 10.

¹² Ἐφεσις, Poll. 8. 62.

general passing of accounts took place at the close of the official year¹³; a conscientious discharge of official duties was rewarded with a crown of honour¹⁴.

A popular assembly was an ingredient of the constitution of Solon, as of all the Grecian democracies; but popular tribunals, whose authority emanated from the assembly, but was superior to and operated as a check upon it, may be pronounced peculiar to his institutions.

The popular assembly was, probably, in connection with the Prytanies of the council of four hundred, held regularly on stated days of the month¹⁵; in cases of emergency an extraordinary meeting might be convened¹⁶. It was obligatory upon every citizen to attend it, and as early as Solon's time the loiterers in the streets were marked with a rope stained with red lead, and afterwards fined¹⁷; this was done for the purpose of inspiring the citizen with an interest in public affairs. It was expedient too that the share he took should be an active one; he was not limited to a simple aye or no, but possessed the right of making substantive motions, and debating on a measure. On the other hand, the influence of the assembly was so far limited, that except in a few urgent matters, such as in the case of an Eisan-

¹³ Æschin. in Ctes. 412.

¹⁴ Argum. Dem. in Androt. 590; conf. 595. 24; but it is probable that rewards for the construction of triremes were not customary till after Solon's time.

¹⁵ It cannot be ascertained how many days Solon set apart for regular meetings; perhaps one only, and this may have originally been the *κυρία ἐκκλησία*. Conf. § 48. on Clisthenes and Schöm. com. 31.

¹⁶ *Σύγκλητοι*, and when the citizens were summoned from the country *κατακλησίου*, Schöm. 28. 29.

¹⁷ *Σχοῖνος μεμιτωμένος*, Poll. 8. 104; Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 22.

gelia, etc., which were obliged to be first brought forward in the assembly, though even then not without previous notice to the Prytanies, every subject was first examined by the four hundred and then submitted to the people in the form of a *Probuleuma*¹⁸. If this was not immediately adopted by *Procheirotomia*¹⁹, it was modified by debate, and a different motion might be made by an orator, after which the *Proedri* proceeded to collect the votes²⁰. The question was decided by a show of hands²¹; the order of precedence amongst the classes, as beheld in the "*comitia centuriata*" of Rome, was not observed here. Decrees as to measures which concerned private individuals, such as naturalization, etc. required to be carried by six thousand votes²², which were given secretly by pebbles²³, etc. The order observed in the general conduct of business was determined by the *Nomophylaces*²⁴, with whom were associated the *Proedri*²⁵. The following subjects were almost invariably brought forward in the popular assembly: legislation, the election and scrutiny of the conduct of magistrates, certain public law proceed-

¹⁸ Plut. Sol. 19; Aristoph. Thesm. 372; Dem. in Lept. 541; de Coron. 296. in Aristocr. 651; Arg. Dem. in Androt. 587. 591; conf. Schöm. com. 96, sqq.

¹⁹ Dem. in Timocr. 703. 17; Harpocr. Phot. *προχειρ*.

²⁰ This is essential to the nature of public proceedings, in which debating takes place. Comp. Schöm. com. 98; Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 184.

²¹ *Χειροτονία*.

²² Andoc. de Myst. 42, from which a second *ἐάν μὴ* must be inserted in Demosth. in Timocr. 719. 5. However, we cannot help enquiring whether by the 6000 we are not to understand the whole number of the *Heliasts*. With reference to a court in the case of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, e. g. Andoc. de Myst. 9, has *ἐν ἑξακισχελίοις Ἀθηναίων*. Conf. § 48. n. 42.

²³ Dem. in Tim. 719. 6.

²⁴ Bekker, Anecd. 283; Poll. 8. 94. Conf. Harp. Phot. *νομοφ.* Suid. *νομοφ.* and *οἱ νομοφ.* Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 338.

²⁵ See concerning those of Clisthenes, the only ones with which we are acquainted, § 48.

ings²⁶, peace and war, alliances, embassies, granting the citizenship, and financial proposals and accounts; under certain circumstances a decree of the popular assembly might be required on every subject connected with the administration²⁷. Thus, although no department of the public service was entirely exempt from its operation, still it by no means decided in the last resort on momentous questions, for that was the province of the superior tribunal, the *Heliaea*²⁸.

Six thousand, therefore, the majority of the adult citizens²⁹, were annually chosen from Ecclesiasts above thirty years of age in the capacity of Heliasts, without, on that account, ceasing to be members of the popular assembly. The *Heliaea*, the tribunal of those sworn judges who sat in various courts, did not act as an ordinary court of law, but as an official body entrusted with a larger portion of the supreme power³⁰, to which were confided not merely judicial questions, but general political matters, relating to the people at large, and from their nature strictly cognizable by the popular assembly, in order that they might be investigated and decided according to the proper legal forms. The intention of Solon to limit the power of the popular assembly by means of a superior board emanating from itself, and at no time at variance with its true spirit, composed of citizens

²⁶ Γραφή παρανόμων, εἰσαγγελία, etc. See Schöm. com. v. 2. cap. 2—5.

²⁷ See at large, Schöm. v. 2. ²⁸ On this word, see § 37. n. 14.

²⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277; Vesp. 662. On the subject of the ingredients of this body, and on the constitution of the courts of justice, Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 293; Schömann de sortit. judic.; and against them Heffter, Ath. Gerichtsvf. 52, and Meier u. Schöm. Att. Proc. 127, sqq.

³⁰ Hence, Aristoph. Plut. 916: οὐκ οὐν δικαστὰς ἐξεπίτηδες ἡ πόλις ἄρχειν καθίστησιν.

of a maturer age, and bound by a stricter oath, and to cause that which, if discussed intemperately and decided upon prematurely, might prove detrimental to the interests of the state, to be weighed over by an assembly accustomed to proceed upon legal principles, is clearly exhibited in the regulation which made the introduction of new laws at the annual revision³¹ dependent upon the decision of the Heliastic Nomothetæ; wherefore no decree of the popular assembly could be superior to³², or even have the force of law, till that consent had imparted political sanction to it. Moreover, the election of the magistrates in the popular assembly was only a preliminary step, as those who were chosen had first to be examined by the council of four hundred, and a court of the *Heliaea*³³. There was no ordinance empowering the Heliasts to investigate all the other matters discussed in the popular assembly, it is true; but none were exempt from their scrutiny, and it only required an application to be made for any subject to be discussed according to the regular forms of the *Heliaea*³⁴, when the assembly immediately ranged itself under that superior court. This rendered the popular tribunals of such importance to

³¹ See the law, with additions from later times indeed, Demosth. in Timocr. 705—707; conf. Æsch. in Ctesiph. 429. 430; Andoc. de Myst. 40; Poll. 8. 101: new laws, ἐδοκίμαζεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια. Harpocr. θεσμοθεῖται. Petit (186. 187.) erroneously considers the revision by the Thesmothetæ, alluded to by Æschines, a different proceeding; Wolf, Præf. Lept. CL., opposes this opinion with sufficient distinctness, and Tittmann in very decided terms, Gr. Staatsv. 146. n. 22; I am of opinion that the last takes the correct view of the subject.

³² Andoc. de Myst. 42; Dem. in Aristocr. 649; Wolf, Lept. 310. 311.

³³ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 399. sqq.; Poll. 8. 92; conf. Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 320; Heffter Ath. Gerichtsvf. 268; Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. 201, sqq.

³⁴ Ἐφεσις ἀπὸ δῆμου ἐπὶ δικαστήριον, Poll. 8. 62. Conf. Tittm. Griech. Staatsv. 144.

the constitution in general³⁵, and on this account the Heliasts were so frequently addressed as the popular assembly itself³⁶; and hence finally resulted the order of succession of the political authorities, Bule, Ecclesia, Heliæa³⁷, in the last of which only we behold the supreme power exempt from every species of Euthyne³⁸.

Lastly, we shall be enabled to form an adequate notion of the profound political wisdom of Solon, in making the supreme authorities of the state act as a check upon, and consequently strengthen each other, by observing that, as the Ecclesia possessed a preparatory board in the Bule, so the proceedings of the Heliæa were preceded and facilitated by the introductory labours of the *Ἡγεμονία δικάστηρίων*, whereby the sphere of action of the magistrates, who were in other respects exceedingly limited, became enlarged, and another security was provided against delinquency; and this circumstance must therefore be particularly borne in mind in estimating the character of the magistrates. But it is first necessary to speak of Solon's measures with respect to these officers generally.

Those priesthoods and other offices which had hitherto been administered by particular families

³⁵ Andoc. de Myst. 5: *ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους συνέχει μόνον τὴν πόλιν*. Lyc. c. Leocr. 138: democracy is maintained by three things, *ἡ τῶν νόμων τάξις, ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ψήφος, ἡ τοῦτοιοις τὰ δικάσματα παραδούσα κρίσις*. Nevertheless the unqualified assertion of the ancients, *τὰ δικάστηρια δημοτικὸν* (Arist. Pol. 2. 9. 2. 3), is only applicable to the institution of Solon in a general point of view, inasmuch as the people, and not magistrates judged; but it was very far from his design to establish absolute democracy by means of the Heliæa.

³⁶ See examples in Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 217.

³⁷ Demosth. in Aristocr. 653. 7. Hence in Lycurg. c. Leocr. 191, the mere Ecclesiast is, as an *ιδιώτης*, opposed to the magistrates and judges.

³⁸ Aristoph. Vesp. 587, Philocleon says: *καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνυπεύθυνον δρωμεν τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεμί' ἀρχή*. See the sound observations on the judicial power as a continuation of the legislative and as the practice of the laws, Platner Att. Process, p. 25.

or corporations, were by no means made solely dependent upon the state. Solon did not interfere with such institutions as were confined to the natural circles in which they had originated, so long as they did not operate prejudicially to the public interests, cautiously abstaining from disturbing the foundations of the political edifice whilst embellishing the superstructure.

One of his laws directed that persons should be appointed by election³⁹, and not by lot, to those offices which were conferred by the body of the people and for which a double scrutiny was required, viz. the Dokimasia before office, and the Euthyne during and after its administration; the former was intended to ensure the greatest possible excellence in the functionaries, the latter to give a pledge for their fidelity to the state. The Dokimasia conducted in the Bule, and in a Heliastic court of judicature⁴⁰, consisted in an Anacrisis as to whether the candidate was a citizen⁴¹, possessed a competent fortune⁴², was free from bodily defects⁴³, and fulfilled his duties towards the household and gentile gods, Zeus Herceius, and Apollo Patrous⁴⁴; moreover, whether he acted with filial piety towards his parents⁴⁵, had performed military service⁴⁶, and lastly, whether he paid his taxes.

³⁹ Isocrat. Areopag. 221; Arist. Pol. 2. 9. 2; Plut. Comp. Sol. et Popl. 2; Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 410.

⁴⁰ Poll. 8. 44; Heffter Athen. Gerichtsvf. 23, sqq. Comp. n. 33.

⁴¹ *Ἐκ τριγωνίας*, Poll. 8. 85.

⁴² Dinarch. c. Aristog. 86; Poll. 8. 86; conf. § 46. n. 70, and a hint in Isæus de Apollod. Hered. 182.

⁴³ *Ἀφελής*, Etym. M. *ἀφελής*; Lysias *περὶ ἀδυνάτου*; Polit. 170, sqq. 324.

⁴⁴ Demosth. c. Eubul. 1319. 22, sqq.; Poll. 8. 85; Phot. *Ἐπε*; Platner, Beitr. 88, sqq.

⁴⁵ Dinarch. c. Aristog. 86; Demosth. adv. Eubul. 1320. 18.

⁴⁶ Dinarch. ubi sup. That likewise furnishes us with a clew to the age, which most assuredly could not be under that of a Heliast.

The conduct of such as were of blemished character was legally investigated. The Euthyne during office, which regularly occurred at the commencement of a new Prytany, consisted of an enquiry in the popular assembly, whether the magistrates appeared to perform their duty or not⁴⁷; the Euthyne, after office⁴⁸, was conducted by a body constituted for that express object, consisting of the Euthyni and Logistæ⁴⁹, and the results of their investigation transferred to a court of Heliasts to be judicially decided⁵⁰. In the extraordinary case, that an Archon appeared in public intoxicated, it was lawful for any citizen who met him to kill him⁵¹.

The archonship, collectively considered, still continued to be the highest and most honourable amongst the offices of state; the Strategi did not become influential till afterwards, and only through circumstances, whilst the sacerdotal dignitaries and finance-officers never advanced beyond the limited sphere of their own peculiar duties. The prohibition to hold a public office more than once⁵², especially applied to the archonship. The essential change, however, which Solon effected in that dignity, was, that he wholly abolished the absolute power the Archons once possessed of pronouncing legal verdicts, and assigned to them the duty of examining and bringing the most important cases before the popular tribunals in which they pre-

⁴⁷ Lysias in Nicom. 842; Poll. 8. 95.

⁴⁸ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 405, sqq.

⁴⁹ Petit, 308; Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 203, sqq.; Tittmann, 323, sqq.; Heffter, 374, sqq.; Meier u. Schöm. 215, sqq.

⁵⁰ Phot. εὐθύν.; Poll. 8. 45, the Logistæ tried questions concerning money; the judges, ἀδικήματα.

⁵¹ Diog. L. 1. 57.

⁵² Demosth. in Timocr. 747. 5.

sided by virtue of their office. The ἡγεμονία δίκαστηρίων, alluded to above⁵³, an institution admirably adapted, by its skilful manner of opening proceedings, to facilitate the final judgment of the Heliæa, was at the same time intended to strengthen that security which Solon provided against the premature resolutions of the people. With the exception of the right of pronouncing judgment, each of the three first Archons retained nearly the same range of duties as before. The Eponymus, as the representative of the state and father of the political family, conducted such actions as affected the rights of private individuals; the Basileus, as high priest, prosecutions which regarded the shedding of blood and offences against the state-religion; and the Polemarch, whose functions comprehended all matters relating to foreign states, lawsuits between citizens and strangers⁵⁴; each of them was assisted in these duties by two assessors (πάρεδροι)⁵⁵; however, they had more honour than real occupation. But amongst the most efficient instruments for rendering the new legal institutions of Solon of practical utility, were the six Thesmothetæ, whose name is occasionally employed to designate the whole body⁵⁶. They conducted the annual drawing of lots for the Heliasts, the judicial Dokimasia of the magistrates, appointed the days for legal sittings, and commenced those proceedings which were

⁵³ Harpocr. Phot. Suid. ἡγεμονία δίκας; Poll. 8. 89; Bekker Anecd. 262. 309. 310. To this may apparently be referred ἐπιστάντης, Bekker Anecd. 188; conf. Tittmann, gr. Staatsvf. 228, sqq.; 258, sqq.; Heffter Ath. Gerichtsvf. 15, sqq.; Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. 46, sqq.

⁵⁴ Poll. 8. 89—91.

⁵⁵ See Meier u. Schöm. 57, sqq.

⁵⁶ As in the Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 772? The ten Thesmothetæ mentioned there also belong to the constitution of Clisthenes. In Poll. 8. 85, ἀνάκρισις θεσμοθετῶν must be understood of all the Archons; conf. Demosth. in Eubul. 1319. 22, and, in general, Tittmann gr. Staatsvf. 261, sqq.

most important to Solon's constitution, such as the prosecution of the authors of illegal measures (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*)⁵⁷. The first Archon, from the time of Clisthenes, resided near the statues of the heroes, from whom the Phylæ derived their names; the Basileus at the Bucoleum in the regal Stoa; the Polemarch at the Lyceum; and the Thesmothetæ at the Thesmothesium⁵⁸. Joint agency was confined to a limited class of subjects; but the statement that Solon enacted that they should pronounce sentence collectively instead of individually⁵⁹, as before, is founded upon a misapprehension.

Solon conferred an eminent distinction upon the archonship, when he enacted that the council of the Areopagus should be composed of those Archons who had discharged the duties of their office with zeal and fidelity⁶⁰. It is erroneous to ascribe to him the first institution of that body⁶¹; but there is no doubt that to him it owed that political eminence which, in process of time, rendered its name so illustrious. In this respect it must be considered as an assembly of citizens, pre-eminent in fortune and station—whose character, both before and after the administration of the highest offices in the state, had been pronounced irreproachable. This council, composed of the brightest ornaments of the community, was destined for a focus of moral and political worth, whose ennobling influence was to be diffused through all the channels of public life. This, however, was not to be accomplished by the

⁵⁷ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1372. 7; Poll. 8. 86. 87.

⁵⁸ Bekker Anecd. 449; Suid. Ἀρχοντες.

⁵⁹ Diog. L. 1. 58; τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ συνειπεῖν.

⁶⁰ Plut. Sol. 19; Arg. Demosth. in Androt. 589.

⁶¹ Plut. ubi sup.; Cic. de Off. 1. 22.

personal interference of those chosen citizens in the turmoil of daily business; undisturbed by the ordinary duties of government, they were the venerable and parental guardians of the public system, who were only called upon to act themselves in cases of peculiar emergency⁶²—where danger was to be averted, or the effects of popular precipitancy to be remedied⁶³. By virtue of their mission to watch over the morals of the state, they were charged with the chief direction of whatever concerned public education; hence they nominated the Sophronistæ⁶⁴ for the superintendence of public decorum⁶⁵, honest industry and gain amongst the citizens⁶⁶, the maintenance of public worship⁶⁷, etc. A peculiar part of their jurisdiction was to conduct public prosecutions, although at the instance of the people, and in this capacity they took cognizance of false testimony, bribery⁶⁸, etc.; they moreover had the sole right to pronounce judgment on murder and offences against religion⁶⁹, a sphere of action in which their moral agency was eminently conspicuous, the state being supposed to have incurred pollution (*αἷος*) through impiety towards the gods. It was only upon extraordinary occasions, as subsequently at the trial of the incendiary Antiphon⁷⁰, that by

⁶² For later examples of the rejection of a magistrate chosen by the people, consult Demosth. de Coron. 271. 272; Ps. Plut. Vit. Æsch. 9. 344; Plut. Phocion, 11.

⁶³ Argum. Dem. in Androt. 588. 20; conf. Arist. Poll. 5. 3. 5.—ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντρονῶσαν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, Plut. Them. 10; Suid. Ἀρεῖος. See examples from a later age, Lysias c. Eratosth. 428.

⁶⁴ Ps. Æsch. Axioch. 8.

⁶⁵ Εὐκοσμία, Isocrat. Areopag. 227.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 231; Athen. 4. 168. A. B.

⁶⁷ Harpocr. Etym. M. Suid. ἐπιθέρους ἱεράς.

⁶⁸ Dinarch. in Demosth. 5. 37. 43. 46; conf. Poll. 8. 88.

⁶⁹ Dem. in Aristocr. 627; Ps. Dem. in Neær. 1372; Plut. Pericl. 32; Diog. L. 2. 116; Meurs. Areopag. c. 9; Meier u. Schöm. 142. 305.

⁷⁰ Demosth. de Coron. 271.

virtue of their title to enquire into whatever might be beneficial or hurtful to the state, they set aside the decision of a court of law. In every respect they asserted a pre-eminence over the courts of the Ephetae⁷¹ and the Prytaneum, which was at that time still separate from them. The assertion that they were responsible⁷², is only meant in reference to their judicial character, and this was not the case till afterwards; their moral agency was wholly exempt from control. Their authority was based upon the dignity of moral excellence, and was supreme in its sphere; no law defined where it became incumbent upon them to intervene, or how far that right extended; the strength of virtue ensured the ever-ready will, and wisdom determined the degree⁷³.

c. c. The Constitution of Clisthenes.

§ 48. In order to form a just notion of the variations which the constitution of Solon underwent a short time after its introduction, in consequence of the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ and subsequently through Clisthenes, it is first necessary to regard those measures which Solon adopted to consolidate his institutions, and at the same time to leave room for further development. How fully he estimated the influence of good morals and the importance of prescription, may be gathered from the preceding account of the Areopagus, and the appointment of functionaries allied to it in moral character, for the education of youth and the maintenance of decorum, as well as from the fact, that he retained many of

⁷¹ Plut. Sol. 19; Poll. 8. 125: ἐφετῶν δικαστήριον κατεγέλασθη.

⁷² Æschin. in Ctesiph. 468; conf. Meier u. Schöm. 216.

⁷³ Most characteristic are the words τὰ πολιτικά δὲ δέχεται σεμνῶς, Bekker Anecd. 444, and Suid. Ἀρεῖός.

the institutions of the earlier age. But it was not his intention that the main support of his work should be derived from blind habit; his political education did not begin with unconscious infancy, but with the ripening youth of the Ephebi; neither did he, in all probability, as one of his observations at first sight appears to imply, suppose that permanent respect for the laws could be maintained by rewards and punishments alone¹; this was intended to result from examination and conviction². To stimulate the patriotic sentiments of the citizens, and their interest in the stability of the laws, and to preclude attacks upon them, Solon gave every citizen a right to bring actions in cases affecting the interest of the state³. One of the main pillars of the constitution was the law empowering any citizen publicly to accuse the author of illegal measures (γραφὴ παρανόμων)⁴. That he had a presentiment of the pernicious consequences which might result from the abuse of this right, whenever the public mind should become contaminated, is evident from the ordinance which declares, that the accuser should pay a fine⁵ in case he failed to substantiate his charge. But he was chiefly actuated by a confidence in the existence of good feeling, and an exalted notion of the expediency of a general interest in the security of the laws⁶, and could not possibly foresee what rank

¹ See Cic. ad M. Brut. 15. As a general principle this is more accurately expressed in Plut. de lib. Educand. 6. 41; δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐν στοιχείᾳ τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰσιν, ἐλπίς τε τιμῆς καὶ φόβος τιμωρίας.

² Solon's answer to Anacharsis, Plut. Sol. 5; τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸς οὕτως ἀρμόζεται τοῖς πολίταις, ὥστε πᾶσι τοῦ παρανομεῖν βέλτιον ἐπιδείξει τὸ δίκαιοπραγεῖν.

³ Plut. Sol. 18; Dem. in Mid. 528; Poll. 8. 40.

⁴ Dem. in Timocr. 748. 765. 766; Æsch. in Ctesiph. 386. 393.

⁵ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 406, sqq.

⁶ See his words in Plut. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 6. 586; δοκεῖ—πόλις ἄριστα πράττειν—ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος οὐδὲν ἤττον οἱ μὴ ἀδικηθέντες προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι.

weeds would once spring from this hotbed of sycophancy. His design to imbue the actions of the citizens with the principles of equity, and to accustom them to the application of legal measures, is nearly allied with his policy in giving them the choice of several modes of procedure in conducting suits⁷. Hence of a corresponding character were the measures taken to ensure the preservation of the laws in general; such as committing them to writing, and the public exhibition of the legal tables⁸ at the Acropolis⁹, in order that the citizens might become familiarized with their precepts. To this must be added the use of writing in public proceedings, the establishment of archives¹⁰, and the nomination of clerks and keepers of the same¹¹. Solon, moreover, decreed that whenever legal order should be endangered by civil feuds, no citizen was to remain neuter¹²; thus making an interest in the affairs of the state a paramount duty under all circumstances, and erecting a defence against egotism, which is ever on the watch to reap its own advantage from the dissensions of others.

As his intention was to call forth and exercise the activity of the reason, and not to cement prescriptive usages, he not only permitted but enjoined that such changes should be made in the laws as should be adapted to the exigencies of the age¹³.

⁷ Dem. in Androt. 601.

⁸ Ἀξονες, κύρβες, Plut. Sol. 25; Harpocr. Ammon. Phot. Etym. M. Suid. under both words, Poll. 8. 128; Bekker Anecd. 274. 413; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1447; Av. 1360; Plat. Repub. 38; Apoll. Rh. 4. 280; conf. Ruhnke ad Tim. 170; Meurs. Sol. C. 24.

⁹ Harpocr. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος.

¹⁰ In the Metroon, Demosth. de Fals. Legat. 381. 2; in Aristog. 799. 25.

¹¹ Ἀντιγραφεῖς, γραμματεῖς, Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 200—203.

¹² Cic. ad Att. 10. 1; Plut. de Sera Num. Vindict. 8. 145.

¹³ See § 47. n. 56.

The Prytanes and Proedri, for the time being, were ordered annually to revise them, and were liable to punishment in case they omitted to do so¹⁴. It was the province of the Heliastic Nomothetæ to decide upon what proposals it was lawful for citizens to make upon this occasion¹⁵. This is perfectly reconcilable with the statement that Solon, in order to consolidate his ordinances at their first introduction, caused the citizens to take an oath to obey them for several years¹⁶, as well as with the encomiums passed by Demosthenes¹⁷ on the ancient constancy, as contrasted with the mania for psephisms which prevailed in his time. As a measure of security, it was enacted that a new law should have effect immediately after the abolition of that which it was intended to replace¹⁸, but not before.

But the results were very different from those which Solon contemplated; evil passions could not be subdued by ideas¹⁹; ambition and egotism kept up the ancient differences between the Pedæi, Paralii, and Hypercracrii. The lower order, far from being satisfied with the legal rights it had obtained, and disposed to yield ready obedience to the munificent dispenser of largesses and donations, took part in the contest, and thereby, three years after Solon's archonship, Ol. 54. 4, brought on the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, although several times expelled, at length permanently established his domination. The institutions of Solon continued to

¹⁴ Demosth. in Tim. 706. 25, sqq.

¹⁵ Ibid. 707. 7. 8.

¹⁶ § 40. n. 39.

¹⁷ In Lept. 484. 22:—τότε μὲν—τοῖς μὲν ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις ἐχρῶντο, καινοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐτίθεσαν.

¹⁸ Ibid. in Timocr. 710. 19; 711. 5. Conf. in Lept. 486. 13. 14.

¹⁹ Heyne, Opusc. 4. 396: Atheniensium respublica—hoc ipso—vitio laboravit, quod a ratione et judicio hominum expectabantur plura, quam a cupiditatibus metuebantur. Conf. Müll. Dor. 2. 51.

exist indeed, but without that vitality which popular liberty could alone impart to them. Upon the expulsion of Hippias, forty-one years after the commencement of the tyranny, the ancient spirit of faction once more returned, and at length occasioned the legislation of Clisthenes the Alcmaeonid.

The fame of Solon has cast the work of his imitator Clisthenes into the shade. This was a natural consequence of the endeavours of the latter to incorporate his work with that of Solon, so that in later ages the subsequent accessions were frequently confounded with the original. That tendency in the Greeks, in equal violation of chronology and the nature of the subject they were considering, to accumulate upon one individual, as a convenient point of reference, the events of different ages, is eminently displayed in their use of Solon's name. It is not unfrequently employed by them, and especially by the orators, in treating of various laws and institutions of Clisthenes²⁰, and other legislators of the following age, till the archonship of Euclid; and we should regard every law to which the name of Solon is attached with the suspicion that it may contain subsequent interpolations²¹, or even be entirely the production of a later age. Most important consequences have resulted from thus confounding together the peculiarities of

²⁰ A remarkable example of the subordination of Clisthenes to Solon occurs Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 37: *δημάρχους οἱ περὶ Σόλωνα καθίσταντο*.

²¹ e. g. Andocid. de Myst. 49, the mention of Harmodius and Aristogiton; the "eleven" Demosth. in Timocr. 733. 12; the council of five hundred drawing lots for the archonship, and other things of a similar character in the oath of the Heliasts, such as *οὐδὲ τοὺς φύγοντας κατάξω*, which is not applicable to Solon, who reinstated the *ἀτίμους* in their rights. See Ibid. 746. and 747. Compare, on this point, Schömann, Comit. 266. 267; Meier de Bon. Damn. 2.

Solon and Clisthenes, and one of them is, that the political character of the former has been erroneously described as absolutely democratical; and in expressing opinions respecting the laws of the latter, the ancients seldom evince an accurate knowledge of their nature²². To form just notions on this subject, it is requisite to enquire into the motives which induced Clisthenes to effect political changes.

A pure love of democracy can scarcely be ascribed to him, as an off-shoot of the royal nobility²³; and, indeed, Herodotus²⁴ distinctly informs us, that in the civil contest, wherein Clisthenes and Isagoras were opposed to each other as chiefs, the former did not attempt to conciliate the friendship of the lower orders before he was almost subdued; his institutions must therefore be considered in connection with his efforts to overcome his adversary. Amongst their main provisions, it is recorded that he formed ten new Phylæ in lieu of the four ancient ones; these were Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pan-

²² Isocrat. Areopag. 220, ed. Lange, speaks of a democracy which Solon δημοτικώτατος ἐνομοθέτησε, but Clisthenes πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέστησε, where both appear in a false light. Plut. Cim. 15, says, somewhat inaccurately, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένης ἀριστοκρατίαν; but it may be explained from Plut. Aris. 2, and an. Seni Respub. etc., 9. 159. 214, that Clisthenes was the prototype of Aristides, and should accordingly be judged from a correct estimate of the latter. It is truly observed, Plut. Pericl. 3:—νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν ἀρίστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν κατέστησε; Isocrat. de Big. 612: Alcibiades the elder, (who must be regarded as an anti-oligarch, because he seems to have given the Spartans notice of the cessation of the Proxenia, Thuc. 5. 43; 6. 89,) and Clisthenes, κατέστησαν ἐκείνην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐξ ἧς οἱ πολῖται πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρίαν, κ. τ. λ. Lastly, the relation of Clisthenes to Solon is concisely and accurately expressed, Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 11: βουλόμενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

²³ § 30. n. 3.

²⁴ Herod. 5. 66: ἐσσόμενος τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται; 5. 69, τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοίρην προσεθήκατο; and afterwards, ἦν δὲ τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ καθύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιατίων. This enables us to form a judgment of the ἐλευθεροῦν, 5. 62. Herodotus by no means understood why the Phylæ were changed; he conjectures that it was done in order that the Athenians might not have the same sort of Phylæ as the Ionians.

dionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Æneis, Cecropis, Hippothoontis, Æantis, and Antiochis²⁵. This Aristotle describes as democratic²⁶; and the reason he afterwards assigns is, that the dissolution of ancient connections, and the greatest possible mixture of the citizens, are calculated to promote the introduction of democracy²⁷. Therefore it is not so much to the increase in the number of the Phylæ, as to the abolition of institutions which were connected with the ancient Phylæ, but which impeded the progress of democracy, that we should direct our attention as the most prominent feature in the changes of Clisthenes. Here the eye naturally reverts to the conduct of his opponent Isagoras. He, with his friends Cleomenes of Sparta²⁸ and Timasitheus of Delphi²⁹, resolutely struggling against the restoration of Solon's constitution, had aimed at the establishment of an aristocracy; the Phylæ, Phratias, etc., forms of the ancient aristocracy into which the new one might easily be fitted, were still in existence. By destroying these, a powerful obstacle was opposed to any attempts at restoring the old anti-democratic system. Hence the new founder of popular power cast down these few remaining pillars of aristocratic authority; the four Phylobasileis, as connected with the divine worship, were continued indeed³⁰, but without

²⁵ See Corsini f. Att. diss. 3. n. 6; 4. n. 2, sqq.

²⁶ Aristot. Pol. 6. 4. 11, probably alluding to Clisthenes, names, as a means to advance democracy, φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιηταί πλείονες, κ. τ. λ.

²⁷ Τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτίον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινὰ, καὶ πάντα σοφιστίον, ὅπως ἀν' ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον. Compare, on the subject of proceedings of this description in the Pontic Heraclea, and in Byzantium, Æneas, Tact. 11, and Müller, Dor. 2. 171.

²⁸ Herod. 5. 70.

²⁹ Herod. 5. 72.

³⁰ Poll. 8. 31. Conf. Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. 115.

standing in intimate connection with the new order of things; the chiefs of the new Phylæ, called Phylarchs³¹, had a purely political tendency; the Phratias and families were suffered to exist, but no longer in conjunction with the Phylæ; the union between them was dissolved³², and they from that time forth only served to watch over the genuineness of that citizenship which was acquired by birth, without regard to the general order amongst the citizens. The relation between the Trittyes and the Phylæ, like that between the Phratias and the Phylæ, was dissolved in consequence of the alteration in the number of the last, and the former Trittyes appear to have been wholly abolished; instead of the forty-eight Naucrarias formerly included under them, fifty new ones were established, viz., five from every Phyle, forming a direct subdivision of the Phylæ³³. However, it was not intended that the Naucrarias should now constitute the principal division for the objects of the administration. The Demi were henceforward of almost universal application, on which account they are subsequently classed together with the new Trittyes³⁴. Before the time of Clisthenes

³¹ Herod. 5. 69: δέκα φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων (?); Herod. was unacquainted with the ancient Phylobasileis. Conf. Tittmann, Gr. Staatsvf. 274. 275.

³² Thus Arist. Pol. 6. 4. 11, where the dissolution of the Phratias is discussed, may be explained in a natural manner; and thus the question whether Clisthenes instituted new Phylæ or not, (see Schömann, Com. 365, and Platner, Beitr. 74. 77.) would appear to be set at rest; and this finally makes the Gennetæ, afterwards mentioned, (Platner 72), a remnant of the ancient 360 houses indeed, but without connecting them by any numerical link; and doubtless natural relationship now again supplanted political form as a means to bind them together.

³³ Cleidemus ap. Phot. Ναυκραρ.

³⁴ Æsch. in Ctes. 425: αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττύες καὶ οἱ δῆμοι. Conf. Poll. 8. 108. These Trittyes are evidently divisions produced by subsequent circumstances. Conf. Demosth. de Symmor. 184; Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 107.

Demus was a community, township³⁵, village, hamlet, or borough, the residence of individual or several united families, whence the numerous patronymic denominations³⁶ were derived; Clisthenes ranged the whole of them under the ten Phylæ³⁷, but not in round numbers adopted for the sake of uniformity, and placed them in close relation with every department of the public administration. A sphere of operation was assigned to the presidents of the communities, the Demarchs³⁸, similar to that which the Naucrari had formerly possessed. The citizen was, in all his public dealings, e. g. in lawsuits, in the muster-roll, in the tax-book, etc., described according to his Demus, for which purpose lists were kept, in which natural-born citizens and naturalized aliens were enrolled in common³⁹.

Clisthenes likewise permitted naturalization⁴⁰, which is analogous to his endeavours in other respects to promote general citizenship at the expense of that which was obtained by birth; this, however, must only be understood with reference to his own time, but not as a measure intended to facilitate access to the citizenship in future. On the other hand, he is said to have originated the extraordinary proceeding for the ex-

³⁵ See Herod. 1. 60. 62; conf. Append. viii.

³⁶ Conf. Buttmann *üb. d. W. φρατρία*, 22.

³⁷ The assumption of a hundred Demi, ten for every Phyle, has arisen from a misinterpretation of the passage in Herodot. 5. 69: *δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεκε εἰς τὰς φυλάς*, with which must be connected *εἰς τὰς δέκα φυλάς*. See Schweighæuser *ibid.*, and the enumeration of the Demi which are known, (174 in number, see Strab. 9. 396, from Polemon.) in Meurs. de Popul. Att. in Gronov. Thes. 4. 673, sqq. Conf. the more critical attempt of Corsini, f. Att. 1. 5, and Müller, Attica in Ersch Encycl. 6. 222, sqq.

³⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 37; Poll. 8. 108; Harpocr. *δημαρχ.* (from Aristotle) and *ναυκραρικά*. Conf. Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 276.

³⁹ *Ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*. See § 46. n. 46.

⁴⁰ Aristot. Poll. 3. 1. 10: *Κλεισθένης—πολλοὺς—ἐφυλέτευσσε ξένους καὶ δούλους καὶ μετοίκους*; Wolf, without reason, wishes to expunge the second *καὶ*.

pulsion of a citizen, termed Ostracism⁴¹. This abuse of Solon's measure for passing a decree⁴² against an individual, by collecting the votes of six thousand citizens, was destined by Clisthenes to prevent the rise of a new tyranny. This monstrous excrescence of democratic surveillance was the ever-ready tool of envy⁴³ and party-spirit, and became a means to expel citizens, who, however excellent their character in other respects, appeared to enjoy a dangerous pre-eminence over the mass of the people. The limitation of the banishment to a certain number of years, generally ten, does not render the principle less odious.

Clisthenes does not seem to have altered the arrangement of the classes instituted by Solon; Aristides was the first to deprive the Pentacosioi-medimni of the exclusive privilege of eligibility to the archonship.

The political authorities, in their most essential features, remained unchanged, as did their position with respect to each other; but the organization of the ten Phylæ effected a most extensive alteration in forms. The council now consisted of five hundred members, fifty from every Phyle; the charge of official business and the presidency

⁴¹ *Æl. V. H. 13. 24.* Aristot. Pol. 3. 3. 3, says, as if in jest, that Hercules was ostracised by the Argonauts; Photius Myriob. Cod. 190. p. 152. Bekk. *Ἀχιλλεύς ὁ Λύκωνος ὁ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν ἐπινοήσας* (?). Clisthenes himself is stated to have been its first victim, *Æl. ubi sup.*; in Harpocr. *Ἰππαρχος*, (from Androton, conf. Phot. Suid. *Ἰππαρχος*), Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, a relation of Pisistratus. Conf. Plut. Nic. 11. The *Στηλίου* Hipparchus, the son of Timarchus, ap. Lycurg. c. Leocrat. is not alluded to here. Compare at large Meier de Bon. 97. 312; Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 341, sqq.

⁴² § 47. n. 22. It appears to me that the majority of the 6000 who composed the court decided; when it concerned a single individual, their sentence was definitive; when several, then he against whom the largest majority voted was banished.

⁴³ Plut. Them. 22: *κόλασις οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κομφισμός*. Conf. Plut. Alcib. 13; Poll. 8. 20.

were annexed to successive Prytanies, of which there were ten in the year; each of these consisted of fifty Buleutæ, and lasted thirty-five or thirty-six days; every Prytany was divided into Proedrias of ten Buleutæ each, and lasted seven or eight days, whilst a fresh Epistates was chosen daily⁴⁴. Nine Proedri were appointed assessors for every meeting of the council or people, as antagonist officers of the Proedri; they were taken from the nine Phylæ which did not hold the Prytany at the time. This apparently had no further influence upon the popular assembly, than that the number of the sittings in each Prytany was increased⁴⁵, and that a change of presidency took place. Neither did the Heliæa undergo any further change than was produced by the alteration in the Phylæ; the six thousand Heliasts, according to Solon's regulation about five hundred from each of the twelve Trityes, were appointed by lot from the Phylæ, six hundred from each⁴⁶; the number of the places where the courts were held corresponded with that of the Phylæ, although there was no intimate connection between them⁴⁷. The plan for remodelling the courts of the Ephetæ and the Prytaneum has been already adverted to⁴⁸. Amongst the superior magistrates, the Archons, who had hitherto been elective, were, like most of the others, henceforward appointed by lot⁴⁹; but the number of the

⁴⁴ Argum. Dem. in Androt. 589, sqq., and Schol. 95. Sch. Dem. in Timocr. 104; conf. 133. (from Aristotle); Sch. Æsch. in Ctesiph. 765. Suidas, *πρυτανεία*; Harpocr. *πρόεδροι*. Corsini f. Att. 1. diss. 6. 268. Lüzac de Epistat. et Proedr.; Schöm. Com. 85, sqq.; Tittmann, Gr. Staatsvf. 240—243.

⁴⁵ Conf. § 47. n. 14.

⁴⁶ See § 47. n. 29.

⁴⁷ Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. 127, sqq.

⁴⁸ See § 45. n. 33.

⁴⁹ See the Clisthenic intercalation in the oath of the Heliasts, Dem. in

Archons continued the same, and the Dokimasia of the magistrates in general remained unchanged. The remaining functionaries, like the Phylæ, became more numerous; the number ten from this time prevailed in every department of the administration. There were afterwards ten Strategi, Taxiarchs, and Phylarchs; ten Tamia, Apodectæ (in the place of the ancient Colagretæ), Poletæ; ten Logistæ⁵⁰, etc., whereby a larger field was opened to ambition. How many of these new magistrates were appointed by Clisthenes himself is doubtful, but it is less probable that he himself instituted the many magistracies which necessarily resulted from the division of the Phylæ, than that he laid the foundation of that system which afterwards furnished a convenient pretext for cupidity and ambition to create as many magistrates as suited their designs.

THE TYRANNY.

I. SURVEY OF THE TYRANTS TILL ABOUT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

§ 49. From the middle of the seventeenth century before the Christian era till towards the middle of the fifth, a remarkable phenomenon is presented in the history of the Grecian states. Many of those con-

Timocr. 747. 3: *ἔσται μετὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων κταμένονται*. The earliest mention of sortition occurs in Herod. 6. 109, in the case of the Polemarch at Marathon, *ὁ τῷ κνᾶμψ λαχὼν*. Compare, on the subject of the magistrates, both elective and such as were appointed by lot, Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 311, sqq.

⁵⁰ See the ample enumeration in Tittmann, 302. 303; and on the subject of the ten reputed Thesmothetæ, Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277, and Vesp. 772; conf. Tittmann, 239. 262—265. 302; and on the other side of the question, Meier u. Schöm. Att. Pr. 59. n.

stitutions which had succeeded the authority of the kings, were overthrown by bold and energetic men, and monarchical governments were re-established in their stead, and in some instances transmitted to the descendants of their founders.

The earliest example is that of Sicyon. In the twenty-seventh Olympiad Orthagoras, according to the tradition, at one time a cook¹, obtained possession of the government, and his descendants retained the same for the space of a hundred years². The genealogy of the Orthagoridæ is as follows: Andreus, Myron, Aristonymus, Clisthenes³. Æschines⁴, a Sicyonian tyrant, was subsequently overthrown by the Spartans. The subsistence of the institutions of Clisthenes till about the time of Æschines⁵, does not enable us to conclude with certainty that the tyranny continued in being during the period that intervened between them.

Almost contemporaneously with Orthagoras, about Ol. 31⁶, arose Cypselus in Corinth⁷, who expelled the Bacchiadæ, and reigned thirty years. He was succeeded by Periander, who extended his dominion over Corcyra⁸; the next was Psammetichus⁹. The Cypselidæ reigned in all between seventy and eighty years¹⁰.

¹ Liban. 3. 251. Reisk.; conf. Wytttenbach ad Plut. de Sera Num. Vindict. 45. This corresponds with his being called the son of Κοπρεύς (from κόπρος, manure), Plut. ubi sup., 8. 188.

² Arist. Pol. 5. 9. 21.

³ Plut. ubi sup. 8. 187. Conf. Paus. 2. 8. 1, where Myron must be read instead of Pyrrho, and 6. 19. 2.

⁴ Plut. de Herod. Malig. 9. 411.

⁵ Herod. 5. 68.

⁶ Corsini F. A. 3. 48. 49.

⁷ Herod. 5. 92; Aristot. Poll. 5. 9. 22.

⁸ Herod. 5. 92, and 3. 48, sqq.

⁹ Arist. Poll. 5. 9. 22, he is called the son of Gordias; more correctly perhaps of Gorgus, the brother or son of Cypselus. Conf. Müller, Ægin. 66. n. i.; Dor. 2. 155. n.

¹⁰ The numbers assigned in Aristotle are incorrect: Cypselus 30 years, Periander 44, Psammetichus 3, make 77 years, and not 73½, which Aristotle

In the time of Cypselus, Gorgus¹¹, his son or brother¹², migrated, and founded Ambracia, where he ruled as tyrant; he was followed by a Periander¹³, whom it is necessary to distinguish from the Corinthian of that name. The age of a third, Phalæcus¹⁴, is unknown.

In the time of Periander, Procles, his father-in-law, was tyrant of Epidaurus¹⁵; Theagenes, whose daughter was married to Cylon the Athenian, ruled in Megara¹⁶; the former was expelled by Periander¹⁷, and the latter by the Megarian people¹⁸ shortly after the failure of Cylon's attempt to obtain the tyranny, Ol. 42. 1.

In Pisa, which had fallen off from Elis, about the twenty-sixth Olympiad, tyranny likewise arose at an early period. Pantaleon, who as tyrant celebrated the Olympic games¹⁹, Ol. 34, was succeeded by his son Demophoon, and afterwards by his brother Pyrrhus²⁰; the last seems to have been conquered by the Eleans, as Pisa again became subject to their dominion.

A Eubœan tyrant, called Tynnondas, of Bœotian name, is said to have lived before Solon's

states as the total amount; Schneider only allows 40 years to Periander; Müller, Dor. 1. 168. 1; 76 years and 6 months to all three; Götting (ad Arist. Poll. p. 168.) will not acknowledge Psammetichus as a Cypselid (1).

¹¹ Strab. 7. 325, incorrectly says Τόλγος; 10. 452, Γαργάσος; Anton. Lib. 4. Τόργος; Plut. Sept. Sap. Conviv. 6. 610, Γοργίας. The emendation Gorgus is recommended by the analogy of the Messenian name (Paus. 4. 23. 1.), as well as the Cnidian (Diod. 5. 9.), and the Cyprian (Herod. 5. 116).

¹² Son, Plut. ubi sup. Scymn. 454; Brother, Neanthes ap. Diog. L. 1. 98.

¹³ Aristot. Poll. 5. 8. 9; Plut. Amator. Nar. 9. 79.

¹⁴ Antonin. Lib. 4.

¹⁵ Herod. 3. 30; Diog. L. 1. 94. 100. The reading Patrocles in Paus. 2. 28. 4, is corrupt. Conf. Müll. Ægin. 64. 66.

¹⁶ Thuc. 1. 126; Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 5.

¹⁷ Herod. 3. 52.

¹⁸ Plut. Qu. Græc. 7. 183; conf. Corsini F. A. 3. 64. 65; Meier, de Bon. Damn. 4. n. 9.

¹⁹ Paus. 6. 22. 2; conf. concerning him, 6. 21. 1; Heracl. Pont. 6.

²⁰ Paus. 6. 22. 2; 5. 16. 4. 5; Str. 8. 355.

time²¹; Antileon in Chalcis appears to have been the last of that line of princes; after his time aristocracy was established²².

Leon, a tyrant of Phlius, is mentioned in the history of Pythagoras, amongst his contemporaries²³.

The accounts of a Phocian tyrant, called Daulis²⁴, and of a female dynast, Perimede or Choira, in Tegea²⁵, who are both referred to the earlier age, must be regarded with suspicion. Symmachus²⁶, the tyrant of Thasus, said to have been expelled by Sparta, probably appertains to the time of Agesilaus²⁷.

The last tyrants of the Grecian continent were the house of the Athenian Pisistratus; he himself first became tyrant, Ol. 54. 4, after which he was twice expelled by the Alcmaeonidæ, and it was not till Ol. 60. 1, that he succeeded in establishing his authority. He was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, Ol. 63. 1, and after the murder of the latter, Ol. 66. 3, Hippias reigned alone till his expulsion by the Alcmaeonidæ and Cleomenes, in the fourth year after the death of Hipparchus²⁸. Connected with Pisistratus and

²¹ Plut. Sol. 14.

²² Aristot. Pol. 5. 10. 3.

²³ Heracl. P. ap. Diog. L. 1. 12, and 8. 8; Cic. Tusc. 5. 3.

²⁴ The statement of Ephorus ap. Strab. 6. 265, that the Crissæan tyrant Daulis sent a colony to Metapontum, as containing the name of a place, must be referred to the mythical age and poetry, like Crisus, the founder of Crisa, in the Schol. Villos. on the catalogue of ships in Hom. 27. From the former arose Aulis, in the perplexed collection of matter in Plut. de Herod. Malig. 9. 411. The character and age of a Phocian tyrant called Execestus, the possessor of two magic rings (Aristot. ap. Clem. Al. Strom. 1. 334 B. ed. Morell,) are enveloped in obscurity.

²⁵ Dindorf, Grammat. Gr. 8. 13, sqq. from Deinias.

²⁶ Plut. ubi sup.

²⁷ A Thasian Symmachus fought under Agesilaus. Polyæn. 2. 1. 27.

²⁸ Conf. at large Meursius, Pisistratus.

Polycrates in Samos was Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos²⁹.

Tyrants arose in Ionia at the same time that Gyges began to reign in Lydia, and perhaps not without some connection with that circumstance. The expiring monarchy, viz., the government of Thoas and Damasenor, appears to have been disguised under the name of tyranny in Miletus; this was followed by aristocracy³⁰. Thrasybulus, the antagonist of Alyattes the Lydian, Periander's contemporary and counsellor³¹, was, properly speaking, a tyrant whose authority had issued from the overweening power annexed to the Prytanic dignity³². Pindar in Ephesus, the son of Alyattes' daughter³³, must also rather be regarded as one of the Basileis than a tyrant; but in the age of Croesus he was followed by the real tyrant Pythagoras, who subverted the government of the Basilidæ³⁴. The Ephesians called the Athenian Aristarchus to their assistance against Pythagoras; but he too, about the time of the revolt of Cyrus against Astyages, exercised despotic power³⁵, but possibly only in the capacity of Æsymnete.

In the same manner the line of demarcation between the last princes of the stock of the Proclidæ and the tyrants in the history of Samos cannot be accurately distinguished. To the former apparently belongs Amphicrates, who carried on

²⁹ He is called the ξυναγός of Pisistratus, Herod. 1. 61. 64; from which Plut. de Herod. Malig. 9. 411, must be emended. Compare, concerning him, § 35. n. 46; and on his relation to Polycrates, Polyæn. 1. 23. 2.

³⁰ Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 193; conf. § 35. n. 74.

³¹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 5.

³² Herod. 1. 20—23; 5. 92. 6; Aristot. Pol. 3. 8. 3.

³³ Ælian. V. H. 3. 26; Polyæn. 6. 50.

³⁴ Baton ap. Suid. Πυθαγόρας.

³⁵ Suid. Ἀριστάρχος.

a war with Ægina³⁶; it cannot be ascertained whether Damoteles³⁷, the autocrat before Polycrates, was the last of the princes, or whether he obtained the tyranny through demagogy. After his murder it is not impossible that, notwithstanding the seditious struggles for power amongst the people, the Geomori maintained their ground till they were overthrown by the sons of Æaces, Polycrates, Syloson, and Pantagnotus, who were probably generals³⁸. Polycrates alone became tyrant, and likewise ruled over the Cyclades³⁹. Soon after his death, a short time before the government of Darius Hystaspes⁴⁰, Samos fell under the power of Persia.

The tyranny which subsisted in the Grecian states of Asia, after the commencement of the Persian domination, was less the offspring of their own political system than a Persian satrapy⁴¹. Tyrants of this description were Polycrates' brother Syloson, who expelled the successor of Polycrates, Mæandrius and his son Æaces⁴², by means of Persian soldiers; Cadmus in the island of Cos⁴³, Strattis in Chios⁴⁴, Hippocles in Lampsacus⁴⁵, Coes in Mitylene⁴⁶, Histiaeus and Aristagoras in Miletus⁴⁷, etc. Similar rulers

³⁶ Herod. 3. 59; conf. Panofka res Sam. 26.

³⁷ § 35. n. 43.

³⁸ Herod. 3. 39; Polyæn. 1. 23. 2. That which is recorded by Polyæn. 6. 44, relates to the attack of the commander of the fleet against the Geomori, alluded to above (§ 35. n. 43). It is difficult to explain why Panofka should place the Syloson there mentioned, the son of Calliteles, before Damoteles.

³⁹ Her. 3. 39, sqq.; 3. 121, sqq.; Thuc. 1. 14.

⁴⁰ This results from Herod. 3. 126, sqq. On the difficulties presented by the chronology in other respects, consult Panofka 29, sqq.

⁴¹ On Cuma, Heracl. Pont. 11, says: *Κῦρος δὲ καταλύσας τὴν πολιτείαν μοναρχεῖσθαι (ἀντ') αὐτῆς ἐποίησεν.*

⁴² Herod. 3. 142, sqq.; conf. Panofka, 45, sqq.

⁴³ Herod. 7. 164.

⁴⁴ Herod. 8. 132; conf. Schneider ad Arist. Pol. 5. 5. 4.

⁴⁵ Thuc. 5. 59.

⁴⁶ Herod. 4. 97; 5. 11.

⁴⁷ See others, Herod. 4. 138; 5. 37.

became the successors of the ancient dynasts⁴⁸ in Cyprus, amongst whom Philocyprus has become renowned as the friend of Solon⁴⁹. Mardonius, with that arbitrary mode of procedure which a Persian general was not afraid to adopt, expelled the whole of the tyrants of the Ionian and Æolian states⁵⁰; but soon afterwards they again appear⁵¹.

Lastly, in Sicily the tyranny had the most prosperous career; Syracuse in particular not only followed the example of the mother-city, Corinth, but even surpassed it, and that at a time when the last tyrant of the Grecian continent, Hippias of Athens, had been expelled, and popular freedom was advancing with rapid strides. The first of the list is Phalaris in Agrigentum⁵², Ol. 53. 4—57. 3; he was succeeded there by Alcamenes and Alcander⁵³, apparently rather Æsymnetæ than tyrants; afterwards Theron⁵⁴, who probably inherited from his father Ænesidemus the tyranny of Leontini, where, in an early age, Panætius⁵⁵ had been tyrant⁵⁶; but marching from Agrigentum he afterwards expelled⁵⁷ the tyrant Texillus of Himera, the son-in-law of Anaxilas the Rhegian, and likewise reigned over Himera. His son Thrasydæus was expelled (Ol. 76. 4) by the Agrigentans⁵⁸. Pythagoras was tyrant of Selinus at the time the noble Dorieus came from Sparta to Sicily (Ol. 65. 2); the com-

⁴⁸ Herod. 5. 104. 110.

⁴⁹ Herod. 5. 113.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 6. 43.

⁵¹ Ibid. 8. 85.

⁵² Concerning his age see Bentley; on the manner in which he gained the tyranny, Arist. Poll. 3. 8. 4; Polyæn. 5. 1. 1. We cannot here notice the innumerable allusions made to him in other places.

⁵³ Heracl. Pont. 36.

⁵⁴ Herod. 7. 165; Polyæn. 6. 51; Böckh, expl. Pind. 117, sqq.

⁵⁵ Panætius the first tyrant of Sicily occurs in Euseb. Ol. 43. 1; he is placed in Leontini by Aristot. Poll. 5. 8. 4; 5. 10. 4.

⁵⁶ Pausan. 5. 22. 4; conf. Böckh, ubi sup.

⁵⁷ Herod. 5. 46.

⁵⁸ Diod. 11. 53; Böckh, ubi sup. 208.

panion of the latter, Euryleon, deposed Pythagoras, and then reigned over Minoa⁵⁹, as well as Selinus. The civil dissensions in Gela ended with the tyranny of Cleander⁶⁰ (Ol. 68. 4); he was (Ol. 70. 3) succeeded by his brave brother Hippocrates, who reduced Zancle⁶¹, where Scythes, the father of Cadmus, the subsequent tyrant of Cos, had ruled before; he was followed by Gelon. He transferred (Ol. 73. 4) the tyranny to Syracuse, whither he brought back the expelled Geomori, and extended his authority far around, over Megara, Eubœa⁶², etc.; after him governed Hiero and then Thrasybulus, his brothers. The latter of these was driven out by the people⁶³ (Ol. 78. 3.)

Lower Italy likewise had its tyrants; Anaxilas in Rhegium⁶⁴ in Ol. 71. 4; after him, Ol. 76. 1, his noble-minded slave Smicythus, guardian of the children of Anaxilas⁶⁵, who were expelled soon after their accession to power⁶⁶; Clinias in Croton, after the dissolution of the Pythagorean league (?)⁶⁷; Telys in Sybaris, originally a demagogue hostile to the nobility⁶⁸; Nearchus or Demylus⁶⁹ in Elea, Ol. 70; and in the Campanian Cuma, Aristodemus or Malacus, who was contemporary with the younger Tarquin⁷⁰.

⁵⁹ Herod. 5. 46.

⁶¹ Herod. 6. 23. 24.

⁶³ Diod. 11. 38. 67; Aristot. Poll. 5. 8. 19.

⁶⁴ Arist. Poll. 5. 10. 4; Herod. 6. 23. 24; Justin. 4. 2.

⁶⁵ Herod. 7. 170; Diod. 11. 66.

⁶⁷ Dionys. Hal. Fragm. v. 19. 4, he is classed with Anaxilas.

⁶⁸ Herod. 6. 44; Heracl. Pont. ap. Ath. 521 F.

⁶⁹ Clem. Alex. Strom. 4. 496 D. ed. Morell.; Plut. de Stoicor. Repugn. 10. 345. He is named Diomedon by Diog. L. 9. 26. He caused the philosopher Zeno of Elea to be tortured and put to death, Plut. de Garrul. 8. 13; Diog. L. 9. 25, and Menage ad eund. He was afterwards expelled by the people, 9. 27.

⁷⁰ Dionys. Hal. 7. 4, sqq.; Diod. Fragm. v. 4. 16. Bipont.

II. THE TYRANNY IN ALLIANCE WITH THE LOWER ORDERS.

§ 50. It is necessary to distinguish the tyranny of the age before the Persian wars, from that which subsequently arose, in the same manner as the aristocracy of the earlier time, from the oligarchy of the later; most of the Greek writers direct their attention exclusively to the last of these as partly contemporaneous with, and directly familiar to them; wherefore we are unable to derive from their accounts either a true notion of the nature of the ancient tyranny in itself, or of the place it held in the estimation of the people of the age in which it flourished. The tyranny must be regarded as one of the chief links in the chain of gradually expanding political phenomena, as a system grounded on the preceding order of things, and as a manifestation of one widely-diffused spirit of the age. As such, it was a means to substitute unlimited autocracy¹ for responsible magistracies, and it is necessary to guard against the error of supposing it to have been an immediate continuation or a degeneration of the princely power of the early age, as republican institutions in fact formed the link by which it was connected with the ancient monarchy. Hence kings, like Phidon of Argos, and Charilaus of Sparta, could only be denominated tyrants improperly, and in consequence of their authority having been less limited than that

¹ The *ἀνυπεύθυνον* is very minutely explained by Str. 6. 158: *αὐτοκρατῆς βασιλεία καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἐξουσία αὐτοτελής*.—Herodotus employs *Μούναρχος, μουναρχίω* in speaking of kings and tyrants: 5. 46. 59. 61; 6. 23. 24; 7. 154. 165; but he likewise applies *ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι* to the Bacchiads in an oracle, 5. 92. 2. Herewith compare 3. 80. *ἕνα — μούναρχον — μούνον*.

of their predecessors²; moreover, the republican constitutions which were supplanted by the tyranny, were not, as several of the ancients represent³, fully developed and confirmed democracies, nor on the other hand firmly-rooted aristocracies, reposing on the apathetic indifference or servile endurance of the lower orders; in many instances they were the disjointed forms of an aristocracy brought to dissolution no less by internal dissension than by the hostility of the aspiring demus; therefore, in opposition to *Æsymnety*⁴, which is exhibited in the light of an amicable compromise, and as originating with the governing order⁵, the establishment of a tyranny is generally described as having been attended by stratagem or force, the appointment of bodyguards, the maintenance of mercenaries, the capture of the citadel⁶, etc.; and lastly, even where, as in Athens after Solon's time, a legal rank and determinate rights were secured to the bulk of the people, the main-spring of such undertakings nevertheless for the most part existed in the character of the lower orders, wherein the tyranny possessed a kindred element, and was consequently seldom or never established in opposi-

² Arist. Poll. 5. 10. 3.

³ e. g. Corn. Nep. Milt. 8: Omnes autem habentur et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate usa est.

⁴ Conf. § 39. n. 15—18.

⁵ This is the essential mark of distinction. Aristotle, indeed, says (*Arg. Soph. Edip. Tyr.*) that the tyrants were at first called *Æsymnetæ*; but this cannot strictly apply to the change in the denomination, but must rather be understood of the essential nature of the two stages of monarchical government which succeeded that of the kings generally, without regard to the source of power. To this, therefore, should probably be referred the general observation, *Pol. 5. 8. 3*, that tyrants arose, *ἐκ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν αἰρουμένων ἕνα τινὰ κύριον ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς*. There can be no doubt that Aristotle's remark referred, amongst others, to the first magistrate in the *Æolian Cuma* (§ 38. n. 44), for the fragment is taken from the *Cumæan Politeia*. Conf. *Polit. 4. 8. 2*.

⁶ Herod. 1. 59; Dionys. Hal. 7. 4; Thuc. 1. 126.

tion to their wishes. Gelon, indeed, marched at the head of the noble Gamori of Syracuse, against the demus by which they had been expelled, and subdued it⁷; but that was not a tyranny springing from the very heart of the political system of Syracuse, but a coalition between foreign ambition and the designs of a domestic faction, and it is impossible to put any other construction on his continued treatment of the demus of Megara and Eubœa⁸ in the spirit of Syracusan party. In consequence of being extended over several cities, his tyranny was of an unusual character; he did not support himself by means of the demus as such⁹, but as the population of his capital was mixed, and collected together from various cities, he mainly relied upon military force.

But the tyranny did not derive its sole support from the hatred of the lower orders to the governing class by which they had been expelled, and on which account they willingly lent themselves to the factious purposes of the demagogues¹⁰; this ardent desire to throw off the detested yoke of the nobles, was combined with a feeling which centuries had not been able to extinguish, viz. a natural preference for the unity of the sovereign power, the incontestable advantage of monarchy over the many-headed domination of haughty and exclusive nobles. This attachment to the former hereditary sovereignty which lived in the remembrance of the people as a mild and paternal administration, and to which was ascribed as its pecu-

⁷ Herod. 7. 155.

⁸ Herod. 7. 156.

⁹ Herod. ubi sup.: νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

¹⁰ Arist. Poll. 5. 4. 5: ἡ δὲ πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους. Conf. 5. 8. 2. 3.

liar characteristic that it dispensed benefits, and did not suffer injustice in the land¹¹, was supported by the legendary lore of the heroic age, and acquired new force when demagogues added to the popularity they gained by their munificence and distinguished personal qualities the advantage of being descended from the line of the ancient kings, as was the case with Pisistratus¹². Hence, in the divisions amongst the orders, the demus did not so much aim at securing for itself independence and participation in the government, as at placing a monarch upon the throne; and far from cavilling about the ultimate grounds of abstract right, only looked to the prosperity of the community, and desired to be governed by him to whom it attributed the greatest strength, wisdom, and moderation. For this reason the Athenian demus asked Solon to be tyrant¹³, and the Agrigentans expressed a similar wish with regard to Empedocles¹⁴. Therefore the gathering of large bodies of the people around the demagogues, was not solely occasioned by the distractions of faction, nor was the tyranny which resulted from the struggle, a mere advantage reaped by the watchfulness of egotism, or a failure of democratic policy, which, after ridding itself of the aristocracy, had to deplore the substitution of a greater evil in the tyranny of the demagogue; on the contrary, the political calculations of the demus had their final end and aim in the undivided power of an able sovereign.

¹¹ Arist. Poll. 3. 9. 4; 5. 8. 5.

¹² Plut. Sol. 14.

¹⁴ Aristot. ap. Diog. L. 8. 63. The account of the expression of a similar wish on the part of the Athenian populace, with regard to Alcibiades, would appear to be one of the numerous transpositions, Plut. Alcib. 34.

¹³ Herod. 5. 65.

Hence the successful tyrant could not be regarded by the people in the light of a natural enemy. In forming their estimate of a tyranny, as far as a consideration of the principles of political law can be ascribed to the simplicity of the multitude, they did not search after the roots of that authority, or take into consideration the usurpation and suppression of the just claims of the people at large to a share in the supreme power, but looked to the character of the government itself, its administration of justice, respect for the rights of property, wisdom, and incorruptibility. This estimation of the tyranny, according to the use it made of power, was not only exhibited in the unconscious and undefined feelings of the mass, but even in the intercourse of sages with good and able tyrants. Solon, regardless of the legal grounds on which the title of Philocyprus rested, took delight in his society, and extolled him in his poetry¹⁵, because he was a just man. Illustrious poets, Pindar and Æschylus, Simonides and Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, and Arion also, resided with tyrants¹⁶. This explains the praise so unanimously expressed of Pisistratus¹⁷, whose authority, established almost immediately after the body of the people acquired a share in the highest power, rendered itself so grateful to the demus by the dispensation of justice, and by royal solicitude for the welfare of the

¹⁵ See § 49. n. 49.

¹⁶ See my Progr. de Pindaro Reip. Constit. Præceptore Disp. 2. p. 17, sqq. It is absurd to construe the selfish tirade of Alcæus against Pittacus into a patriotic hostility to tyrants. This character might more justly be ascribed to his poem on the death of Myrsilus, Athen. 10. 430. C.

¹⁷ See in particular Thucyd. 6. 54. The silly Scolion indeed says, that Thucydides perhaps extolled the Pisistratids because he himself belonged to their family!

subject in every department of political life; hence the encomiums passed on Gelon¹⁸, who was by no means favourably disposed towards the demus; thus paternal indulgence and affability were the support of these potentates generally, so that many of them could mingle in the ranks of the people unattended by guards¹⁹. Lastly, this serves to explain how the word *tyrannus* was only used originally to designate a ruler²⁰, without any invidious secondary meaning; while *tyrannus*, as applied to the kings of the early age²¹, and *basileus* for a tyrant²², were still employed promiscuously after the full development of democracy. The distinction between *tyrannus* as something odious, and *basileus* as an object worthy of love and affection²³, was an immediate result of the departure of the tyranny from the paternal system of kingly government. This being blended with the opinions of subsequent politicians on the subject of popular rights, the character it assumed acquired greater

¹⁸ Diod. 11. 38, πολλήν εὐνομίαν, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁹ Concerning Cypselus, see Arist. Pol. 5. 7. 22. sqq.; on Gelon, see Diod. 11. 26: Ælian, V. H. 6. 11; 13. 36; on Theron, see Diod. F. v. 4. 66. Bipont.

²⁰ The word first occurs in Archilochus, Plut. de Tranquill. Anim. 7. 839; Argum. Soph. Œd. Tyr. Schol. Æschyl. Prometh. 224. Archilochus appears to have applied it to the Lydian prince Gyges, (a usurper, it is true, Herod. 1. 11.) see Herod. 1. 12, and Valcken.

²¹ See the Tragedians; also Herod. 1. 7. on the Lydian Candaules; 8. 137. on the ancient kingship in general, and on the Macedonian in particular.

²² For examples, see more especially Herod. 3. 52; it is applied to Periander, 5. 27; Mæandrius, 5. 44; Telys, 5. 109. 110; the Cyprian Tyrants, 6. 23; Scythes, 5. 35, Aristagoras. Cypselus is also saluted by the title of βασιλεὺς κλεινοῖο Κορίνθου, in an oracular response, 5. 92. 5; Βασιλεὺς, and immediately afterwards τύραννος, 5. 113; βασιλεὺς, τύραννος, and μούναρχος, 6. 23; Thucydides, 1. 13, distinguishes between τυραννίδες and πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι; conf. Schol.; Eupolis called Pisistratus βασιλεὺς, see Ammon. τύραννος. On the promiscuous use of the words, see Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 61.

²³ This is perceptible even in the Etym. M.: Βασιλεὺς βάσιν ἴλης (!) ἔχων, τουτέστι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ποιούμενος τὴν βάσιν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον· δεῖ γὰρ ἀληθῶς βασιλεία καλοποιεῖν· ὁ δὲ κακοποιῶν τύραννος.

odium in proportion as those opinions became more violent²⁴.

III. TYRANNY IN THE LIGHT OF DESPOTISM.

§ 51. That mode of government which has associated the word tyrant with universal reprobation, and, amongst the Greeks, caused the authority annexed to it to be contrasted with the ancient monarchy as a despotism enforced by hired task-masters and myrmidons, a dereliction of all paternal and benevolent dispositions, unnatural oppression and cruelty, a violation of all laws, divine and human¹, etc., was, it must be confessed, no more wholly foreign to the spirit of the ancient tyranny, than a degeneracy of the nobility was to the early aristocracy; and the name of Phalaris has descended to us branded by history. Now, although it has been customary to class these characteristics together, as the universal qualities of the tyranny, and a similarity in the political position of the tyrants and the character of the age may have led to a certain uniformity in their proceedings, still the single touches of the picture are applicable to individual tyrants of the earlier age in part only, and in a subdued light. For we may plainly perceive, in the delineation of the character of Aristodemus, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus², that as battles were described by

²⁴ As in Polyb. 2. 59. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἐμφασιν καὶ πάσας περιέληψε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας. Hence in Hesych. Τύραννος ἄρχων ἀπηνῆς καὶ ἀπάνθρωπος, and Poll. 6. 151, are classed together, where we must, however, enquire whether the confusion between τύραννος and τυρόρηνός, mentioned Append. v., has not caused the character of the tyrants to be viewed in a more odious light, and occasioned this association. Conf. at large the first chapter in Ebert. Dissertationes Siculæ, Regimontii, 1825.

¹ See Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 3—10; 5. 8. 6. 7; conf. Plat. Repub. 8. 562. A. sqq.

² Dionys. 7. 7.

Diodorus from imagination, and orations sometimes composed with the same license of invention, so it became customary to draw a certain vague and general picture of the tyrants instead of describing their real peculiarities³. Thus the conduct of one was attributed to another; and even when certain particulars were ascribed to the proper owners, various additions were made for the purpose of swelling up the catalogue of their crimes⁴, so that it is scarcely possible to distinguish truth from falsehood in the exaggerated accounts that have been propagated⁵.

The zealous endeavour to secure and maintain the tyranny, may be accounted the root of benignant and mild, as well as of rigorous and cruel conduct in the tyrants. So far, therefore, as the chief object of their government, either mediately or immediately, was to provide for the security of the tyranny, they are justly chargeable with selfishness⁶. But this is very far from implying that the tyrants appropriated to themselves all that was

³ Compare with the description of Dionysius, that given by Hippias, of the tyranny in Erythræ, Athen. 6. 259. C. D; that of Theopompus of Hegesilochus' conduct in Rhodes, Ath. 10. 444. F.; and Heracl. p. 31, of a tyrant said to have resided in Cephallenia, who only allowed two festivals annually, permitted no stranger to reside for more than ten days in the city, asserted the right of the first night, etc.

⁴ A parallel instance occurs in Euseb. Chr. 1470, where see Cedren. 1198: Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος—ἐξεύρε δεισμὰ, μάστιγας, ξύλα, ἐρετὰς, φυλακὰς, κλοιοὺς, πίδαας, ἀλύσεις, ἐξορίας, μέταλλα; a just estimate of this unhistorical mode of accumulating matter, is conveyed by the excellent observation of Polybius ap. Constantin. Porphyrogenit. Exc. Virt. et Vit. (Polyb. Schweigh. 7. 7.) "The historians have related a great deal concerning the cruelty of this Hieronymus, but he must have been too young to deserve it, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ μέρος γραφόντες πράξεις, ἐπειδὴν ὑποθέσεις εὐπερίλεπτους ὑποστήσωνται καὶ στενὰς, πτωχεύοντες πραγμάτων ἀναγκάζεσθαι τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλα ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μηδὲ μνήμης ἀξίων πολλοὺς τινὰς διατίθεσθαι λόγους."

⁵ Thus Clearchus, ap. Ath. 9. 396. F., asserts that Phalaris devoured unweaned infants.

⁶ Aristot. Pol. 4. 8. 3: τυραννίδα—ἡτις—ἀρχεῖ—πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

good and desirable, and revelled in princely luxury themselves, whilst the state derived no benefits whatever from their authority. It was, moreover, peculiar to that mode of government to establish the will and pleasure of the sovereign as the supreme law. But this was not attended by the abolition of all legal institutes; the constitution of Solon continued to exist, in form, under the Pisis-tratidæ; their attacks were not so much directed against law and prescription, as against the power and influence of rank, which had till then prevailed. This chiefly affected the nobility; hence it became a universal characteristic of the tyranny to abolish or remodel⁷ those forms which supported their authority, to humble them⁸, to reduce them as nearly as possible to the level of the other citizens, and to make all honour and importance in the state solely dependent upon the will and pleasure of the tyrant. This last proceeding degenerated into the most reckless violation of personal rights in the conduct of Polycrates, who despoiled his citizens of their property, in order to restore it to them under the name of donations⁹, thus making every thing a concession of royal favour. But the marked opposition of the tyranny to the nobility, proves that measures for oppressing or enfeebling the lower orders are, partly, not attributable to the ancient tyranny at all, as they were, in reality, not adopted till after the full development of democracy, and must partly be regarded in a light very different

⁷ This was in some measure the aim of the institutions of Clisthenes in Sicyon, Herod. 5. 68.

⁸ See Thrasybulus the Milesian's advice to Periander, to mow down those who towered above the rest, Herod. 5. 92. 6; Arist. Pol. 5. 8. 7.

⁹ Herod. 3. 39. 123.

from that of mere oppression. Such were the removal of the lower class from the city, as the centre of government, and compelling them to assume the rustic garb of the sheepskin¹⁰. When these measures were intended for the degradation of the demus, they appear to be more justly attributable to some of the aristocratic governments¹¹; whenever they were employed by tyrants, they bear indisputable marks of a solicitude for the improvement of agriculture¹², the usual attendants of which are prosperity and tranquillity. Another accusation is, that the tyrants disarmed the people and surrounded themselves with bands of mercenaries. This, which we may certainly assume to have been a general practice, was not, however, done for the mere purpose of having a body-guard, or, as the remark of a later age would lead us to suppose¹³, because the tyrants considered themselves victims marked out for slaughter, but was effected with a view to the greater extension of their authority, as will afterwards be shown. This, again, was not consistent with the policy of entirely disarming their subjects. The Sicilian tyrants, in their contests with the Carthaginians, undoubtedly employed armies composed of their own citizens. The systematic

¹⁰ Mæris, *κατωνάκη*. This is ascribed to the Orthagoridæ, and to Pisistratus by Poll. 7. 68; concerning Pisistratus, Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1151, sqq.; conf. Suid. *κατωνάκαι*. The *κατωνάκη*, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 724, and *κοινί-ποδες*, 848, do not refer to the ancient time. The history of the word *μόθων* is similar, Hesych. *μόθ*.

¹¹ See § 32. n. 19; conf. Arist. *Pol.* 5. 4. 5; 5. 8. 7; Meier de Bon. *Damn.* 185, n. 81.

¹² Dion. Chrys. 1. 521. At the command of Pisistratus the Athenians became *γεωργοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πρότερον ψιλὴν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὖσαν ἐλαίας κατεφύτευσαν*. Gelon incited the people to agriculture as he led them to war, *Plut. Apophth.* 6. 668. Periander went still further; he forbade the use of slaves (?) and compelled the citizens to carry on trade themselves, *Nicol. Damasc.* 42. Orell.; and 450. ed. Vales.

¹³ *Æl. V. H.* 10. 5.

enervation of the people, ascribed to Polycrates¹⁴, and, in order to complete the picture, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁵, to Aristodemus, may have been practised in a few instances, and in those only with the military nobility. For such a line of conduct would be no less inconsistent with the stimulus given to agriculture, than with the oppression by means of taxation, so frequently alluded to. Hence the means taken to dishearten the people, by imposts and exactions, which Aristotle ascribes to Polycrates¹⁶, cannot be applied to the tyrants generally. The taxes were sometimes light¹⁷, and they must have been sensible that the oppression which aimed at destroying courage was no less calculated to produce despair. There can be little doubt that their position led them to inflict severe punishment on disobedience, and made it their policy to endeavour to rid themselves of dangerous opponents; but in the narratives of Phalaris alone¹⁸ this is exaggerated into inhuman delight at the torments of unhappy victims. Periander, to whom is pre-eminently ascribed the pursuance of a tyrannical and inhuman system¹⁹, originally showed kindly dispositions²⁰; but unpremeditated incest with his mother is said to have inspired him with misan-

¹⁴ *Ath.* 12. 540; conf. *Wytténb. ad Plut. Apophth.* 1044, where the real origin of that imputation is shown to be Cyrus' treatment of the Lydians (*Herod.* 1. 157).

¹⁵ *Dionys.* 7. 9. ¹⁶ *Pol.* 5. 9. 4.

¹⁷ Pisistratus subjected arable land to the payment of tithe, *Meurs. Pis.* 6. 7. 9. The nobility had taken the sixth; Hippias and Hipparchus took a twentieth only, *Thucyd.* 6. 54; *Böckh, Pub. Econ.* 1. 351. Gelon conscientiously repaid a loan, *Plut. Apophth.* 6. 668.

¹⁸ *Herac. Pont.* 36. Concerning his bull, see *Callimach. Fragm.* 1. 487. ed. *Ern.*; *Diod.* 13. 90; *Cic. in Verr.* 4. 33; *Ath.* 9. 396; *Schol. Pind.* p. 1. 185. But the bull which Scipio sent back from Carthage to the Agrigentans was an effigy of the river-god Gelas; see the Scholion already referred to.

¹⁹ *Arist. Poll.* 5. 9. 2; conf. *Herac. Pont.* 5; *Diog. L.* 1. 98.

²⁰ *Herod.* 5. 92; 6. 7.

thropic cruelty²¹. The employment of spies as a means of security²², naturally attended that of mercenaries, but was not reduced to a definite system till some time afterwards in Syracuse. Finally, we may safely vindicate the tyranny from the charge of having placed its interdict upon mental cultivation²³; this accusation, too, may probably be traced to the conduct pursued by some of the aristocrats towards their dependents, as those of Mitylene, for example²⁴. For how could the courts of the tyrants have been the seats of art and science, had these blossoms of mental culture been prohibited? On the contrary, the care they took to foster and encourage them, the hospitality which the tyrants uniformly showed to artists and poets²⁵, the collection of libraries by Polycrates²⁶ and the Pisistratidæ²⁷, the erection of public edifices, and the adornment of the temples and palace with the productions of art²⁸, bespeak an earnest endeavour to impart external greatness and lustre to the tyranny, and to assimilate it in its outward characteristics to the venerated monarchy of the olden time. Of a corresponding character were the external operations of the state, which required the maintenance

²¹ Parthen. 17; Diog. L. 1. 96. On the other hand, Herodotus' account that the advice of Thrasybulus wrought an entire change in his disposition, appears almost puerile. The anti-tyrannic tendency of the speech of the Corinthian Sosicles, ap. Herod. 5. 92; 2. 3, has likewise cast a false light upon Cypselus.

²² The Bosphoran Leucon said to a slanderer, ἀπέκτεινα αὖν—σέ—εἰ μὴ πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ τυραννὶς ἰδέϊτο, Athen. 6. 257. D. This is a truth which is applicable to all ages.

²³ Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 2. 7.

²⁴ Ælian, V. H. 7. 15; conf. § 26. n. 24.

²⁵ § 50. n. 16. ²⁶ Athen. 1. 3. A.

²⁷ Gell. Noct. Att. 6. 17.

²⁸ See in general Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 4; concerning Polycrates, Herod. 3. 21. 41; 60. 125; conf. Athen. 12. 540. D. E.; Clisthenes, Paus. 2. 9. 6; Cypselus, Paus. 5. 2. 4; 5. 17, sqq. On the embellishment of Athens by Hipparchus, consult Ps. Plat. Hipparchus, etc.

of a large military force; but this must not be regarded as merely destined for the oppression of the citizens. The general position of the tyrants rendered military exploits necessary, in order to inspire respect for them as martial princes; Hippocrates, Gelon, Theron, Polycrates, Periander, Clisthenes, and Pisistratus, were not deficient in energy and courage; but they were combined with that circumspection which was requisite to the acquisition of external supports to their domination. Every fresh conquest became an additional bulwark to their domestic power²⁹, whilst the peaceful foundation of colonies, as was effected by Cypselus in Ambracia, Anactorium and Leucas³⁰, and alliances with other states, more especially with tyrants, as between Periander and Thrasybulus³¹, Periander and Procles³², and Gelon and Theron³³, were intended to impart firmness to their still wavering authority at home.

IV. DOWNFAL OF THE TYRANNY.

§ 52. Thucydides¹ extols Sparta as the deliverer of the Grecian continent from tyrants; Plutarch² has collected a number of examples in support of his assertion. These are, however, nothing but a mass of doubtful statements injudiciously

²⁹ Montesq. Espr. d. L. 8. 16; Quand un prince d'une ville est chassé de sa ville, le procès est fini; s'il a plusieurs villes, le procès n'est que commencé. This is overlooked by Thucydides, 1. 17; against which see his own testimony, 6. 54.

³⁰ Str. 10. 452.

³¹ See. n. 8.

³² § 49. n. 15.

³³ Diod. 11. 26. Analogous cases are when Procles obtained in marriage the daughter of Aristocrates, the Arcadian king, Diog. L. 1. 94, and Clisthenes of Sicyon showed especial favour to Hippoclidès amongst the suitors for his daughter's hand, because he was related to the Cypselidæ, Herod. 6. 128.

¹ Thucyd. 1. 18; conf. Müll. Dor. 1. 160, sqq., and his Prolegom. 405.

² Plut. de Herod. Malig. 9. 411; conf. § 27. n. 17.

compiled in a spirit of opposition to Herodotus; the testimony of Thucydides is only strictly admissible so far as it relates to Athens, but it is of sufficient importance to warrant us in applying it more extensively. In Sparta the tyranny had to encounter serious obstacles, not only in being opposed as a spurious species of government to the legitimate monarchy which still existed there, but also in the alarm caused by the danger to which the ancient Doric institutions in other states became exposed from the innovations of the tyrants, such as the amelioration of the condition of the Periœci, and the introduction of unconstitutional forms in general. Now, although Sparta's efforts to acquire the hegemony in the Peloponnesus, were naturally accompanied by the selfish desire to rid herself of the enemies of Doric prescription, of which she herself was the nucleus; still the extinction of various tyrannies, for instance, that of Corinth³, occurred before the policy of Sparta had spread over the whole Peloponnesus, and moreover she was by no means the natural enemy of tyranny in general; the Pisistratidæ were on friendly terms with her⁴, and although she afterwards expelled them in obedience to the injunctions of the Delphic god, she was nevertheless subsequently inclined to force Athens once more to submit to their domination⁵; so that we may with Dion Chrysostomus⁶ look upon the Corinthian Sosicles, who, by his speech⁷, dissolved the confederate army assembled to assist the Pisistratidæ, as the eventual liberator of Athens.

³ According to Euseb. Chron. Ol. 48.

⁴ Herod. 5. 91, sqq.

⁶ Dio Chrysostom, 2. 108. ed. Reisk.

⁴ Herod. 5. 63.

⁷ Herod. 5. 92.

But even assuming that this merit might be attributed to the Spartans, absolutely and without limitation, still the peculiar circumstances by which the subversion of tyranny in the other states was attended, would remain unexplained: wherefore the destruction of that power, like its rise, must be traced to the operation of causes connected with its intrinsic nature, and a corresponding tendency in the spirit of the age.

As the tyranny on the one hand appears as a revival of the kingly office and the conclusion of the ancient time, so it must on the other be regarded as pregnant with the principle of novelty. Innovation and a departure from prescription are implied in the extraordinary intelligence and energy with which the tyrants must have been endowed to attain their station, and the restless ever-active vigilance it required to assert their elevation; they well knew that the age, which continued to advance with them, had higher claims upon them than such as a mere restoration of ancient forms would satisfy, and that although this might serve to give them the sanction of appearances, the effectual supports of their rank and station required to be created anew. Notwithstanding their eminent endowments, and the disposition of the lower orders to honour them like kings of the olden time, their government could not possibly be so firmly rooted as the legitimate monarchy had been⁸. This was eminently displayed in the hereditary transmission of the tyranny. The family principle

⁸ On that account Solon refused the tyranny, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῇ τοῦ λαβόντος εὐθὺς ἀν βασιλείαν γενομένην, Plut. Sol. 14.

could not have acquired sufficient firmness and consistence in the course of a few generations to support itself by its own inherent strength, wherefore it became indispensable that new and original excellence should characterize the successor of an able tyrant; the want of energy and sagacity was fatal; moral virtue alone could not atone for their absence; although the ancient institutions had been abolished, the decided opponents to their power, the once governing nobles, were by no means extirpated; whilst the demus, formerly destitute of all legal and recognized rights, had already gained by the degradation of that once privileged order to a state of equal subjection with itself. At the same time the active and stimulating government of the tyrants had excited fermentation in all the channels of political life; by straining the sinews of the state they had not relaxed, but invigorated them; consciousness and reflection on political systems were roused into activity, one innovation produced another, and even the sight of that success which had crowned the efforts of so many aspirants to the tyranny, was calculated to call up an inclination to emulate their example⁹, or to inspire self-confidence and the consciousness of a capacity to rise in the scale of importance. Hence, in various parts of the Grecian continent, to which the power of Sparta did not extend, the tyranny, which had in some instances been inherited without the sanction of energy and intelligence, a short time before the Persian wars sunk beneath the efforts of numerous assailants; these were exhi-

⁹ Periander says, Herod. 3. 63: τυραννίς χρημα σφαληρόν· πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι.

bited in various modes¹⁰, but seldom in the simultaneous rise of the people as against Phalaris¹¹, whilst the impulse which was caused by the struggle with the Persians at length spread to Sicily, and eventually effected the deliverance of that country.

The despotic government which afterwards arose served to cast an unfavourable light upon the ancient tyranny, but the demus which had achieved its freedom and possessed numerous memorials of the greatness of those rulers, long continued to recal their merits with affection and gratitude¹²; heroic honours were awarded to Gelon and Theron¹³, and their names, with those of a Cypselus, a Clisthenes, and a Pisistratus, have been handed down to posterity with the glory they deserve. But the pupilage of the demus was now ended, and upon the liberation of Athens, where its career was most triumphant, it was soon destined to show what its emancipated strength could accomplish against the insolence of Persian barbarians and the vengeance of the expelled tyrant Hippias.

¹⁰ Aristot. Poll. 5. 8. 9—11. Concerning the personal motives which influenced the murderers of Hipparchus, see Thucyd. 6. 53, sqq.; Ælian. V. H. 2. 8.

¹¹ Cic. de Offic. 2. 7.

¹² It was not customary "Acta rescindere;" the assertion of Gellius 9. 2, is not consistent with the fact. Corinth, indeed, caused the Delphic treasure of Cypselus to be transferred to the name of the state, Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 7. 576; but the epitaph of Periander was preserved inviolate, Diog. L. 1. 97; and the undertakings commenced by him against other states were partly continued by the commonwealth. But popular hatred is unequivocally expressed in the conduct of the Agrigentans, who forbade their citizens to wear that colour which had once been worn by the body-guards of Phalaris.

¹³ Diodor. 11. 38. 53.

A P P E N D I X.

I.

On the Etesian Winds.

§ 3. n. 20.

THE following collection of the principal statements in the ancient writers concerning the Etesian winds, has been made with the view of imparting some degree of definiteness to this subject, to which such frequent allusion is made; and therefore cannot, from its nature, become the medium of new or original opinions.

Northerly winds prevail during the greater part of the year in the Grecian seas; they begin to blow in the morning, whilst the evenings are generally calm. Clarke, *Travels*, 2. 3. 380. According to Kinsbergen, p. 80, northerly winds prevail at Tenedos for nine months. Hence, the entrance to the Hellespont is rendered so difficult, and the corn-vessels which used to convey supplies from Egypt to the imperial city of Constantinople were frequently obliged to lie so long at anchor; on which account Justinian established magazines on the island of Tenedos, to preserve the corn from the damage to which it became liable on board. Procopius de *Œdific.* 5, 2. The north wind in general (not the Etesiae), frequently denominated from Thrace (Hesiod. *Op. et Di.* 507, sqq. *Θρήσσαι πνοαί*, Soph. *Antig.* 585. *Στρυμονίης*, Herod. 8. 118.) was disliked by the Greeks; it is characterized as rough (*δύσπνοοι πνοαί*, Soph. *ubi sup.*)

The Etesiae form one variety of this class. The word *ἐτησιαί*, according to its etymological signification, denotes winds which return annually with a certain regularity. *Βορέαι ἐτήσιοι*, Aristot. *Probl.* 26. 2. In Alexandria the *ἐτησιαί* ἐκ τῶν βορέων, Strab. 17. 793, began every year

with the summer. Aquilones Etesiae, Plin. Hist. Nat. 2. § 42. Etesia flabra aquilonum, Lucret. 5. 741. Comp. 6. 730. So far the word Etesiae is not used in reference to northerly winds alone. By Posidonius, the *εὔροι* were designated *ἐτησίαι* of the sea extending from Iberia to Sardinia, Str. 3. 144; also the Indian rainy winds by Eratosthenes, Str. 15. 690—692. Compare Arrhian. Anab. 6. 21; Indica 21; Seneca Qu. Nat. 5. 18; Etesiae—totam Indiam et Æthiopiam continuis aquis irrigant. This serves to explain the statement, Liv. 37. 23, that the fleet of Antiochus had had a slow passage towards the west, along the south coast of Lesser Asia: *adverso tempore Etesiarum, quod velut statum Favoniis esset*. Therefore the word is used without any allusion whatever to a particular point of the compass, Phavorinus ap. Gell. Noct. Att.; Etesiae et prodromi—certo tempore anni, cum canis oritur, ex alia atque alia cœli parte spirant. Compare Apuleius de Mund. 2. 261: *Sunt Etesiae et prodromi spirantes ex omni parte eo tempore aestatis, quo canis oritur*.

The word is, in its most limited acceptance, applied to the north-west winds which blew every year about the time of the dog-days in the Grecian seas. To these refers Theophrast. de Vent. etc. (Hanau, 1605. fol.) p. 58; only the north winds are *ἐτησίαι*, not the south winds. These Etesiae began to blow at the rise of the dog-star, and refreshed Greece during the continuance of the oppressive heats, Pollux, Onom. 1. 61, *θέρος περὶ τὰ Ἑτήσια πνεύματα*. Seneca, Quæst. Natur. 8. 10: *Etesiarum flatus æstatem frangit*. Concerning the heat of this season, see the passages in Kruse, Hellas 249. 250. 262. The power which the Etesiae exerted over it is attested by the expressive "mythus" of Aristeas, to which we can merely direct the attention of the reader.

The Etesiae, like northerly winds in general, usually ceased during the night. Theophrast. de Vent. p. 58. Plin. Hist. Nat. 2. 47. Sen. Qu. N. 5. 11: *Atqui Etesiae ob hoc somniculosi a nautis et delicati vocantur, quod—mane nesciunt surgere*.

They are accurately described as north-west winds by

Aristotle, de Mund. 4: *Οἱ ἐτησίαι λεγόμενοι μίξιν ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου φερομένων καὶ ζεφύρων*. Comp. Aristot. Meteorol. 2. 6, where several winds from the same point of the compass are spoken of. Diodor. 1. 39: *Οὐ βορέαι γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπαρκτῖαι μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πνέοντες ἀπὸ θερινῆς δύσεως ἀργέσται κοινωνοῦσι τῆς τῶν ἐτησίων προσηγορίας*. Therefore in Hesych. *Ἀργέσται—οἱ ἐτήσιοι*. Comp. Suid. *Ἑτησίαι*.

According to Theophrast. de Vent. p. 62, there blew in several regions, during the Etesiae, a sort of counterwinds; as, for instance, the *Παλιμβορέας* of the Euripus. Their strength was not everywhere equal. In Thessaly they were moderate, Theoph. ub. sup. p. 63; on the islands violent, still more so by Carystus; Ibid. p. 70: *μᾶλλον ἰσχύουσι καὶ συντονότερως τοῖς βορείοις*. On the north coast of Egypt their strength was very great; hence the assertion, that the inundations of the Nile arose in consequence of their impeding the course of the river; Herod. 2. 20. Comp. Diod. ubi sup.; Ammian. Marc. 22. 35. Therefore Cæsar was compelled by the Etesiae to remain in Egypt, qui Alexandria navigantibus sunt adversissimi venti. They rendered the passage from Rhodes to Athens almost impracticable during the dog-days. Cicero ad Att. 6. 7. (The brother of Sir Sydney Smith spent nearly a month on the passage from Rhodes to Cos. Clarke's Trav. 2. 2. 380.)

The following examples may serve to prove the influence they exercised on navigation and political warfare. The oldest on record is probably the mention of a drifting from Cape Malea towards Crete, in three different parts of the Odyssey, viz., 3. 289, sqq.; 4. 514, sqq.; 9. 80, sqq.—Miltiades sailed with the Etesiae from Eleus to Lemnos, Herod. 6. 140.—After the battle of Salamis, the Corcyreans who had remained behind to reconnoitre, alleged as a pretext that they had been prevented by the Etesian winds from doubling Cape Malea, Herod. 7. 168. This is not to be interpreted of the easterly course, but of the northerly direction, in which it was afterwards necessary to steer. On the subject of the passage from

the Pontus into the Hellespont with the assistance of the Etesiae, see Polyb. 4. 44; 6. 10. Most important was their influence on the naval operations of Philip of Macedon and the Athenians. They impeded the progress of the Athenians towards the north (Demosth. Philipp. 1. 48. 93. ed. Reisk.); but Philip availed himself of them for the objects of his expedition (Argum. Demosth. Phil. 1. 39). They were no less influential in the Ionian sea. When they blew, the passage from Cephallenia to Messenia could be performed in one day; Polyb. 5. 5. They facilitated the voyage from Italy to Greece (Cicer. ad Famil. 12. 22), and to the east (Tacit. Hist. 2. 98). On the other hand, they greatly protracted Dion's passage from Zacynthus to Sicily. Plut. Dion 24.

II.

The Passes of the Cithæron.

§ 6. n. 37.

Towards the south, Bœotia is so shut in by the Cithæron and Parnes, that eastward and westward of these mountains it is only close to the sea that there is space enough left for roads; in the former direction there was a convenient one from Attica to Oropus, in the latter a very arduous one, (ὄρεινή, Xen. Hell. 6. 4. 3; χαλεπή, Ibid. 6. 4. 25. Conf. 5. 4. 16—18, and the statements in Müll. Orch. 492. 493.), along the brink of the Alcyonian sea from the Megarian Pagæ towards Creusis. But the great thoroughfare between Bœotia and the Peloponnesus led over the Cithæron. Allusions to them in ancient authors are sufficiently numerous; nevertheless it is still a matter of doubt whether there was one military road (λεωφόρος) or two. But this must, in consequence of the changes which the aspect of the country has undergone, be chiefly deduced from an attentive examination of the accounts of the ancients. Xenophon makes mention of one pass of the Cithæron; however, in consequence of a supposition that every one was necessarily acquainted

with its peculiar character, he treats the subject with extreme brevity; Hell. 5. 4. 47: τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον; comp. 5. 4. 59, and καταλαβεῖν τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, 5. 4. 37, and διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, 5. 4. 59. Now it is certain that both on the northern and southern sides of the Cithæron there were two roads to its summit and over it; on the northern side, the one leading from Plataeæ, the other from Thebes, by the hamlets Erythræ and Hysia—Thuc. 3. 24: οἱ Πλαταιῆς—ἐχώρουν—τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσιν ὁδόν· καὶ ἅμα ἐώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς, τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν φέρουσιν μετὰ Λαμπάδων διώκοντας· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίου οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν, ἐπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἦσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσιν ὁδόν, ἐς Ερύθρας καὶ Ὑσίας, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὁρῶν διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Comp. Pausan. 9. 1. 3: Νεοκλῆς—Βοιωτάρχων—(τοὺς Θηβαίους) οὐ τὴν εὐθείαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν τὴν τε ἐπὶ τὴν πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Ὑσιῶν ἦγε πρὸς Ἐλευθερῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Two ways up the south side are described by Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 14: καὶ τὴν μὲν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας, ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσιν· προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ (viz., of Cleombrotus) περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου λελυμένοις (i. e. Θηβαίοις)—καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας—ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταιὰς. From this it appears, especially from the passage of Xenophon, 5. 4. 14, and of Thuc. 3. 24, that there were two passes on the heights of the Cithæron, the one from Eleutheræ to Hysia and Erythræ, the other from Megaris to Plataeæ. To the latter, however, appertains the name Δρυὸς κεφαλὰι; Herod. 9. 39:—ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας, αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι· τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. Comp. the above-quoted passage of Thucydides. This pass not only seems to have been the more convenient one, but likewise the more agreeable to the Peloponnesians, as

they could reach it from Megaris, without touching on the territory of the Athenians; and this is understood in those passages which do not contain a more special local description—for instance, in those of Xenophon cited above. In after-times its superior practicability became so generally acknowledged, that the other pass was scarcely ever traversed, and passengers generally took the road from Eleutheræ to Platææ. Thus Pausanias, 9. 2. 2: *λεωφόρος ἀπ' Ἐλευθερῶν ἐς Πλαταιὰν ἄγει*; and Strab. 9. 411: *τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Μέγαρον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεγαρίδος*. This road, finally, is the one in use at the present day.

III.

Geraneia and Oneion.

§ 6. n. 42. 44.

The mountain Geraneia (ἡ Γεράνεια; in Diodor, 19. 54, *Γερανία*.)—there can be no doubt—lay to the north-east of the isthmus in Megaris. Thuc. 1. 105. Compare 1. 108; 4. 70. Pausan. 1. 40. 1. Steph. Byzan. *Γεράνεια*. That side of it which declined towards the Saronic gulf was exceedingly steep; there were the Scironian rocks (comp. an epigram attributed to Simonides in Brunck's *Analect.* 1. p. 143); to the west it stretched as far as the gulf of Corinth, wherefore Pagæ situate there was of importance as a place of thoroughfare. There was likewise a rarely-trodden road at the back of the mountain—*δύσσοδος*—ἡ Γεράνεια, Thucyd. 1. 107. Conf. 108, and Diodorus 11. 80.

Entirely distinct from this is the range of mountains called Oneion (τὸ Ὀνεῖον, Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 51. *Ὀνεα ὄρη*, Polyb. 2. 52. *Ὀνεα ὄρη*, Strab. 8. 380.) This is almost universally described by the moderns as a part of the Geraneia, or as very nearly connected with it, and placed northward of the isthmus. This does not appear to me to be correct. Strabo seems to be the authority adduced in support of the statement; he says, 8. 380: τὰ

καλούμενα Ὀνεα ὄρη, διατείνοντα μέχρι Βοιωτίας καὶ Κιθαιρώνος ἀπὸ τῶν Σκειρωνίδων πετρῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ ταύτας ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Comp. 9. 393, and the passage in Vatic. Append. 3. 71, which is nearly to the same effect. But this—supposing these local appellations to have undergone no change in Strabo's time—appears to involve a confusion with the Geraneia, and it results from the testimony of older writers, that the Oneion lay to the south of the isthmus. In corroboration of this, we might especially refer to Thucydides' description of the battle between the Athenians and Corinthians near the hill Solygius, 4. 42—44. This lay along a creek twenty stadia south of the isthmus, between the two Cenchreæ. During the battle a detachment of Corinthians was unemployed in Cenchreæ—*τούτοις οὐ κατά-δηλος ἡ μάχη ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ὀνείου*. Hence it would appear that the Oneion was situated between Cenchreæ and the Solygius. But this must not be conceived as a single mountain, but as a series of heights, which rendered the entrance to the Peloponnesus extremely difficult, and across which there were several passages—Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 15.—*ἐφύλαττον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον*. The most practicable was by Cenchreæ, Xen. Hell. 6. 5. 51: *τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρεάς παράδοον*. Comp. 7. 1. 41: *τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρεῶν λόφον*. On the subject of Epaminondas' passage across it, compare Polyæn. 2. 3. 3; 2. 3. 9. Between the Oneion and the Geraneia lay the valley of the isthmus (see Gell. ap. Popp. Thucyd. 2. 232. note). Here Chabrias threw up a trench, Olymp. 102. 4, from Cenchreæ to Lechæum, in order to prevent Epaminondas from entering the Peloponnesus, Diodor. 15. 68. Again, upon the approach of Antigonos, Cleomenes fortified the space between Acrocorinthus and the Oneion to guard the Peloponnesus, Polyb. 2. 52, but thereupon fell back upon the Oneion himself, Plut. Cleom. 20.

IV.

The Sources from which our Knowledge of the Heroic Age is derived.

§ 9. n. 1.

The Grecian historian possessed no older or richer store of materials for the primitive ages of his own nation, than was contained in the Homeric poems; and although it might occasionally have been asked whether certain historical and geographical notices might with safety be borrowed from them, still criticism was very far removed from the annihilating attitude it has assumed at the present day, which compels every one, who wishes to adduce Homer as an historical authority, to support a contest for him and for the validity of his testimony, without which quotations from the Homeric poems run the risk of being considered wholly inadmissible.

Whether these poems had one composer or several is by no means an indispensable preliminary enquiry; it is sufficient that they reveal a peculiar and exclusive spirit, which, if it does not belong to a single individual, at least is the property of a moral person, a particular age, and as such constitutes admissible evidence for a political state of things, to which, and not to events, our expositions are more especially directed; considered in this point of view, their testimony is perhaps more valuable than that of a single individual. For the sake of brevity, however, we shall still continue to employ the ancient name of Homer.

In this consideration it is necessary to adopt one of two hypotheses: 1. Homer either adapted his poetry to something which existed before and with him, consequently either gave a faithful transmission of the legend, or represented his own time; or, 2. Homer created original poetry, without any archetype in reality whatever. The scepticism of antiquity was almost exclusively directed to the events commemorated by Homer and his geographical statements. The ancients are tacitly agreed as to the credibility and historical accuracy of his delineations of the moral and

political phenomena of his time: on this head there existed no doubt. The principal sceptics of the former kind were Herodotus¹, most characteristically called by Fr. v. Schlegel the first *Chorizon*, whose incredulity, with regard to Helen's abode in Troy, had been caused by Egyptian legends; Eratosthenes and Apollodorus on the subject of geographical data, the former even to raillery²; Dion Chrysostomus on the destruction of Troy. Thucydides, in the consciousness of that greatness which was the attribute of the Athenian age, beheld in the early times nothing but the humble infancy of things, but he does not question the accuracy of the political picture or the heroic way of thinking; Ephorus, by beginning his histories with the Heraclid-Doric migration, seems to have pronounced all that lay beyond it fabulous matter, but it was very far from his intention to supply grounds for the conclusion that the matter in question was wholly destitute of an historical character, from the circumstance of its being unfitted for the range of his historical investigations; on the contrary, he is not unfrequently more entangled in the legendary cycle of the heroic age, than historical criticism is disposed to allow. Polybius, where judgment was wholly free from the influence of Grecian prejudices, expresses himself, with particular reference to the geographical statements, to the effect that Homer, notwithstanding he made use of the license of a poet, still took facts for a basis³.

The ancients attempt for the most part to meet the enquiry whether Homer represents what existed in his age, by an examination of insulated statements; for instance, when Ephorus in Strabo⁴, in no very critical

¹ Herod. 2. 120.

² —φησὶ, τότε ἂν εὐρεῖν τινα, ποῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς περιπλάνηται, ὅταν εὕρῃ τὸν σκυτῆα τὸν συνάραφον τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἀσκὸν. Strab. 1. 24; and concerning Apollodorus, *ibid.* 7. 298.

³ —ἐκ μηδενὸς ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτειν καινὴν τερατολογίαν οὐχ Ὀμηρικόν· προσπίπτει γὰρ, ὡς εἰκός, ὡς πιθανώτερον, ἂν οὕτω τις ψεύδοιτο, εἰ καταμίσγοι τι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀληθινῶν. Strab. 1. 20. Compare his Judgment, 1. 25: Εἰ δὲ τινα μὴ συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολὰς αἰτιάσθαι δεῖ, ἢ ἄγνοιαν, ἢ καὶ ποιητικὴν ἔξουσίαν, ἢ συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἱστορίας, καὶ διαθέσεως, καὶ μύθου.—Τὸ δὲ πάντα πλάττειν, οὐ πιθανόν, οὐδ' Ὀμηρικόν, and see, on this subject, Fr. v. Schlegel, *Gesch. d. ep. Poes. Schr.* 3. 90.

⁴ Strab. 10. 479.

spirit observes, that Homer places a hundred cities in Crete, whereas there were only ninety in the heroic age; more pertinently Velleius Paterculus remarks⁵, that Homer mentions Corinth, which did not yet exist under that name. But on the other hand it is most justly affirmed by the pseudo-Herodotus, in the life of Homer⁶, that the latter was compelled, by esthetical necessity, to embody in his poetry either that which was most beautiful in itself, or what was peculiar to his own country. Let us for a moment suppose that the political descriptions and opinions of Homer had been borrowed from foreign models: nothing but an equal violation of reason and nature could have represented what was actually existing in other countries, as the native institutions of bygone ages; jest, satire, and allegory were equally foreign from his intention. It is even doubtful whether Homer was so accurately acquainted with the political system of any other country, as to be capable of calling up a distinct poetical image of it. It must have been as remote from his design, as it would have been absurd in itself, to describe, in a popular poem, which was destined to perpetuate the life and actions of the fathers in the remembrance of the sons, ideal constitutions and purely fictitious manners and customs, works of art, etc., in lieu of the usages and objects of their own country. He must have been devoid of all inclination to such a course; for the national poet, who arises during the youth of a nation, is generally identified with, and held in subjection by the present; he cannot disengage himself from it, and in him natural feeling is the apprehension of a poetical truth, which appears as such to his people in the same manner as to himself. This may be asserted of the ancient Greek poet with more especial truth, as it was ever a prominent feature in the disposition of his nation to adapt the ethical side of life in all its bearings to its own peculiar character,

⁵ Vell. Pat. 1. 3, ex persona poetæ.

⁶ Ep. 37:—ἄνδρα ποιητὴν τηλικούτον εἰκὸς ἔστι τῶν νομίμων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιούντα εἰς τὴν ποίησιν, ἥτοι τὰ κάλλιστα ἐξευρόντα ποιέειν, ἢ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πάτρια ἔόντα.

and to reconcile and bring it into harmony with it. Thus the gods were in the heroic age drawn after the models of the illustrious Greeks⁷; hence Homer is acquainted with the wonders and monsters of other regions, but not with foreign political institutions and manners. It is in the physical world only that poetry sports uncontrolled with all sorts of airy images; the moral picture has only gradations, not *essentially different* or *foreign* colours. This is, at the same time, a pledge to us of the willingness of Homer to reproduce in a faithful transcript, those manners, customs, and feelings with which he was acquainted, but at the same time, according to the poet's right, in hues more bright and vivid. Finally, it is by no means difficult to strip of its poetical garb the description of moral and political life. The attachment to the real world there involuntarily discovers itself in the feeling, which does not disdain to exhibit, in the same picture, the splendour of silver and gold and the farm-yard of Ulysses. In this respect Thucydides⁸, even in his time, judged sagaciously and correctly, as did Strabo, who, upon other occasions, is by no means free from prejudice⁹.

Hence, we have to show that Homer neither invented nor borrowed the moral features of his national picture from foreign sources, but that he either derived them from the native traditions or was a witness of them himself.

In considering the latter view of the subject, it may be asked, was not Homer's age entirely different from the preceding one; and does not the act of transferring its peculiarities to the heroic age involve mere fiction and an ignorance of its real nature? We answer, no—affirm that there was an essential connection between the two, and do not recognise a gulf between them, a total revolution in feelings and manners. The whole ethico-political world around Homer struck deep roots into the ancient time, and was in various ways connected with it. Thus

⁷ Aristot. Poll. 1. 1. 7.

⁸ Thuc. 1. 10: εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι.

⁹ Strab. 1. 20: ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ, κ. τ. λ.

Homer, in regard of the ethical impress of himself and his time, must be imagined as still within the larger boundaries of the heroic age. It is here immaterial that he employs, for many of the political objects of that period, names which were only called into being by the revolutions consequent upon the migrations; for instance, when he mentions Sparta, although Amyclæ was apparently the ancient Achæan seat of government, and records a Thessalus (Il. 2. 682), etc. Herein the present took precedence of the past, and it is unnecessary to enter into a criticism of detached verses, although there may be ample opportunities for such a course. How many of the *forms* of the olden time still existed in unimpaired vigour, or stood as the memorials of a former age, it is unnecessary to enquire. The continuance of a mode of feeling may depend upon very slight circumstances, and still preserve an affinity in the children of different centuries, even though this should be a mere yearning in the descendants after the customs and manners of their fathers. This is especially the case in the youth of nations, change not then exerting its force in such a degree as afterwards, when the various blossoms of human culture are unfolded, the national manners, estranged from their natural simplicity, traverse the most opposite paths in rapid succession, and the sons are sometimes unable to comprehend the age of their fathers.

Homer, indeed, calls the heroes different from the men of his time¹⁰, and characterizes the latter as an inferior race of beings¹¹. But what does he ascribe to the heroes, but greater physical strength? And what does his idea of a more perfect past in point of fact prove? It is a notion which he shares with the whole human race, and is displayed as such, when the heroes themselves, in their turn, extol the age of their fathers¹². On the other hand, the Homeric poesy does not represent a difference

¹⁰ Οἱ τοὶ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι.

¹¹ Il. 2. 110; 5. 747; 19. 41. No weight can be laid upon the suspicious ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν, Il. 12. 23.

¹² Nestor. Il. 1. 260, sqq.

in the political life of the heroic age, from that of the actual time, or even a still more exalted state of political development, such as might be found in the genealogies of Hesiod (Op. et. Dies. 108, sqq.) The Homeric Cyclops¹³ are an emblem of the family system not yet expanded into the state; the political chronicle only ascends at the farthest to Troas, where Dardanus founds Ilium and the state together¹⁴; Homer is unacquainted with any thing anterior.

Again, if it should be proposed to reject Homer's picture of the heroic age, which he apparently does not describe as different from his own, so that in lieu of the actions of the mythical time, which cannot all be denied, some other political and ethical condition should be assumed, of what nature could this have been conformably to the analogy of history? A Pelasgic peaceful period? and yet a Theban and a Trojan war? A theocracy? and still Pelopidæ and Æacidæ? a wild and uncivilized state of things without elevation of sentiment? Any substitute of this description would be lamentably inadequate, and only serve to prove the more clearly, that the feelings and manners of the heroic system extend back from the period of their commemoration in Homer, in one genetic series to the time of their actual existence, and that the poet was capable of drawing a faithful picture of them from the stores of his own mind.

However, that notion which makes the heroic system begin with the poesy of Homer, and till then establishes a vacuum, is supported by a much-controverted assertion of Herodotus, that Homer and Hesiod had created the Grecian theogony¹⁵. What can be more closely connected with the Homeric heroes than the Homeric gods? The word ποιέειν may indeed be interpreted with reference to the poetical adornment of Olympus; but Herodotus is seriously and strictly of opinion, that the knowledge of the descent, nature, etc., of the gods, was still

¹³ Odys. 9. 112, sqq.

¹⁴ Il. 20. 215, sqq.

¹⁵ Hesiod. 2. 53: οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην "Ἕλλησι, κ. τ. λ.

young¹⁶. But this abridgment of the beginnings of heroic antiquity is not, as in Thucydides, the offspring of the sober understanding, and a disinclination to deal with poetical illusions in which individual details, whether true or false, cannot be distinctly perceived and apprehended, but rather that Egyptian prejudice, with which, almost like the priest when conversing with Solon¹⁷, he contrasts the remote antiquity of Egypt with the infancy of Greece. Those who can assent to his doctrine, open to themselves an ample field for the interpretation of poetical theology, in which, perhaps, like the strangely ingenious Vico, they may succeed in discovering allegorical representations of political objects¹⁸. Still, notwithstanding all these attempts at profound and mystical interpretation, it remains certain that Homer represents the life of the gods and the political order in Olympus anthropomorphically, (Zeus in Olympus being a reflex of the heroic monarchy on earth,) whilst, according to Herodotus, the picture of earthly affairs could not possibly go forth from the poetic laboratory so bright and original as that of the divine race, which very argument proves Herodotus' opinion of the theogony to be untenable.

The connection between the heroic-Homeric age and the succeeding one in institutions and character was, it must be confessed, at one time considered in such a light, that it was attempted to deduce from what existed subsequently, historical confirmation of the justness of the Homeric delineations: this is no longer the case. One ingenious view

¹⁶ Of πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς, *ib.* Analogous to this is B. 137, ἔσαν γὰρ τοπάλοι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· ἡ δὲ γόνυ τοῦ βασιλῆος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεισσε.

¹⁷ Ὡς Σόλων, Σόλων, "Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ παῖδες ἔστε, γέρον δὲ Ἕλληνας οὐκ ἔστιν. Platon. Tim. 22 B.

¹⁸ I have only had access to Weber's translation of the Principi di Scienza Nuova, p. 358. Jupiter is the idea of religion; Juno and Diana signify marriage; Apollo the god of civil splendour, of nobility; Venus, civil beauty; Minerva and Mercury signify the *lex agraria*; p. 441. 458. Plebeians are represented by Tantalus and Mars, the latter of whom is wounded by Minerva (the armed aristocratic orders); Vulcan, who is hurled down from heaven. Comp. p. 269. The heroes are beautiful, whereas Æsop and Thersites, as plebeians, are ugly. Irus, in the Odyssey, is the type of an agrarian contest. The views of his successor, Pagano, are, it must be confessed, developed in a very different manner.

of the subject¹⁹ attempts to establish a connection between the Homeric and the heroic ages indeed, but separates both from the succeeding one. Moreover, it regards the subsequent age as entirely new, and as a consequence of the migration of the Heraclidæ, and the events by which it was followed, thus severing the lineal tie which connects it with the time of the heroes. Now if this should be imagined as an earlier order of things within the limits of Hellenic nationality, such a view of the subject might be compared to the ancient Grecian opinion, which represented the rise of political society as occurring after a destruction through inundation, or some other calamity²⁰. But that opinion rather makes Homer and the heroic age co-existent with, than anterior to the commencement of the historical age of the Greeks; that is to say, places him in Troas at the court of the still remaining Dardanidæ in Gergis. But, on the other hand, it ascribes works of remote antiquity in the heart of Greece, the Cyclopean walls, etc., to the age after the migration of the Heraclidæ. The first hypothesis assumes that the Homeric dialect arose from the mixture of language during the ten years war, but was afterwards adopted by the Ionians, together with the poetry, by which means Homer became naturalized. But how, I again ask, are we to fill up that void which is created beyond the migration of the Heraclidæ by the total annihilation of Grecian feelings and actions? Nay, still more, whence are we to derive compensation for the original poetical excellence of which we strip the Greeks immediately after the migration? From Gergis? The path is not inviting; we dare not contemplate the void, which is asserted to have existed during this period in Greece, and rise up in defence of her rightful claims.

Now, although it is not very difficult to prove that various institutions of subsequent polity were promulgated

¹⁹ Schubarth, Ideas on Homer and his Age, 1821, and the announcement of the book in the Jena. L. Z. 1823, September.

²⁰ Aristot. Poll. 2. 5. 12; Plat. Tim. 22, C. D.; Politic. 270, C.; de Legg. 3. 677, A.

with the stamp of heroic antiquity, as, for example, under the kingship of Sparta, still the space between the fall of Troy and the Homeric poesy is too considerable, for the commemoration of many of the forms of the heroic age not to have been entirely left to tradition. But the province of tradition is not so much the commemoration of a state of things and manners, as a recital of events and actions; it can only seize and reproduce the spirit of the primitive time in the antique character of its style. Therefore, descriptions of objects of this kind, which were no longer in actual being, might be looked upon as the subjective creations of the poet's mind; but this could only be imagined in the closest communion and interaction with the general spirit of the contemporary age, and its fund of legendary lore.

It remains to be asked, whether Homer is to be looked upon as the only source of our information concerning the heroic age? There can be no doubt, that manifold legends were propagated at the same time with the Homeric poems, and that the remembrance of the ancient times was conducted through various channels to younger generations. To these must be referred those traditions, of which no traces are to be discovered in Homer. Even the ancients declared, that his silence ought not to be adduced without limitation, as an evidence of the non-existence of a thing²¹. Does it follow that Cyclopean walls were not constructed till after Homer's time, from the fact of his not having mentioned them? It would require many pages to enumerate all the instances in which, and all the reasons why, he was silent, and to exhibit the *argumentum a silentio* in its real insignificance²².

In the poems of Hesiod, whose name, like that of Homer, must be regarded as the representative of an age,

²¹ —ἀπλῶς δὲ τὸ μὴ λέγειν οὐ τοῦ μὴ εἶδέναι σημεῖον ἐστίν. Strab. 1. 36; comp. 1. 32; 8. 341; 12. 553.

²² Mille preuves de ce genre ne peuvent en former une positive; on ne sauroit, trop le répéter.—L'abus des preuves négatives a enfanté tous ces systèmes, dont nous sommes depuis si longtemps inondés, etc. Sainte-Croix Des Anc. Gouvern. Fédératifs, p. 320.

and in those of the Cyclic poets, we likewise behold ancient tradition and modern fiction flowing side by side; the latter is eminently conspicuous in the *Ποιαι* of Hesiod; but the more marked the difference between the institutions of the past and present became, the purer was the gratification derived from the poetical description of the ancient greatness. But henceforward there were two sources of adulteration: first, the infancy of modern institutions was removed back into the historical times, in order thereby to render them more venerable, as the patricians in Rome afterwards sought to derive lustre from the glory of their ancestors in the regal age, and in Sparta various institutions obtained greater sanction from being denominated Lycurgan; and secondly, it became necessary to assimilate the discipline of that which had existed in the heroic age to subsequent phenomena, whose origin was falsely referred to that age: this is perceptible in the monarchy of the Attic tragedy, and the asserted foundation of the Athenian democracy by Theseus²³. Even Aristotle himself²⁴, although probably only merely in order to exemplify an analogy, pretends to discover the infancy of ostracism amongst the Argonauts, who leave Hercules behind.

Hence, in availing ourselves of all the sources presented to us, we must be especially careful to discriminate between those opinions which were foreign to the heroic times, and the facts they accompany. Now as Homer will be our principal authority, and his age expresses itself in him, the peculiar opinion of the poet and the political maxim—the expression of the national mind, cannot be so entirely separated, as in the case of the writer or individual statesman, and the collective nation of succeeding ages; nevertheless, even in Homer, it is by no means difficult to distinguish between what was considered as a gnome in itself, and the original and dramatic portraiture of character, for instance, that of an heroic Agamemnon and a quarrelsome Thersites.

²³ Hence, no importance can be attached to testimonies from Æschylus and Euripides, and the appeals of the orators to the constitution of Theseus.

²⁴ Polit. 3. 9.

V.

The Tyrrhenian Pelasgians.

§ 9. n. 21.

A few additional observations respecting the confusion between the Pelasgic Tyrrhenians and the Etruscans or Italian Tyrrhenians may not be out of place here. The Tyrrhenians belonging to the Grecian mother-country were the builders of the Pelasgic citadel in Athens alone, who, when driven from thence, passed over into Lemnos, Imbrus, and (Müll. Orchom. Append. 4. 438.) Scyros, and afterwards into Thrace. Herod. 1. 57; Thuc. 4. 109. When Herodotus separates the Pelasgians from the Tyrrhenians — Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκούντων, 1. 57.—he betrays an imperfect acquaintance with the subject. Thucydides ubi sup. very explicitly calls the Tyrrhenians a Pelasgic tribe, and, on the contrary, mentions the Crestoniats as a distinct race residing near them (Herodotus, Pelasgians) (τὸ δὲ πλείστον Πελασγικὸν, τῶν καὶ Λήμνον ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν, καὶ Κρηστωνικόν, κ. τ. λ.); he undoubtedly knew that country better than Herodotus. The etymologist may very well consider τύρρις, a tower; fortress, (τύρσος, τὸ ἐν ὕψει ὠκοδομημένον, Suidas; compare Orph. Argon. 151. τύρσιν ἐρυμνῆς Μιλήτοιο, Pind. Ol. 2. 127, Κρόνου τύρσιν) to be the root of the name Tyrrhenian, (Dionys. Hal. Arch. 1. 26:—τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν —ταύτην ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων, ἃ πρῶτοι—κατεσκευάσαντο —τύρσεις γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρῆνοισι αἱ ἐντείχιοι καὶ στεγαναὶ οἰκήσεις, κ. τ. λ. He adduces the Mosynæci by way of analogy), then immediately traces the etymology of τύραννος, the lord of the tower or citadel, and connects this with the Etruscan *Lar*, Lord, and *Larissa*. Philochorus and others, with less attention to the simple root, considered Τυρρῆνός the primitive of Τύραννος. Thus the former, Schol. Luc. Catap. (Siebel. p. 13): Τύραννος εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρρῆνῶν τῶν βιαίων καὶ ληστῶν ἐξ

ἀρχῆς, κ. τ. λ. Hence it is easy to explain the frequent confusion of those two words, as well as of their derivatives τυραννικός and τυρρηνικός in the lexicographers; as in Phot. πελαργικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων κατασκευασθὲν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεῖχος; Etym. M. Σιντιίδα, of Lemnos, the Σίντιες, ἔθνος τυραννικὸν καὶ ληστρικόν, there, etc. Comp. above § 50. n. 24. Sophocles in Inachus

Ἰναχε γεννᾶτορ—

..... μέγα πρεσβεύων

.....

καὶ Τυρρῆνοισι Πελασγοῖς.

Dionys. Hal. Arch. 1. 25, and others, transferred the denomination Τυρρῆνοὶ Πελασγοὶ to the Pelasgians in Argolis. The confusion of these Tyrrhenians in Hellas with the Italian Rasena (Dionys. Hal. Arch. 1. 30.) probably arose not only from the similarity of termination, but likewise from the erection of citadels by the latter, which occasioned a name that was in point of fact peculiar to Greece, to be applied to them. The oldest mention which occurs of the western Tyrrhenians is wholly unmixed with any unfavourable judgment on their national character. The Tyrrhenians in Hesiod. Theogo. 1015, the subject of Latinus (πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσε), appear to have been a nation but little known, and dwelling on remote coasts—μάλα τῆλε μυχῶ νησῶν ἱεράων—, but of unblemished reputation. Afterwards Tyrrhenians appear in the character of pirates (Hom. Hymn. Bacch. Mnaseus Amazonis Athen. 7. 296, D. Argonaut. Apollod. 1. 9. 18). This and the Tyrrhenian empire of the sea, in Euseb. Chron. 927, may have been chiefly borrowed from their pursuits; the influence of the accounts from the Italian Cuma must likewise be taken into account here. At the same time the ancient Pelasgic Tyrrhenians on Lemnos, etc., were looked upon as a sort of outlaws from Grecian political society, and doubtless addicted to piracy. Thus two causes henceforward conspired to promote the gradual traducement of the Tyrrhenian character, their twofold extraction and

home being no longer specified. In Hygin. Fab. 274, Tyrrhenus is the son of Hercules, and his companions eat human flesh.

VI.

On the names Hellas, Hellenes, Helli, Selli, Græci.

§ 12. n. 17.

If we take the local denomination Hellas for the root, and the national name Hellenes for the derivative (*parum grammaticæ*, Heyne ad Hom. vol. 4. p. 395), we are led to think of a tract of country reclaimed from a marsh (*ἔλος*), and may bring forward, in support of this derivation, the Laconian Helos (see above § 7. n. 36.), and Apollod. 2. 4. 6, ἐκ δὲ Ἑλούς τῆς Ἀργείας, Strab. 9. 404.—ὁ Ἑλεών —, κόμη Ταναγρικὴ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλῶν ὠνομασμένη. Ibidem 9. 406: Ἑλος τε καὶ Ἑλεών καὶ Εἰλέσιον ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἰδρύνθαι (comp. on the subject of the name Εἰρέσιον, and the derivation from εἶρεσία Etym. Mag. Εἰρέσιον, p. 303. 11. Sylb.; from Εἰλέσιον and Ἑλεών comp. Homer, Il. 2. 499. 500, and Ibid. Eustath.), Paus. 8. 36. 3. 4. Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἑλει by the Arcadian Methydrium, Etymol. Mag. p. 327. 32: Ἑλεεῖς δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς—ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔλους. According to this, the origin of the name Hellenes might be referred to the mother-province of the tribe Thessaly. From ἔλος was likewise derived the name *Hellopia*, the tract of country around Dodona, Apollodor. ap. Str. 7. 328; which, from its proximity, must likewise become the object of attention in etymological enquiries; for the invocation of the Dodonæan Jove by Achilles, Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Hom. Il. 16, indicates a connection between the Thessalian Hellenes and the Pelasgic sanctuary. It was very early supposed that there was another Dodona besides the one in Epirus, and that it was situate in Thessaly; according to Hom. Il. 2. 750, not altogether without reason; but now the former was

derived from the Thessalian (Suid. ap. Strab. 7. 329, and Cineas ap. Steph. Byz. Fragm. Δωδώνη), the invocation of Achilles was referred to the latter (Philox. ap. Steph. Byz. Fragm. Δωδώνη), and the Hellenes were consequently represented as Thessalian Autochthones; herein, however, the assumption of a Hellen prevented the name from being derived from the country, whilst the genealogical poetry likewise created a founder for the ancient name of the Greeks, Γραικοί, (see Apoll. 47. 3. Marm. Par. Ep. 6. 11. According to Euseb. Chron. 226, Thessalus is the son of Græcus; according to Stephan. Byzant. (Γραικός) Græcus the son of Thessalus). Both the critical scepticism of Strabo (7. 329. Σουτδας—τοῖς Θετταλοῖς μυθώδεις λόγους προσχαρίζομενος—Κινέας δ' ἔτι μυθωδέστερον . . .), and the decisive testimony of Aristotle on the subject of Dodona, Meteor. 1. 14, ἄκουσιν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοί, νῦν δὲ Ἕλληνες, are strong arguments against supposing the Thessalian Dodona to have been the parent of the Epirot, and consequently against deducing the names Ἑλλοπία and Σελλοὶ from Thessaly. For neither Helli nor Selli dwelt in Thessaly, but belonged to the Epirot Dodona (see Strab. 7. 328), and the local appellations about the Epirot Dodona are apparently indigenous there. See, on the subject of the habitations of the Selli Ἑλλοπία, as well as the river Σελλήεις, Hesiod and Philochorus ap. Strab. 7. 328. According to the words of Aristotle, indeed, the Γραικοί or subsequent Hellenes, although they came originally from the environs of the Dodonæan sanctuary, were not identical with the Selli; but, like the common mother-district, there appears to have been a common primitive word connected with that sanctuary. This is Ἑλα or Ἑλλά, the name of the Dodonæan sanctuary itself, which continued in use amongst the Laconians (Hesych. 1. 1159. 1180: Ἑλλά—Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ, Λάκωνες). Hence the Ἑλλοὶ and the Σελλοὶ, which word Hesychius gives as the interpretation of Ἑλλοὶ, appear to have derived their name (Hesych. 1. 1181. 82).

Now when the close connection between the tribe of the Hellenes and the Pelasgic sanctuary is thus demonstrated, and evidences of a migration from the north-west are clearly perceptible, we cannot help feeling surprise at the destiny of the word *Γραικοί*, and testimonies in support of its continued use amongst the Greeks have been vainly sought in the *Γραικες* of Alcman and Sophocles (see Steph. Byz. *Γραικός*; compare Prid. Marm. Oxon. 369). The name exclusively belongs to the earlier western home of the Hellenes; under the latter name they appear in Thessaly. On the other hand, the name *Γραικοί* disappears in Epirus, and is only found again amongst the Romans, after whose political influence upon Egypt the Alexandrines likewise used *Γραικοί* (Callimach. Fragm. 104; Lycophr. 605). Without contesting the authenticity of the account of the Pelasgic migration to Italy, I merely direct attention to the circumstance, that the primeval navigation of the Etruscans in the Ionian sea, and the intercourse with Epirus and even with Dodona, at a time when the word was still preserved in the former, might have brought it to Italy, which would explain how it came into use among the Romans. It is very certain that the Romans were acquainted with it before their immediate connection with Epirus, for their intercourse with the Italiots had commenced long before, and it is natural to suppose that they would have adopted the word Hellenes from them.

VII.

On the Words πάτρα, φρατρία, φυλή, in the Fragment of Dicæarchus in Steph. Byzant.

§ 16. n. 4; § 30. 43; § 35. 12.

Our object requires a special illustration of the celebrated fragment of Dicæarchus in Steph. Byzantin. in v. *πάτρα*, notwithstanding the able manner in which the subject has been treated by Buttmann in his excellent dissertation (Abh. d. Berl. Ak. d. W. Philol. Hist. Cl.

1818-19, p. 12, sqq.) This must be preceded by the fragment itself, with the requisite emendations of the corrupt text, wherein I follow Buttmann: *Πάτρα ἐν τῶν τριῶν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι κοινωνίας εἰδῶν, ὡς Δικαίάρχος, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν πάτραν, φρατρίαν, φυλήν. Ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μὲν· εἰς τὴν δευτέραν μετάβασιν ἐλθόντων ἢ κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστῳ πρότερον οὔσα συγγένεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τε καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Αἰακίδας ἢ Πελοπίδας εἴποι τις ἄν.*

Φατρίαν (instead of *πατρίαν*) δὲ συνέβη λέγεσθαι καὶ *φρατρίαν*, ἐπειδὴ τινες εἰς ἑτέραν *πάτραν* (instead of *φράτραν*) ἐδίδοσαν *θυγατέρας* ἑαυτῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν πατριωτικῶν ἱερῶν εἶχε *κοινωνίαν* ἢ *δοθείσα*, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὴν συνετέλει *πάτραν*. Ὡστε πρότερον πόθῳ τῆς συνόδου γιγνομένης ἀδελφαῖς σὺν ἀδελφῷ, ἑτέρα τις ἱερῶν ἐτέθη *κοινωνικὴ* σύνοδος, ἣν δὴ *φρατρίαν* (instead of *πατρίαν*) ὠνόμαζον· καὶ πάλιν ὥστε *πάτρα* μὲν ὅνπερ εἶπομεν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τρόπον ἐγένετο *μάλιστα* τῆς (instead of *τοῖς*) *γονέων* σὺν τέκνοις καὶ τέκνων (instead of *τέκνα*) σὺν γονεῦσι, *φρατρία* δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Φυλὴ δὲ καὶ φυλέται πρότερον (πρῶτον?) ὠνομάσθησαν ἐκ (?) τῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ καλούμενα ἔθνη συνόδου γενομένης· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν συνελθόντων *φύλον* ἐλέγετο εἶναι.

The chief fact to be borne in mind here is, that Dicæarchus did not conceive or wish to explain the various actually-existing social unions historically, but proposed to ascertain philosophically the fundamental principles of human society with the internal pledges and sureties for its subsistence, and to exhibit the root of the *κοινωνία* in three successive gradations, from the union of a family to that of a state, in connection with which the subsequent modifications of human associations, considered from particular points of view, constitute the materials of history.

Dicæarchus sets out with an original simple relation, a separate existence—*ἢ κατὰ μόνας*, etc. This tacitly im-

plies marriage, Aristot. Pol. 1. 1. 4: 'Ανάγκη δὲ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν τῆς γενέσεως ἕνεκεν. Comp. § 6: 'Η μὲν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἶκός ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ.; for the ancient philosophers did not occupy themselves with speculations on the condition of the man before he found the woman, such as are contained in modern so-called histories of mankind, of which that of Jenisch is a specimen. The next stage (*δευτέρα μετάβασις*) is, according to Dicæarchus, the relation between father and children. He conceives this as a genealogical line developing itself downwards within itself, the individual members of which all trace themselves up to one progenitor; this is called *πάτρα*, and its members are designated by a patronymic—Anacidæ, etc. This is conformable to the idiom of the language; thus in Hom. Il. 13. 354, speaking of Jupiter and Neptune, ἀμφοτέροισιν ὁμὸν γένος ἦδ' ἰα πάτρη, on which the Schol. Min. remarks ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς. Comp. Buttmann, ubi sup. p. 17. Thus in Pindar, the poet who pre-eminently sang the glories of lineage and ancestry, Pyth. 8. 53, *πάτραν Μιδυλιδᾶν*; Nem. 4. 125, *πάτραν* of the *Θεανδρίδαι*; 6. 62, of the *Βασσιδᾶι*; 7. 103, of the *Εὐξενίδαι*; Isthm. 6. 92, of the *Ψαλυχίδαι*. But in the Nem. 8. 79, the *Χαριάδαι* are more than a *πάτρα*. See Dissen ad Nem. 8. p. 450. *Γένος* was synonymous, as in Hom. Il. ubi sup. Compare, on the constitution of Athens, § 44. In Herodotus, in its stead we find *πατριή*, as 2. 143, with reference to Hecataeus; 3. 75, to Cyrus. On the subject of the passages, 1. 200, concerning the Babylonians, see Buttmann, ubi sup. p. 16, 17; and with regard to the Pasargadæ and Achæmenides in Herod., see Buttmann, p. 18, 19. Thence must be emended the Etymol. Orion. 157. 28, which applies *φρήτηρ*, *φατρία* to the Heraclidæ and Achæmenides. This necessarily implies the assumption of connubial alliances, within the circle of consanguinity, between such as had a common progenitor, consequently in the first instance between brother and sister.

But here it becomes necessary to consider another part of the theory of Dicæarchus. He not only pursues the extension of the family in a descending line, but goes on to examine the connection which formed the basis of marriage, and does not conceive marriage as in itself effecting a bond of union, but as standing in need of a higher sort of relation to cement it and guarantee its validity. This, according to his theory, was during the separate existence of families (*πατραί*) consanguinity, and it forms the first of his three progressive stages of development. To this was added a moral tie in the conjunction of the members of the *Patra* by means of their paternal sanctuaries; but this is not one of its essential and determining principles. Dicæarchus does not pursue this relation through the ramifications which ensue in the natural course of things, viz., brothers and sisters' children, etc. This may be supplied from Cicero de Offic. 1. 17. (—*prima societas in ipso conjugio est; proxima in liberis. . . .* Sequuntur fratrum conjunctiones, post consobrinorum sobrinorumque, etc.

Dicæarchus next describes the *Phratria*. This was no longer derived from one progenitor, did not propagate itself amongst relations bound by the ties of blood, or belong by community of extraction to one hereditary family-sanctuary. The word does not denote a line descending from a given point, but marks the transitions of the collateral *Patrae* into one another, which took place when the members of one *Patra* gave their daughters in marriage to the members of another, (Cicero ubi sup., Sequuntur connubia et affinitates). As marriage could no longer find a guarantee in consanguinity, religion now comes forward as the determining and cementing principle of this second stage of social development. The virgin who quits her father's house is no longer a sharer of the paternal sacrificial hearth, but enters the religious communion of her husband, and this gave sanctity to the marriage tie. Here, too, Dicæarchus does not follow out his principle, one of the consequences of which was, that by bringing about the reciprocal admission to the hereditary

worship of such as were not connected by blood, a tie was not merely contracted between the two married persons, but also between all the members of the Patræ on either side, the very permission of intermarriage, supposing a relation of this nature to have in some measure preceded, and the marriage thus concluded being thereby maintained. Hence communion of worship, and the pledge it afforded for the integrity of the marriage tie, are the distinctive features of the Phratia. The word itself denotes the peculiar description of alliance contracted in it, which was of a fraternal character. Its derivation from φράτηρ, brother, (Hesych. φρητήρ· ἀδελφός. Compare, on this point, as on the forms φατρία, etc., Buttmann ubi sup. p. 32. 34.) does not serve to trace lineal relationship to its original source, but implies the reduction of that affinity which existed between collaterals of the same degree to the simplest possible relation of such a nature, namely, that between brother and sister as co-ordinate relatives.

Dicæarchus now lays down the political tie as the third principle of human society, the first having been consanguinity between parents and children, brother and sister, and the second fraternity between members of various Patræ. This is the association of tribes into a state. He here appears to have omitted one stage, namely, the principle of the tribe itself, as composed of Phratias (φύλον); but for this, according to his scale, he could only have laid down the propagation of the religious principle by means of the extending Phratias, and during the still imperfect infancy of the political, but not such a one as was independent of, and essentially different from, those two; he therefore passes over the ulterior development of the Phratia, in which, however, we must not omit to notice the remark at the conclusion—ἐκαστον γὰρ τῶν συνελθόντων φύλον ἐλέγετο εἶναι; and only particularizes the moment when a new principle, viz., the political, is introduced, as the confederation of the φύλα to a state, whose constituent parts are afterwards represented by the φυλαί, φρατρίαι, etc., (Hom. Il. 2. 362: κατὰ φύλα καὶ φρήτρας; 2. 840: φύλα Πελασγῶν; 17. 220:

—ἐπικούρων, etc. Comp. § 44. on the Attic constitution), the point where the development attained maturity, and beyond which the scale of Dicæarchus does not extend.

VIII.

The Words δῆμος, ἄστυ, πόλις, ἀκρόπολις, κοινόν, λαοί, ἄστοι, πολῖται.

§ 16. n. 7; § 21. n. 5. 6; § 23. n. 1; § 32. n. 3. 5. 30;
§ 48. n. 35.

The above words having occurred so frequently in scattered portions of the text, I have thought it advisable to collect them here, and make their relation to one another the subject of a separate discussion; but in so doing, it is very far from my intention to enter into a philological investigation of those expressions in their full extent, or even to make a complete collection of examples for that purpose, which might without difficulty be adduced in almost any number.

The word δῆμος originally expressed the ground and soil of the province or canton, (the derivation from δέω ligo—hominum multitudo, societatis vinculo colligata et in civitatis formam redacta, in Damm and Lennep, although apparently consistent as regards the literal meaning of the word, is by no means consonant to the course of ideas connected with it; it seems more natural to derive it from the Doric δᾶ than from γᾶ, or still more so from δέμω); hence πίων is the epithet applied to it in Hom. Il. 5. 710; Od. 3. 201, and in many other passages; Hesiod. Theog. 477, etc. But the notion of the dwellers in the district is frequently added, and country and people are understood together; thus ἐκ δήμου ἔλασεν, Il. 6. 158, ἐν δήμῳ μένει, 9. 630; θεὸς δ' ὧς τίετο δήμῳ, Il. 5. 78. etc.; to which ἐνδημος, Hesiod. Op. et Di. 223, and so far land and people are represented as separate, as Odyss. 8. 558: Εἰπέ δέ μοι γαῖάν τε τεῖν, δῆμόν τε, πόλιν τε; conf. 13. 233: τίς γῆ; τίς δῆμος; where δῆμος can scarcely be referred to a part of the country, or in

fine to the people alone. Here we will first examine the word in the signification of locality.

An essential ingredient of an heroic district was the citadel (*ἄστυ*, *πόλις*, *πτολίεθρον*), but, like the heroes who towered above the mass of the people, it is rather described as something added to, than as included in the district, as *πόλην τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ*, Il. 3. 50; *δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε*, Odys. 6. 3. Hesiod. Op. et Di. 527. In the same manner the *ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον* and *δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος*, Il. 2. 546. 547, whether Homeric or Solonic is immaterial. In expressing the opposition between town and country, other words are generally employed; e. g. *κατὰ πτόλιν*, ἢ *κατ' ἀγρούς*, Odys. 17. 18: *γῆν τε καὶ ἄστυ*, Theog. 868: *κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν*, Lycurg. adv. Leocr. 136. R. ed.

It is impossible to determine which of the two appellations, *ἄστυ* and *πόλις*, is the more ancient. With the subsequent progress of society, however, *ἄστυ* retained its signification of place only, the town as opposed to the country (*ἄστυδε ἰέναι*, Il. 18. 255.), whilst *πόλις* also had a political notion attached to it. As in reality the reputed cities or towns of the heroic age were only citadels, whilst towns were subsequently erected below them, (Strabo, 8. 336. 337. 386; conf. above, § 32.), so the original signification of *ἄστυ* was—citadel. Thus, in the passage of the Etymol. Mag., *Εὐπατρίδαι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ οἰκοῦντες καὶ μετέχοντες βασιλικοῦ γένους*, κ. τ. λ. Compare under *Ἀστυπαλαία*, that at the settlement of the Greeks in Samos the Carian citadel, which was already erected there, received the name of *Ἀστυπαλαία*. Therefore *αἰπὺν—Νηληϊῶν ἄστυ*, Mimnerm. Frag. 9. 1; ed. Gaisford. Assuming Troy, Thebes, Calydon, etc., to have been citadels with a lower town, then *κήρυξ ἄστυβοώτης*, Il. 24. 701, and the *μεγά* in *ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου*, Il. 2. 332. 803; 16. 448. *ἐνέπρηθον μέγα ἄστυ*, (Calydon) 9. 585, become significant, and at the same time *πόλιν καὶ ἄστυ*, 17. 144, which, at all events, contains more than the pretended pleonasm, might rather be interpreted in reference to upper and

lower town, than town and state. To the same effect is in Simonides Frag. 20. 3. Gaisf. *πόλιν Γλαύκοιο Κορίνθιον ἄστυ*.

However, *ἄστυ* was not the only appellation for the citadel; *πόλις* also had this signification, and it was not till more recent times that the word *ἀκρόπολις* was formed from the Homeric *πόλις ἄκρη* (Il. 6. 88. 257, etc.), together with which, however, in the antique and diplomatic style, *πόλις* continued to be employed in reference to citadel. Thus, on the subject of that of Athens, Thucyd. 5. 18. 23. 47, Aristoph. Lysistrata, 754. 758. 912. Comp. Pausan. 1. 26. 7. *Μοερίς, πόλιν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ πολιάδα Ἀττικῶς*, Pollux, 9. 40; Ammonius, *οἰκίζεται*; moreover, of the Cadmea in Thebes; Plutarch, Pelop. 18: the *ἱερὸς λόχος* was called *ὁ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λόχος*, then *τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον*. However, Plutarch likewise says *ἄκρα* for it, thus Timol. 11. 18. The word *πόλις* became the general designation of the subsequent lower towns, and Athens claimed for itself, by way of distinction, the denomination of *ἄστυ*.

Πόλις alone became extended into a political designation for the state. In Homer there are few or no passages in which this signification is clearly perceptible; in the poems of Hesiod there are more, as Op. et Di. 238, the whole state (*ξύμπασα πόλις*) suffers for the injustice of one; again, 225, on the flourishing condition of the state under a just prince, *τέθηλε πόλις*. Conf. 220, et Scut. Herc. 380. 474. It is unnecessary to bring forward examples from later times; nevertheless see Herod. 3. 39. concerning the island of Samos, 8. 66. of five other island states, and Thucyd. 1. 122:—*καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἑκάστου ἄστυ*—and afterwards *πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν*, where, in the first passage, *ἄστυ* seems to signify the individual place, in the second *πόλις* the state.

The word *κοινὸν* conveys a purely abstract notion, and therefore was not introduced till comparatively late. A prelude to its subsequent use is found in Hesiod. Op. et Di. 721. a repast *ἐκ κοινοῦ*. Herodotus uses it in speaking of states and state leagues: *τὸ κοινοῦ Σπαρτιητέων*, 6.

50; Ἀθηναίων, 7. 144; Ἰώνων, 5. 109; Demosthenes de Coron. 278. 279. of the Amphictyons, etc. See Tittmann, Griechische Staatsverfass. 400, sqq. We now come to those cases in which it was employed to express people. Δῆμος, as already remarked, conveys the notion of the district with its inhabitants, as well as of the latter alone, thus ἄνδρες ἀγρόμενοι, πᾶς δῆμος, Il. 20. 166. It is true that many passages either express or imply the same opposition as existed between the Roman plebs, in its claims to the rights of the collective community, and the patricians, for δῆμος is almost universally used as a designation for the above-mentioned mass of the rural population dependent upon the prince or nobles, and in accordance with the progress of society in the interior of the Grecian states, the πόλις, as possessed of superior rights (examples of the former kind are: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐς δῆμον ἔδωκε δαιτρεύειν, Il. 11. 703; ὃν δ' αὖ δῆμον ἄνδρα ἴδοι, 2. 198. Comp. 188. and 12. 273; δῆμον φῆμις, Od. 14. 239, etc.; thus δῆμῳ κενεόφρονι, Theogn. 845; δῆμον φιλοδέσποτον, 847; δῆμος in the celebrated verses of Solon: Δῆμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος, ὅσον ἐπαρκεί, κ. τ. λ. (see Plut. Sol. 18); hither must be referred ὁ δᾶμος as an appellation of the Spartan community, so far as it was subject to the influence of the kings and gerontes (Plut. Lyc. 6). Of the latter description are those given above of the conjunction of πόλις and δῆμος, comp. Theogn. 924). But it cannot be denied, that as early as in the Homeric poems δῆμος seems in many passages to signify the whole people, including the noble proprietors of the citadels, thus in the obscure passage: χρέος, ὃ οἱ πᾶς δῆμος ὀφείλλε, Odys. 21. 17. 307; ἀριστῆες κατὰ δῆμον, 6. 34; comp. 8. 36. and 390. Comp. Callinus Frag. v. 16, δῆμῳ φίλος; Archiloch. Frag. 84. 3. Gaisf. The δῆμος assembles for the purpose of celebrating athletic games. This may be applied to δῆμος in the compounds βασιλεὺς δημοβόρος, Il. 1. 231; δημόφαγον τύραννον, Theogn. 1183. The word δῆμος was not applied to the whole state till the rise of the democracies. But after the great migrations another change occurred, when the demus,

which nevertheless long continued to be a subordinate class in the ancient democracies, upon the erection of larger towns was received into the city, and the inhabitants of the country were thenceforward distinguished by the name of Perioeci. However, an individual of the δῆμος is not yet called δημότης in the poems of Homer.

But the word δῆμος, in consequence of the signification of the population being combined with that of the country, only denotes the existing mass of the people without imagining it in political activity; on the other hand, the notion of the people in action is expressed by the word λαοί. This word seems to be as ancient as the use of it is frequent, and most important appellations for objects of public life in ancient Greece were derived from it. It seems to have signified originally armed military bands (λαῶν ἀσπισταῶν, Il. 4. 91), and almost all the passages in Homer in which the word occurs may be thus interpreted. This is the sense in which it is employed as late as Herod. 5. 42, where it is said of Dorieus the Spartan, αἰτήσας ληόν, viz., to a march; thus in Tyrtæus, Fragm. 3. 24, ἄστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς. The same sense is discernible in ἀρχέλεως (Æschyl. Pers. 296); λαγέτας (Pind. Pyth. 3. 151; 4. 191; 10. 50); λαοσσόος, Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 3. 37; Λαομέδων, λαοφόρος ὁδός, (the road of the army, Il. 15. 682,) etc; perhaps even in Ἀχιλλεύς, and allied to it is the favourite designation στρατός for people, in Pindar (Ol. 5. 28; 9. 143, etc. Comp. Æsch. Pers. 423, Sophocl. Philoct. 384.) However, the word was likewise directed to other operations of the people in their public capacity, as in the heroic age they always went armed. Hence arose the expression in religious ceremonies, σίγα πᾶς ἔστω λεώς, Eurip. Hec. 536; οἱ πάντες λεώ, Aristoph. Av. 1225, in which the remarkable use of the plural seems to convey the notion of single groups. Moreover, the λαοί in the popular assembly in Hesiod, Theogn. 84. 430, etc. The Thessalian λήϊτον (ap. Herodot. 7. 197.) for πρυτανεῖον, λήϊτος for the later δημόσιος, the compounds λειτουργία, etc.

The words ἀστός and πολίτης became general at a

later period. The former, however, is found in Homer, Il. 11. 242; Od. 13. 192; afterwards more frequently than πολίτης, in Archilochus, Theognis, and the other poets of the age preceding the Persian war, in Pindar, the Attic, etc. Ἀστός not only designated the townsman, but likewise the citizen of the state, as in contradistinction to ξένος in Pindar, Olymp. 13. 2. 3; 7. 166; Pyth. 5. 75; Isthm. 1. 75; 6. 102. Πολίτης, on the other hand, only denoted the citizen of the state, or, in a larger circuit, the native of the country, but not more particularly than ἀστός, the townsman, as the Schol. ad Eurip. Phœn. 894. wishes to represent: Πολίται οἱ πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐν πόλει τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποιούμενοι· ἀστοὶ δὲ οἱ ἰθαγενεῖς πολίται (this, as far as relates to the more ancient use, is not untrue,) ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἀντικείμενοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχοντες (here is the error), τοῖς δὲ ἀστοῖς οἱ ξένοι (where it may have been occasioned by the opposition in Pindar already alluded to).

IX.

The confederacy of the Doric Tribes in the Peloponnesus.

§ 29. n. 5.

The confederacy of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus is mentioned in a remarkable passage, Plato, de Legg. 3. 684: Βασιλείαι τρεῖς βασιλευμέναις πόλεσι τριτταῖς ὥμοσαν ἀλλήλαις ἐκάτεραι κατὰ νόμους, οὓς ἔθεντο, τοῦτε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι κοινούς, οἱ μὲν, μὴ βιαιοτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσεσθαι, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ γένους· οἱ δὲ, ταῦτα ἐμπεδούντων τῶν ἀρχόντων, μήτε αὐτοὶ τὰς βασιλείας ποτὲ καταλύσειν, μήτ' ἐπιτρέψειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἑτέροις, βοηθήσειν δὲ βασιλεῖς τε βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις καὶ δήμοις, καὶ δήμοι δήμοις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις. The mythico-philosophical tenor of this apparently historical statement may be gathered from Plat. Critias, 120, D. E., where a similar league is attributed to the Atlantic princes. But it may be

safely assumed, that at the beginning of the march the leaders and the hordes swore to remain faithful allies to one another, (comp. concerning the oath of the Spartan kings, § 42. n. 74), and that they afterwards gave each other a guarantee for the undisturbed enjoyment of their conquests. It is likewise necessary to examine the tradition preserved in Strabo, 8. 333, and Pausanias, 4. 3. 3, respecting the casting of lots for the possession of the Peloponnesus. The assertion that this circumstance took place before the conquest, is untenable; and there are strong reasons against ascribing it to the period immediately after its achievement, for this no sooner happened than dissension broke out. The accession of Arcadia to the Doric league had an influence upon the fact, as well as upon the tradition, Paus. 5. 4. 1; 8. 29. 4; Polyæn. 1. 7. Without this the whole conquest might have been defeated; but in this manner the Dorians, after the victory over Tisamenus, were led to the three tracts of country which had been united under the Pelopidæ, and to this period must probably be referred both the drawing of lots and the above-mentioned alliance, in which the Arcadians must be included (see below, the account in Pausanias), unless it should be assumed that the partition of the army, and the actual occupation by which it was succeeded, were dilated into the tradition concerning the drawing of lots, whilst the success of Cresphontes, in reducing the fruitful Messenia to subjection, was construed into a proof of foul play in drawing (Polyæn. 1. 6; Schol. Soph. Ajax, 1271). The subsequent efficiency of the offensive and defensive alliance against external aggression and internal revolution may be faintly discerned in the tradition preserved to us in Pausanias, 4. 3. 5, which recounts that the fugitive Æpytus was brought back to Messenia by the Arcadians, Spartans, and Argives. According to Pausanias, 3. 5. 8, Argos was said to have called in the assistance of that league upon being attacked by Agesipolis; but it is evident, from Xenoph. Hell. 4. 7. 2, that this does not mean a general convention amongst the tribes,

but only a festival during which hostilities were suspended (according to Dodwell the Isthmia, see Schneider ad Xenoph. ubi supra).

X.

The expressions πατρόθεν and παῖς τινος.

§ 30. n. 21. and § 44. n. 10.

One of those expressions which denote the value set upon birth and descent, is πατρόθεν. The honourable distinction which it implied may be perceived as early as in Homer, Il. 10. 68, in Agamemnon's exhortation to Menelaus, to address the heroes:

Πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον
πάντας κυδαίνων.

Afterwards Herod. 6. 14. relates that the Samian state had granted to the brave men who had fought in the engagement off Lade, ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν. In Thucydides, 7. 69, Nicias calls upon each of the Trierarchs, πατρόθεν ἐπονομάζων. Compare Plutarch, Pelop. 28. It would almost appear like an exception to the custom generally observed at funerals, when Pausanias remarks, that the Sicyonians had not called upon the defunct πατρόθεν (p. 2. 7. 5). Hither, moreover, must be referred the expression in Eurip. Rhes. 298: τίς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τίνος κεκλημένος; Hence it so frequently happens that the name of the son is not mentioned at all, that of his father being employed to distinguish him, as Ἀχιλλέως παῖ, Soph. Philoct. 50. Comp. 57. 92. 96. 304. 384. 452, etc. This serves to explain Æsch. Pers. 144, where Xerxes is called Δαρειογενῆς, τὸ πατρωνύμου γένος ἀμέτερον. Another expression of the same thought is παῖδες, υἱες, with the genitive of a word signifying a class. This involves an extension of the custom of mentioning the name of the father in honour of the son, to an aggregate body, the honour, authority, and rights of which are regarded as the lineal heritage of an

individual belonging to it. For example, in Homer passim, υἱες Ἀχαιῶν; in the same manner, παῖδες Ἑλευσινίων, Hom. Hymn. in Cerer. 266; παῖδες Ἑλλάνων, Æschyl. Persæ, 408; παῖδες Λυδῶν, Herod. 1. 27; Ἰώνων, 5. 49; Ἀθηναίων, 5. 77; Θηβαίων παῖδες, Plut. Alcib. 2; Μήδων παισὶ, Plut. Cim. 7; Ἀνδρίων, Plut. Qu. Gr. 7. 192, R. ed. And even παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, Plat. Menex. 246, B.

Hence finally arose the use of παῖδες, with a genitive of artists, physicians, orators, etc., as παῖδες ῥητόρων, Dionys. Halic. Syntax. p. 313. ἱατρῶν, etc. See the examples in Blomfield ad Æsch. Pers. 409, which originally referred to the ancient custom of propagating science and art within the circle of particular families, παῖδες ἱατρῶν being nearly equivalent to the Asclepiadæ.

XI.

Autochthones in Attica.

§ 30. n. 45.

Autochthony, the best legal title to the possession of a country, served to reflect lustre upon such Grecian tribes as laid claim to the character, in two ways. First, it added the embellishments of fable to their origin as natives of a district; this, by means of an extreme interpretation, being represented as a growing out of the very ground and soil of the country. This is visible in the legendary poetry of Asius concerning Pelasgus, Pausan. 8. 1. 2:

Ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι
Γαῖα μέλαινα ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη;

next in the traditions of the Theban Sparti (see above, § 30. n. 23), the Æginetan Myrmidons (see § 13. n. 3), which three tribes Hellanicus enumerated together with the Athenians as Autochthonic (Harpocr. αὐτόχθονες). But this is not the point of view from which we have to consider the Attic Autochthones. The word Autoch-

thones was employed in the sense of Eupatridæ; Moeris: *Εὐπατρίδαι Ἀττικῶς· αὐτόχθονες Ἑλληνικῶς*; Schol. Soph. Electr. 25: *Εὐπατρίδαι δὲ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς οἱ αὐτόχθονες καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο περιφανεῖς*. The pride of Autochthony must, it is true, have been chiefly cherished amongst the Attic Eupatridæ; nevertheless it afterwards passed over to the whole of the ancient citizens of Athens. Now this Autochthonic nobility, the much-renowned political heritage of the Athenians, to the enjoyment of which the body of the people forced their way, arrogating to themselves by virtue of this title the honourable appellation of Eupatridæ, did not, like the mythical Autochthony already mentioned, rest upon the assertion that their forefathers had grown out of the earth, but was chiefly considered with reference to its negative qualities, namely, that the Athenians had never departed from their original seats, whereas other tribes had only become the occupants of theirs after repeated migrations*, and that in consequence of its greater antiquity the nationality of Attica was entitled to greater respect. Hence Aristoph. Vesp. 1076: *Ἀττικοὶ μόνον δικαίως εὐγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες*. Demosth. de Falsa Legat. 424. 28: the Arcadians, like the Athenians, were said to have a high feeling of liberty, *μόνον γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων ὑμεῖς αὐτόχθονες ἐστε καὶ κεῖνοι*.

XII.

Πελάται, θῆτες.

§ 32. n. 14.

The words *πελάται* and *θῆτες* do not signify bond-slaves, like the Penestæ, Helots, etc. Aristotle apud Phot. explains *Πελάται—οἱ μισθῶ δουλεύοντες· ἐπεὶ τὸ πέλας ἐγγύς· οἶον ἐγγιστα διὰ πενίαν προσιόντες*.

* I strongly suspect that the generalization of Herodotus (1. 56), in his accounts of the stationary (Attic and Arcadian) Pelasgians and the migratory (Dorian) Hellenes, is based upon the Attic Autochthony, though without any express claims to superior authority.

Comp. Phot. *θῆτες οἱ ἔνεκα τροφῆς δουλεύοντες; θητεύειν—μισθῶ ἐργάζεσθαι*. *Δουλεύειν* is by no means to be understood as a permanent bondage, like that transmitted by inheritance amongst the Helots, etc., but as a service for wages, in which light it was viewed both by the payer and the receiver. See Pollux, 3. 82: *Πελάται* (the reading *πενέσται* is corrupt) *δὲ καὶ θῆτες ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶν ὀνόματα διὰ πενίαν ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ δουλεύόντων* (more correctly *θητευόντων*). Comp. Timæus, Plat. Lex.: *Πελάτης ὁ ἀντὶ τροφῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ προσπελάζων*, and Ruhnken ad loc. p. 211. The *θῆτες*, as early as in Homer's time, appear in the character of wandering labourers for hire, (see above, § 16. n. 24; Odyss. 4. 644. *θῆτές τε δμῶές τε*, where *θῆτες* must not be regarded as classed amongst the house-slaves, *δμῶες*); *θητεύειν* is a voluntary service for wages (see Damm Lex. Homer. et Pind. *θητεύω*). It must be confessed that the relation of the Attic *θῆτες*, viz., that of resident agricultural labourers, was of a different nature; still it was by no means one of bondage. *Πελάτης* passed into the signification of a person recommended to protection, client, *πρόσφυξ*, see Ammon. *πελαστής*; comp. Etymol. Gud. *πελαστής*; and Valck. ad Amm. ubi sup. The comparison of servants of this description with Helots, etc., was certainly supported by analogy. Theopompus ap. Athen. 10. 443. B., mentions *προσπελάται* of the Ariæans (comp. 6. 271. D., where *Ἀρκαδίους* is incorrectly used), and compares them with the Helots; perhaps correctly, for here the word must not be taken in its strict acceptance. But it is a mere error in writing, when in Suidas, *πενέσται*, the Penestæ, are compared with the Attic Thetes, (here *πελάται* must be understood as was corrected above in Pollux); the same remark applies to the Etymol. Mag. *Εἰλωτες—οἱ μισθῶ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι*.

XIII.

The Attic Cleruchiæ in the Territory of Chalcis in Eubœa.

§ 35. n. 47.

Soon after the Athenians had shaken off the tyranny, and overcome the allied Chalcidians and Thebans, they sent four thousand citizens as Cleruchi to take possession of those lands which had before belonged to the Chalcidian Hippobotæ. Herod. 5. 77. This number of Cleruchi is very large, but it does not exceed the bounds of credibility. On the other hand, the number forty in *Æl. V. H. 6. 1*, as well as that contained in the other reading, viz., two thousand, are manifestly inaccurate; the latter number refers to the Cleruchiæ, which were apportioned by Pericles after the reduction of Histiaæ, (Strabo, 10. 445. from Theopompus:—*δισχιλλίους δ' ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντας τὸν Ὀρεὸν οἰκῆσαι, δῆμον ὄντα πρότερον τῶν Ἰστιαίων*), though Diodor. 12. 22. only states one thousand. But Herodotus (9. 28.) at the time of Xerxes reckons no more than four hundred Chalcidians in the Grecian army at Plataæ, which renders the former number four thousand suspicious. But it is still more doubtful whether the Chalcidians who occur afterwards are to be considered as the original Hippobotæ and their attendants, or as Athenian Cleruchi. Böckh (*Pub. Econ. 1. 458.*) leaves the question undecided. There is no positive evidence of the continuance of the Athenian Cleruchiæ; neither did a restoration of the authority of the Hippobotæ take place; a third state of things seems to have been established: Chalcis became tributary to Athens. The four thousand Athenians left Eubœa upon the approach of Darius' army, Herod. 6. 100; on the other hand, soon after the war between Athens and Chalcis, the captive Hippobotæ had been restored in consideration of a ransom, Herod. 5. 77. Now there is reason to think that the latter were, upon

the evacuation of Eubœa by the Athenians, reinstated in the possession of their demesnes, and that Athens exacted a tribute as a compensation. For after that time the Chalcidians are nowhere characterized as possessing equal rights with the citizens of Athens, but are always described as tributary subjects; thus Thuc. 7. 57: *τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς*, etc.; comp. 6. 76, that the Athenians *Χαλκιδέας*—*δουλωσαμένους ἔχειν*. Indeed, according to a statement in Plutarch, Pericl. 23, Pericles drove out Chalcidian Hippobotæ *πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας*, on which the Schol. Aristoph. Nub. remarks, 204: *ἐπολιόρκησαν δὲ αὐτὴν (Εὐβοῖα) Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ Περικλέους, καὶ μάλιστα Χαλκιδέας καὶ Ἐρετριέας*. However, I am by no means inclined to answer for the accuracy of Plutarch's account.

XIV.

Τέλος, τελεῖν.

§ 26. n. 18; § 38. n. 1; § 42. n. 68; § 43. n. 32.

The fundamental signification of the expressive word *τέλος* is not that of the end, as the absence of something formerly present, the negation of a prior existence (as we might be tempted to conclude from *θανάτοιο τέλος*, Hom. Il. 3. 309.; Hesiod. Op. et Di. 165; Archiloch. Fragm. 51. 3; Theogn. 766. and *βιότου τέλος*, ibid. 901), but in conformity to its derivation from *τέλλω* (to come into existence, to be produced, to come to maturity,) it rather conveys the notion that something is realized, arrives at perfection, attains its final end and aim, (Henr. Steph. vol. 4. 1369. explains it by the Latin word *effectus*). Therefore Hom. Odyss. 5. 390. *ἡμαρ τέλεσ' ἥως* in, the signification of produced, *τέλειος* arrived at maturity, (to which must be referred *τέλος*, marriage, first *τέλος γάμοιο*, Odyss. 20. 74, *Ἥρα τελεῖα*), *τελεσφόρος ἐνιαυτός*, bearing fruit, bringing to maturity, then *τέλος*, fruit itself, enjoyment, Odyss. 9. 5:

*οὐ γὰρ ἐγωγέ τι φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
ἢ ὅτ' ἂν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα.*

In this sense, Simonid. Fragm. 98. 2, Gaisford, ἥβης τέλος, matured youth; similarly Mimnerm. 2. 6, τέλος γήραος; 2. 9, τέλος ὥρης (θανάτου τέλος is analogous), the periphrasis betokening the arrival of a state of completion, as the terminating point of the preceding period, which may be denominated "a coming into existence," but not as the conclusion of a departing state. Comp. Odys. 23. 286: εἰ μὲν δὴ γῆράς γε θεοὶ τελέουσιν ἄρειον. Therefore Ζεὺς πάντων ἐφορᾷ τέλος, implies that Jupiter sees to what consummation, what result any thing will ripen. Comp. the singular use of τελεῖν, Hesiod. Op. et Di. 273, after the complaint that injustice prevailed, ἀλλὰ τάγ' οὐπω ἔολπα τελεῖν Δία τερπικέραυνον. This leads us to consider its remarkable use in τέλος ἄκρον as the summit, Theog. 594. The same sense may be traced in the ἐς τέλος of Hesiod. Op. et Di. 216. 292. 476. 662. Hence ἔργον τελέσας, Hesiod. Op. et Di. 552, does not so much express the cessation of trouble and labour, as the bringing to bear, the producing. Thus Simonid. Fragm. 65. 3. Gaisf. applies the word to the making of a flute.

In the poems of Homer the words τέλος and τελεῖν are very frequently used as the performance, the action, the work, in reference to a preceding word, promise, foreboding, expectation, wish, exertion. As Il. 1. 108: ἐθλὸν δ' οὐδέ τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσας; 7. 69: ὄρκια μὲν Κρονίδης ὑφίζυγος οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν; 19. 242: αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἅμα μῦθος ἔην, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον; Odys. 4. 776: τελέωμεν μῦθον, etc. Comp. Theog. 640:—βουλαῖς δ' οὐκ ἐπέγεντο τέλος; 164:—τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.

Hence proceeded the idea of strength to accomplish, and the power furnished with authority to do so. It occurs in the former sense in Homer, Il. 16. 630: ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ', ἐνὶ βουλῇ; in Hesiod. Op. et Di. 667, in speaking of Poseidon and Zeus, Ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ὁμῶς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε. From this arose the Pindaric ἐν θεῷ γε μὰν τέλος, Olymp. 13. 148; Ζεὺς τέλειος, ibid. 164. The latter gave rise to the

remarkable designation of the magistrates τέλη, οἱ ἐν τέλει, whereby we are led to consider the interchange of signification between τέλος and ἀρχή, which the Greeks followed up in various directions, and which maintained itself in the Latin term *initia* for τελετή; the illustration of this point is, however, foreign to the present design. The first example of the former use of the words τέλος, οἱ ἐν τέλει, τὰ τέλη, I select from the treaty for a suspension of hostilities between Athens and Sparta. Thucyd. 4. 118: εἰ δέ τι ὑμῖν—δικαιότερον τούτων δοκεῖ εἶναι ἰόντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα διδάσκετε.—οἱ δὲ ἰόντες, τέλος ἔχοντες ἰόντων. Here τέλος is equivalent to κύρος, full power, authority, therefore the ambassadors were, according to the Scholiast, supposed to be κύριοι συμβῆναι ἄνευ τῶν πόλεων. Comp. Schol. 1. 58: τέλη—διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τὰ τέλη (τὸ τέλος) τοῖς πράγμασι τιθέναι. To adduce a few of the numerous examples:—first, τέλος is the office; τέλος δυοδεκάμηνον, Pind. Nem. 11. 10, is the office of the Prytanis in Tenedos. Next, with grammatical consistency, the officers, οἱ ἐν τέλει; Soph. Antig. 67: τοῖς ἐν τέλει βεβῶσι πείσομαι. Herodot. 3. 18. of the Ethiopians: τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστους ἔοντας τῶν ἀστῶν; 9. 106: Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει εὐοῦσι ἐδόκεε. Thuc. 7. 73. of Syracuse: τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὖσιν; 8. 50: τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὄντας, of Samos; 5. 47: οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες, of Elis. Comp. Budæi, Comment. 227. Sturz, Lexic. Xenoph. τέλος, n. 4. and 5. Duker ad Thucyd. 1. 58. (Οἱ ἐν τέλει, are generally superior, not always the highest magistrates. Therefore, Thucyd. 1. 10:—τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει; 2. 10. Archidamus convenes τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογώτατους παρῆναι; 5. 60. Agis' council of war, τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατενομένων; 6. 88:—τῶν τε ἐφόρων καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων.)—From signifying the office, the word was at length applied to the officer. Æsch. Sept. con. Theb. 1003: ταῦτ' ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἔδοξε Καδμείων τέλει. Τὰ τέλη, often occurs in the same sense, Thuc. 4. 15. 86. 88.

The development of the signification of τελεῖν is

naturally connected with that of τέλος; for as τέλος implies the power of accomplishing, together with the accomplishment itself, so τελεῖν expresses the notion of acting together with that of completing. e. g. Theogn. 690: οὐδ' ἔρδειν ὅτι μὴ λώϊον ἦν τελέσαι. Herewith is associated the notion of a struggling with difficulties during action, which is not, as in the instance alluded to above, supposed to result in the production of a work, but, more in accordance with our ideas, in the attainment of rest and refection. This is already perceptible in τέλος πολέμοιο, Il. 3. 291. In the same manner Theogn. 1168: εὐτ' ἂν ὁδοῦ τελέης τέρματάτ' ἐμπορίης. (Compare the notion of arriving at, or reaching, in the passage of Thucyd. quoted by Henry Steph. 4. 1379.: καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐκ τῆς Μελιτίας ἀφώρμησεν, ἐς Φάρσαλόν τε ἐτέλεσε, etc.) Hesiod. Theogn. 951: τελέσας στονόνοντας ἀέθλους, comp. 994. 996, and Od. 3. 262; αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ νούσον τελέσῃ, 799. To this must be referred Il. 12. 222, of the eagle which was carrying a serpent οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσε φέρων.

Analogous to the signification of accomplishing in reference to a word or promise in τέλος is that of yielding, presenting, in pursuance of an obligation, etc., in τελεῖν. For example, Il. 9. 594: τῷ δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσαν Αἰτωλοί. Odys. 11. 351: εἰσόκε πᾶσαν δωτίνην τελέσω. Comp. Il. 21. 457; 23. 20. 180. This is likewise conveyed by the periphrasis μισθοῖο τέλος ὄραι ἐξέφερον, Il. 21. 450. and καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας, whether we here understand gifts (γέρατα), as in the Homeric hymn to Demeter 369. ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες, or the active fulfilment of the princely commands. The former sense became attached to the word in the progress of the public economy which arose after the heroic age. (I have assigned the reasons why I am unable to assent to Böckh's explanation of the word Teleontes, as signifying persons who paid tribute in reference to the Attic Phylæ.) But now a question arises as to whether τὰ τέλη, the military hordes (Il. 7. 380; 11. 729; 18. 298; Herod. 1. 103; 7. 87. 211; 9. 20. 23, etc.)

of the earlier age, are not to be understood in the same manner? Notwithstanding the plausibility of the interpretation "elite," flower of the army, a passage in the Iliad would almost lead us to conclude that it signified troops furnished by allies in the manner of our modern contingents; the passage in question is Il. 24. 399. 400, where the disguised Argeiphont relates, that upon drawing lots it had devolved to him, as the youngest of seven sons, to go with the army to Troy (τῶν μεταπαλλόμενος κλήρω λάχον ἐνθαδ' ἔπεσθαι). It seems more natural to explain τελεῖν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς, by auxiliary forces, than by any kind of tax, whereas the latter sense is discernible in the terms θητικὸν, etc., τελεῖν.

Should the attempt to trace the probable connection between the various significations of τέλος and τελεῖν thus far have been attended with success, it may be added that little can be deduced from the history of the word itself in support of the assertion, that the name of the Attic Teleontes signified consecrated priests, (see above, § 44, and Tittmann, Griech. Staatsverf. 570. 571, whose remarks have been incorporated with the present exposition). To fathom the signification of the word τελεῖν, to consecrate, in its earliest stages, is a no less ungrateful task than it would be to investigate the subject of the mysteries themselves. But the word obviously very soon began to be employed speculatively, and a symbolical use of it in reference to the mysteries may therefore have arisen at a very early period. This may be asserted of the Eleusinian mysteries with the greater confidence, as the mythical name Teleon occurs in connection with the same, Apollod. 3. 15. 1; at the same time comp. 1. 9. 16.

XV.

The statements of the grammarians on the subject of the Attic ἔθνη, φρατρίαι, τριττύες.

§ 44. n. 2. 17. 36.

The object of the following observations is to show, that it cannot be proved from the statements of the grammarians, that the above-named threefold division of the Attic people was into members of one and the same description, or that families formed the subdivision of each of its constituent parts. I here partially repeat, as in previous parts of the Appendix, what I have advanced at various times in academical dissertations, etc., many of which have never entered the more extended circle of the literary world. (To these belongs the "Programma de tribuum quatuor Atticarum triplici partitione." Kilon. 1825.) That the φρατρίαι and τριττύες were identical but without any mention of the ἔθνη, is apparently stated by Suidas, upon what authority I know not, under φράτορες· — φασὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος εἶναι τριττὺν, ἥτοι τὴν φρατρίαν. But either the passage is corrupt, or the statement itself is without meaning. Further, under γεννῆται· — αἱ δὲ φρατρίαι ἐκαλοῦντο τριττύες, ὅτι τεσσάρων φυλῶν οὐσῶν εἰς τρία ἐκάστην διεῖλον μέρη; according to this τριττὺς must have been a mere epithet of φρατρία. Nearly to the same effect are his observations under φατρία· — ἡ φυλὴ διήρηται εἰς δ' — ἐκάστη δὲ διαίρεσις εἰς γ', ὡς γίνεσθαι ιβ' — καλεῖσθαι δὲ τριττύας καὶ φρατρίας. Lastly, the passage in Stephan. Byzant. under the word φρατρία is likewise grossly corrupt: ἐξ ἧς οἱ φράτορες λέγονται οἱ ἐκ τῆς φρατρίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες ὃ ἐστὶ τρίτης φυλῆς (i. e. τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς) ἦν τινες τριττὸν (τριττὺν) λέγουσιν. But Moeris under γεννηταί· αἱ δὲ φυλαὶ ἐκάστη εἰς τριττύας (διήρηντο), εἰς δὲ ἐκάστην τριττὺν εἰσήχθη γένη λ', mentions the Trittyes as the only subdivision of the Phylæ.

All the parts of the triple division occur in Harpo-

cratio and Suidas, who copied from him, under γεννῆται· — ἐκάστη δὲ φυλὴ τριχῇ διήρητο καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἕκαστον μέρος τούτων (τοιούτων?) τριττὺς καὶ ἔθνος καὶ φρατρία. Almost to the same effect are the words of Pollux, 8. 111: — ὅτε μέντοι τέσσαρες ἦσαν αἱ φυλαὶ εἰς τρία μέρη ἐκάστη διεῖρητο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο τριττὺς καὶ ἔθνος καὶ φρατρία. In both passages the employment of the singular has given rise to misapprehension; the grammarians, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the matter in question, thought that the four Phylæ consisted of twelve homogeneous portions; and not being aware that each ingredient of the division was distinguished by a particular quality, they merely assigned three different names to each of the twelve supposed parts, without making any further distinction between them.

This is at variance with a passage in Photius, under τριττὺς· in which Aristotle's account has been preserved to us, τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς φυλῆς· αὕτη γὰρ διήρηται εἰς τρία μέρη, τριττὺς καὶ ἔθνη καὶ φρατρίας, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλη φησὶν. Comp. the Etym. Mag. where the name of Aristotle is not mentioned. Here the use of the καὶ clearly proves that the Trittyes, Phratriæ, and Ethne, had each an essentially different character; had they been undistinguishable in their qualities, ἡ would have been used. To this must be added the Scholium on Plat. de Repub. p. 409, Tauchn.: Ἀθήνησι δέκα μὲν ἦσαν φυλαί· διήροντο δ' ἐκάστη τούτων εἰς τρία, εἰς τριττύας, εἰς ἔθνη καὶ φρατρίας, where the εἰς speaks still more plainly than the foregoing καί, whilst the applicability of the passage is by no means diminished from the circumstance of its referring to the Phylæ of Clisthenes.

But it may possibly be attempted to draw a second proof, that of the identity of the three members of the division in question from the fact, that families are not only represented as the subdivision of the Trittyes in the passage of Moeris cited above, but that Pollux likewise describes families as the uniform subdivision of the three parts, namely, 3. 52: φρατρίαι δ' ἦσαν δυοκαίδεκα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη

γένη τριάκοντα, ἑκάστον ἐκ τριάκοντα ἀνδρῶν (comp. Harpocratio under γεννῆται—πάλιν δὲ τῶν φρατριῶν ἐκάστη διήρητο εἰς γένη τριάκοντα), which is true. But he is in error 8. 111:—ἐκάστου δὲ ἔθνους γένη τριάκοντα, ἃ ἐκαλεῖτο τριάκαδες, etc. Finally, 8. 109: τριττύος δ' ἐκάστης γένη τρία, which involves a double "falsum," inasmuch as a misrepresentation of the fact is combined with corruption of the text; for consistency in error would have required the reading τριάκοντα.

But the false impressions calculated to arise from this are counteracted by the testimony of Aristotle apud Phot. ναυκραρία—ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτείας—ἐκ δὲ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἦσαν νενεμημένοι τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, ναυκραρίαὶ δὲ δώδεκα καθ' ἐκάστην, and it is more especially upon this that the proofs of the essential difference between the parts of the threefold division in question must be grounded.

END OF VOL. I.

180

AUG 11 92

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



0032207069

888

W 11

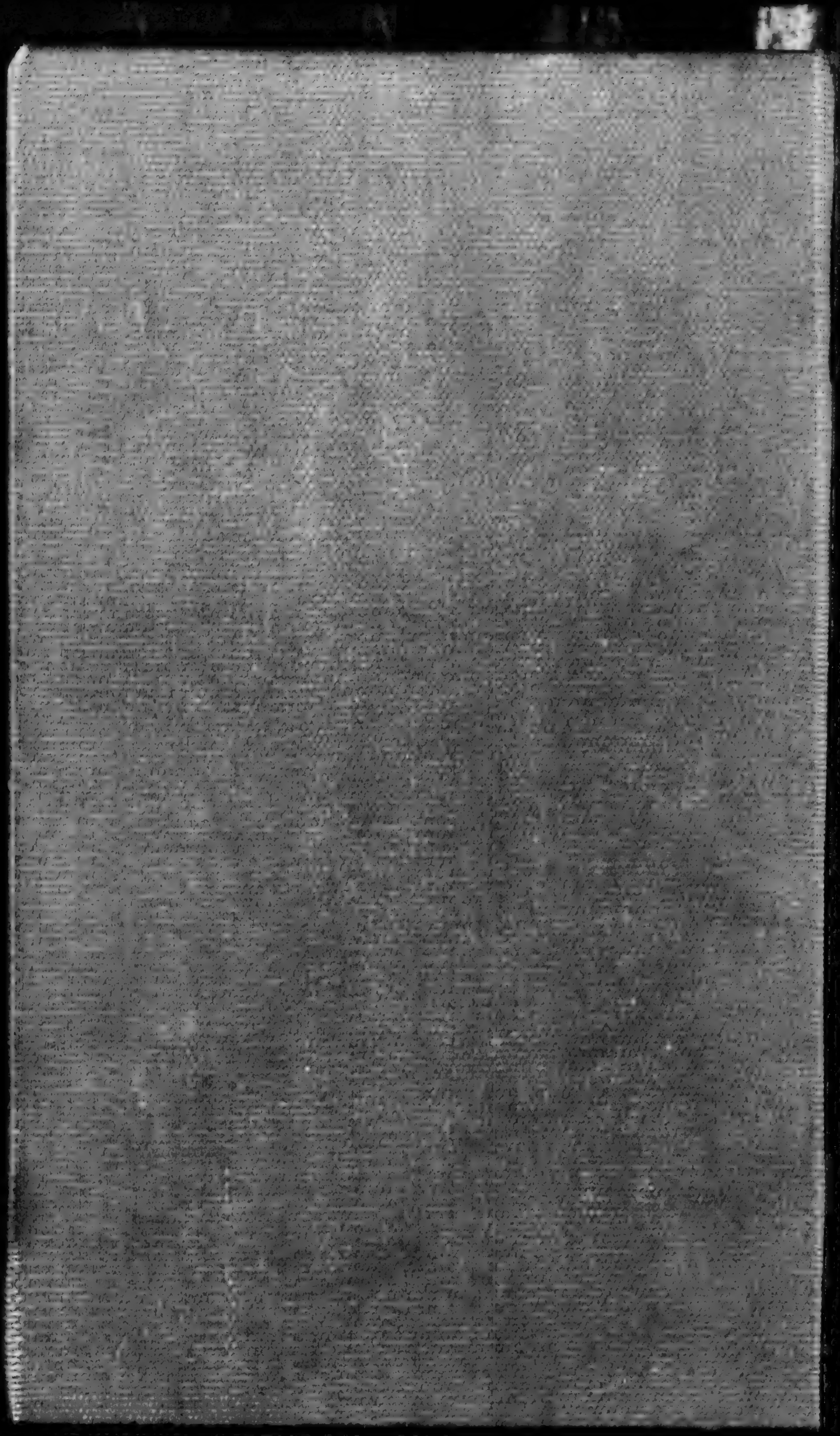
Wachsmuth, E. W; G.
Hist. antiquities of Greeks.

~~17Ap~~ 17Ap

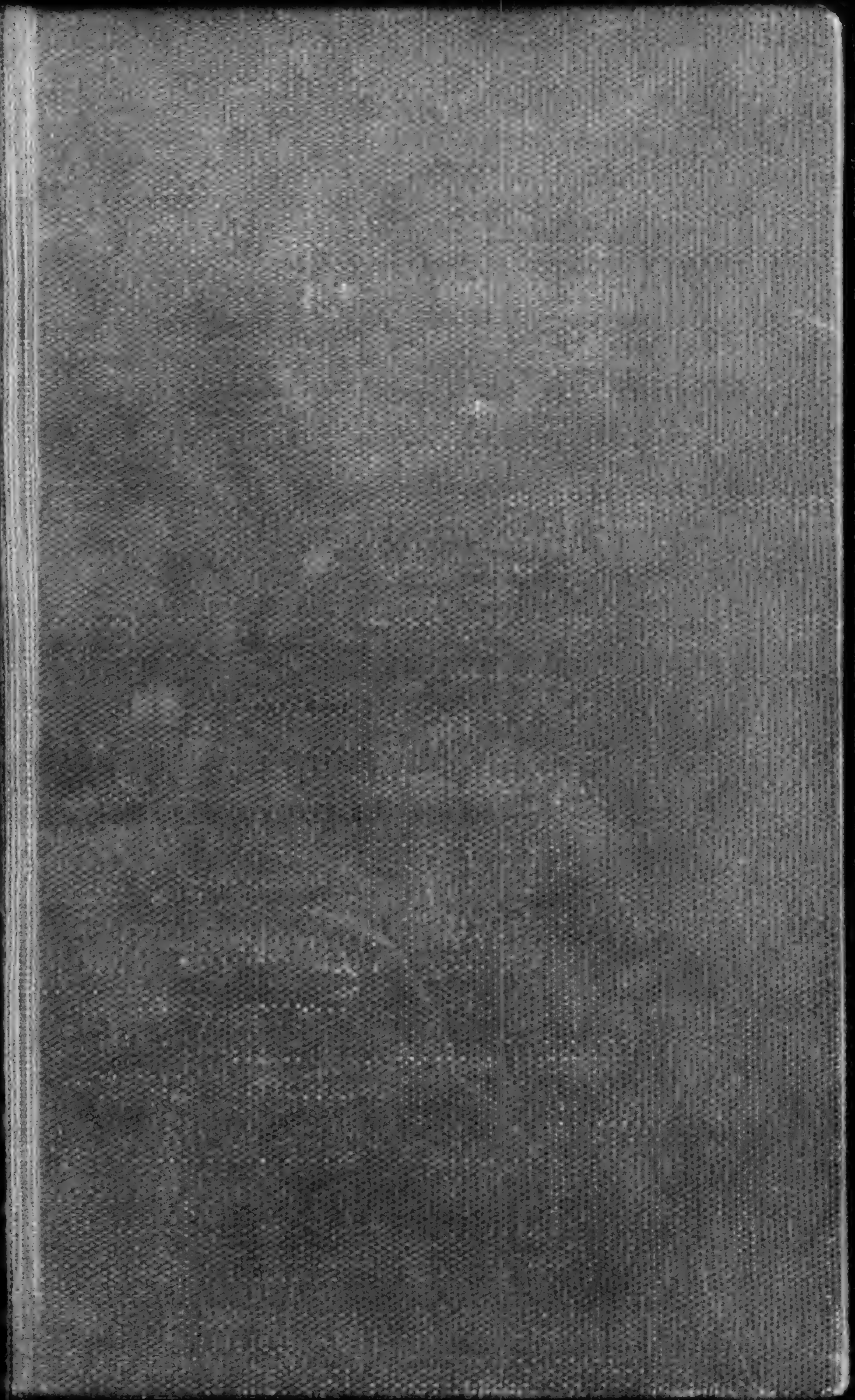
17Ap 18J

18J 18D

1483754



VOLUME 2



Will

2

30 Jan '39

[illegible]

THE HISTORICAL
ANTIQUITIES OF THE GREEKS

WITH REFERENCE
TO THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

BY WILLIAM WACHSMUTH
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY EDMUND WOOLRYCH ESQ.

VOLUME II.



OXFORD D A TALBOYS

AND 113 FLEET-STREET LONDON

M DCCC XXXVII.

MERIDIAN OF DEMOCRACY.

I. INTRODUCTION.

THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR.

§ 53. IN the preceding accounts of the political condition of the Grecian tribes and states, we have beheld them, for the most part, scattered and disunited, and, notwithstanding a certain impress of common nationality may have been perceptible in their tendency to social and festive intercourse, still we shall rarely find them to have been actuated by any disposition to form larger and more comprehensive associations for the purposes of united agency. This, which originally proceeded from the geographical character of the Grecian provinces, had derived additional force from the migrations of the Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians, as well as from the physical peculiarities of the habitations which they occupied subsequently to these and other expeditions. Both interest and pleasure concurred to promote a lively and extensive intercourse upon the seas of Greece, but there could be no inherent tendency to political union amongst these various maritime towns, island states, and mountain tribes, nor is the nation alone to be reproached with the discord, from the baneful effects of which it still seems doomed to suffer.

VOL. II.

80342

26
26

The attacks of foreign foes aroused, in the noblest tribes of Greece, a spirit of patriotism and a disposition to contract alliances in defence of their common country, and though this struggle failed to produce real and lasting concord, it was, nevertheless, followed by a more distinct consciousness of their nationality, and the commencement of regular political relations amongst them. The individual states no longer testify their former indifference towards each other—their history ceases to be a mosaic, and for more than a century we discover decided manifestations of a political system.

The event which, next to the above-mentioned migrations, exercised a great and decisive influence on the political development of the Greek states, was the Persian war. For the glorious triumphs by which it was signalized, like every struggle in which the native energy and courage of a people enable them to repulse the aggressions of foreign invaders, not only had the effect of securing Grecian freedom against the degrading yoke of the barbarians, but aroused the political energies of the people, and nerved and invigorated the national strength by which those victories had been achieved; whilst the battle of Marathon called up, almost as if by magic, a profusion of the fairest and choicest flowers of civilization and refinement, which still imparted beauty and lustre to the democracy, when Greece was desolated by the horrors of the Peloponnesian war.

Their previous vague and undefined feeling of liberty was now succeeded by the clear conviction of the inestimable value of independence, and the disgrace attending subjection to barbarian domina-

tion. A broad line of distinction was henceforward drawn between Greeks and barbarians, and, notwithstanding the short-sighted policy of single states, afterwards led them to contract ties with them, or the political convulsions of their own country caused bands of mercenaries to enter their service, still the meanest Greek soldier who ate the bread of the great king, was fully conscious of his own superiority over the wretches who fought with gold instead of iron. This continued to prevail till Alexander the Great, disregarding the distinction between the two nations, conceived the extravagant design of uniting Greeks and barbarians, and created the grotesque figures which we behold in the Macedonian kingdoms, dressed up like Greeks, and proclaiming the degeneracy of the age. Till his time it was a national principle, that nature had destined the Greek to govern and the barbarian to serve; and although this principle might not be put forward by the states of Greece in their political intercourse, their respective citizens did not fail to assert it in the treatment of their barbarian slaves¹. But the national pride rose to such a height, both in individuals and communities, that long after the will and the power to perform noble actions had been succeeded by irresolution and exhaustion, it continued to minister to the infatuated vanity of those whose only title to fame was based upon the withered laurels of their fathers. But on the other hand, a more active intercourse was carried on with the barbarians of Africa and Asia after the Persian wars. The two nations con-

¹ Compare the principle laid down by Aristotle above, vol. i. p. 257.

tinued in almost uninterrupted political contact, either in peace or war, till the final extinction both of Grecian and Persian independence. But their respective histories cannot be thoroughly understood during this period, without a careful examination of the relations in which they stood to one another.

The common circle within which the Grecian states were comprehended, became so enlarged after the Persian war, that with the exception of the Ætolians, and other predatory tribes of a similar character, every state, whether great or small, took part, either voluntarily or by compulsion, in the general political movements; but this participation exercised such an influence upon their internal system, and was so affected by it in return, that it henceforward becomes impracticable to separate the history of the external relations amongst the Grecian states, from an account of the variations which took place in their internal condition. The independent development of constitutions now became rare; the former laxer associations which had subsisted amongst the states, chiefly for festive objects, and seldom with a view to deliberation on matters connected with the policy of the nation at large, were supplanted by more extensive hegemonies, whilst the states which asserted them, drew the reins of their authority closer than before, and evinced a disposition to interfere with the internal order of the adjoining states. They were actuated by a similar spirit in their external policy, for in order to secure points of support without their own limits, they endeavoured to enter into alliance with states similarly situated with themselves, and there-

by to provide pledges for their internal constitution. Thus the development of the political relations amongst the states at large, and that of the constitutions of the individual communities, acted and reacted upon one another in such a manner, that their histories become blended, and notwithstanding the extension of the hegemonies, in some measure assimilated the variations they underwent; still, as they were subject to the operation both of external and internal circumstances, they necessarily became more agitated and unstable.

History furnishes few examples to prove that external shocks alone have produced an essential and durable change in a political substance, which was entirely unprepared for and hostile to that change. It will generally be found that where violent commotions appear to have been the immediate consequence of such a shock, the combustible matter into which the spark has fallen, had been long prepared for its reception. This was the case with the Persian war. The political energies of the Greeks were already aroused, and the struggle with the barbarians only served to nerve and invigorate them. Hence, fully to estimate the events to which our attention will subsequently be directed, it is necessary to revert to the intercourse amongst the Grecian states, which formed the subject of enquiry in the latter part of the second and seventh chapters². The former has shown us that the political intercourse between the communities of the mother-country had assumed a more diversified aspect, and that Sparta formed a rallying-point for

² See vol. i. p. 188, sqq.; 420, sqq.

the greater part of them. But under the sway of the tyrants, political life had, in the interior of them, become matured for new changes, and after their expulsion, the ancient aristocracy was not again restored, but the democratical principle impetuously proclaimed itself amidst such remnants of that form of government as had chanced to survive.

The deliverance of Athens from the yoke of the Pisistratidæ marked the commencement of a new era. Herodotus acknowledges this when he extols the youthful strength of the regenerated commonwealth³. This strength it dedicated to the sacred cause of freedom in the auxiliary expedition to Ionia, the incentives to which were the buoyant spirit of democracy and the desire of propagating its youthful liberties, whilst its fiery ordeal was the heroic day of Marathon.

Nearly contemporaneous with the liberation of Athens were the expulsion of the tyrants from the Greek cities on the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, the defection from Persia, and the establishment of democracies. (Olymp. 70. 1; 500. B. C.⁴) By means of the participation of Athens, pure and impure elements here became mingled. No good and lasting fruits could result from the efforts of the Ionian states; they were too destitute of the vigour

³ In the beautiful passage, 5. 78: 'Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νῦν ἡῤῥηγντο· δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μόνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἡ ἰσηγορία ὡς ἐστὶ χρῆμα σπουδαῖον· εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφίας περιουκίωντων ἴσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρότωι ἐγένοντο· δηλοῖ ὧν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκειον ὡς δεσπότην ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθεροθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωυτῷ προθυμῆτο. Comp. 5. 91, the reflections of the Lacedæmonians: ὡς ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἔδν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πιθαρχεῖσθαι ἐτοιμον.

⁴ Compare the chronological table at the end of this volume.

and elasticity of youth; the ethical groundwork of their newly-recovered independence was too much impaired, and the immediate incitement to the outbreak of democratic commotion, too remote from national dignity, strength, and solidity. The above-described sentiments of the Athenian Clis-thenes in the extremities to which he was reduced in the party dissensions which preceded the rise of the democracy⁵, were by no means incompatible with friendly dispositions towards the people. But Histiaëus and Aristagoras, whose machinations are closely interwoven with the history of the Ionic insurrection, display the flagrant and revolting egotism of political incendiaries, who involved their country in the horrors of war to screen themselves from punishment, and even availed themselves of the general confusion to gratify their own rapacity.

The Grecian states upon the shores and islands of Asia Minor were not only subject to the Persian sway⁶, but groaned beneath the subordinate yoke of local tyrants⁷; the domination of the latter and the Persian supremacy guaranteed each other. The most considerable amongst them, Histiaëus of Miletus, opposed the proposition of Miltiades, during the Scythian expedition of Darius, to break down the bridge over the Danube, in order that by the destruction of the Persian army, free-

⁵ See vol. i. p. 395.

⁶ After the time of Darius Hystaspis, the islands of Lesbos and Chios also became subject to Persia; upon the occasion of the Scythian expedition, Lemnos and Imbros were reduced, Herod. 5. 26.

⁷ See the enumeration of them, Herod. 4. 138. (compare above, vol. i. p. 405.): Daphnis in Abydos, Hippocles in Lampsacus, Herophantus in Parion, Metrodorus in Proconnesus, Aristagoras in Cyzicus, Ariston in Byzantium, Strattis on Chios, Æaces on Samos, Laodamas in Phocæa, Aristagoras in Cuma, etc.

dom might be restored to the enslaved Greeks. Selfish motives actuated both him and the tyrants of the other states by whom he was supported⁸, and the chains of the Asiatic Greeks still remained unbroken.

Aristagoras, his nephew and successor in the Milesian tyranny, though deficient in courage and energy⁹, was not disinclined to enlarge the bounds of his authority, and as both his character and position rendered him averse to democratic convulsions, he was prepared to resist them whenever the opportunity should offer. Naxos soon enabled him to carry his intentions into effect. In the struggle between the upper orders and the people on that island, demagoguery had paved the way to tyranny¹⁰. Naxos appears to have been delivered from the latter earlier, or at any rate not later, than Athens, whose tyrant, Pisistratus, had once formed the prop and support of the Naxian Lygdamis¹¹, whereupon the old party warfare broke out anew. The wealthier inhabitants¹² were expelled by the demus, and applied for assistance to Aristagoras, with whose uncle, Histiaeus, they were connected by a treaty of hospitality, and Aristagoras prevailed upon the Sardinian satrap to lend him a fleet for the reduction of Naxos. The expedition miscarried; Aristagoras dreaded the resentment of the Persian monarch, and the proposals of Histiaeus arriving about the same time, he was inspired with confidence to attempt a revolt¹³.

⁸ Herod. 4. 136. 137.

⁹ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, Herod. 5. 124.

¹⁰ See vol. i. § 35. n. 46.

¹¹ See vol. i. p. 404-5.

¹² ἄνδρες τῶν παχίων, Herod. 5. 30.

¹³ Herod. 5. 31-35.

By giving the people in Miletus and the neighbouring states their reward beforehand¹⁴, viz. by liberating them from the tyrants, they ensured their concurrence in their measures; in the council of Aristagoras, Hecataeus the Logographer¹⁵, duly weighing the overweening power of the Persians, opposed the project, but, upon being outvoted, he became the most ardent, and, at the same time, the most circumspect of its advocates; his plan of operations was, however, unfortunately disregarded. Isonomia was proclaimed in Miletus, which example was followed by the other Ionian cities, and by Cuma and Lesbos; Strategi, purely democratic magistrates, were everywhere appointed¹⁶, and ostracism was perhaps at the same time introduced in Miletus¹⁷. The insurrection spread northward as far as the Thracian Bosphorus¹⁸, and southward through Caria and to Cyprus, where, however, the authority of the tyrants was not overthrown¹⁹. These measures were taken without the participation of the mother-country; the tie between the Ionians and their common Athens, the original seat of their tribe, had become so relaxed, and the feeling of political affinity grown so lukewarm, that Aristagoras first applied to Sparta for assistance. Upon meeting with a refusal in that quarter he repaired to Athens; but his representations that the Milesians were descendants of the Athenians²⁰, and that it was incumbent upon the latter to aid

¹⁴ Herod. 5. 37: (ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης) ἰσονομίην ἐποίει τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἀν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπιστάτατο.

¹⁵ Herod. 5. 36.

¹⁶ Herod. 5. 38. 99.

¹⁷ On the subject of Milesian ostracism, see Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 851. Phavorin. ὁστρακίνδα.

¹⁸ Herod. 5. 103.

¹⁹ Τύραννοι, Herod. 5. 109; βασιλῆες, 5. 110.

²⁰ Herod. 5. 97.

them in their undertaking, would probably have been attended with no better success, had not Athens reflected that by maintaining the youthful liberties of Ionia, she most effectually secured her own, and moreover felt a desire to humble the insolence of the Sardian satrap, who had commanded her to receive back the expelled tyrant Hippias²¹. But the freedom of Athens was still exposed to too much danger at home, and too little familiarized with its peculiar element, the sea, cordially to espouse the cause of those who were descended from a common stock with herself, and to carry on the struggle against the exiled tyrants and their supporters with energy and determination.

But the Ionians and their Greek neighbours were too debased by sensual pleasures²² to prefer freedom at the price of toil and privation to servitude, which ensured them the indulgence of luxury, and the treachery of the chiefs to the common cause determined the event. The Ionians made a few desultory expeditions against the barbarians who had not yet completed their preparations, but upon the approach of a Persian land and sea force, they were seized with terror and contrition; they only looked to the numbers of their adversaries, but did not weigh their courage and skill; the numerical superiority of the barbarians disheartened them, and Aristagoras was the first to seek safety in flight²³; Histæus, who arrived a

²¹ Herod. 5. 96; comp. vol. i. p. 213.

²² This was most imprudently displayed in the conduct of Aristagoras in Sparta itself, on which account an Ephor said to him: Οἶκοι τὰ Μιλήσια. Zenob. 5. 57.

²³ Herod. 5. 124.

short time afterwards, was bitterly reproached for having prevailed upon Aristagoras to revolt, and for having brought such calamities upon the Ionians²⁴. Miletus and the Grecian fleet assembled near the island of Lade now became the objects of attack; that which the Panionium²⁵ had failed to produce, namely, an energetic resistance, was attempted by the hero Dionysius of Phocæa, who endeavoured to effect his object by exercising them in naval tactics; but the effeminate Ionians were insensible to the greatness of the cause for which they were contending, and only thought of the labour of the present; they could not support the exertions by which Dionysius proposed to train them to victory for more than seven days²⁶. In the battle, the commanders of some Samian and Lesbian vessels, whom the expelled tyrants had gained over to their cause, deserted to the enemy; Dionysius and the Chians alone fought bravely. The vanquished having nothing to expect from the vengeance of the Persians but a cruel and ignominious punishment, a few noble Samians resolved upon emigrating, and thus avoiding the dishonour which awaited them; the bravest amongst them abandoned their island before the return of the tyrant Æaces, the Byzantines and Chalcedonians fled to the Pontus, where they built Mesam-

²⁴ Herod. 6. 3.

²⁵ Herod. 6. 7.

²⁶ The sentiments ascribed to them by Herodotus are highly characteristic, 6. 12: τίνα δαυμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεῖ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας ἐωυτοὺς ἔχομεν; ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκίστοις· καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμῶν ἐς νοῦς οὐκ ἐπεπτόκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῷ τούτῳ πείσεσθαι εἰσι· πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρείσσον καὶ ὀτειῶν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουλίην ὑπομῖναι, ἥτις ἐσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παριούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ.

bria, whilst the Phocæan Dionysius sailing towards the west in quest of adventures carried on piracy against the Etruscans and Carthaginians²⁷, the hereditary enemies of the western Greeks. Those who remained behind had, in addition to general slavery, to bear the yoke of subordinate tyrants.

On the other hand, an exalted and inspiring subject of contemplation is presented to the mind by the conduct of the Athenians at Marathon, and the pride with which the succeeding century regarded this heroic struggle for the independence of the common country of the Greeks²⁸, was no less just than generous. The fact is recorded in all its lustre and purity; and history may triumphantly repel the assertions of a disparaging criticism²⁹ and the invidious charges of calumny³⁰. She has a more painful task to perform in recounting the murder of the ambassadors by Athens and Sparta³¹, the sending of earth and water, whereby Ægina, infatuated by its jealousy of Athens, testified its submission to the Persian monarch beforehand³², and the treachery of several Eretrians to their native city³³.

²⁷ Herod. 6. 22. 33. 16. 17.

²⁸ Προκινδυνεύσαι, Thuc. 1. 73. Thus in the epigram Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. 215. ed. R.:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
Χρυσόφρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

Hence Athens τὸ ἄστυ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Isocrat. de Bigis 213. ed. L.

²⁹ Such as the remark that Miltiades, who proposed to destroy the bridge over the Danube, had lost his hereditary possessions in the Chersonese, and dreading the effects of the king's vengeance, endeavoured to provide for his own safety by involving his country in war. The latter was threatened like himself; the interests of the individual and the community at large were inseparable.

³⁰ e. g. the pretended understanding between the Alcæonidæ and the barbarians, Herod. 6. 115. 122. 123. Such an assertion can only have proceeded from the most consummate effrontery.

³¹ Herod. 7. 138; that it was done in Athens at the instigation of Miltiades, is stated in Pausan. 3. 12. 6.

³² Herod. 6. 49.

³³ Herod. 6. 101; Pausan. 7. 10. 1.

The watchword of the Athenians for the next century was hatred to tyrants and hostility to the barbarians. Postponing the consideration of the development of the democratical principle in Athens till the next chapter, let us now confine our attention to the policy of the nation at large, in repulsing the attacks of the barbarians under Xerxes. The glory of Athens failed to put a term to the prevailing discord; it rather served to stimulate the Æginetans, whose envy and jealousy were augmented by the consciousness of their own culpable understanding with the barbarians to carry on their contest with the enterprising and undaunted Athenians³⁴, whilst, unfortunately, the imminence of the danger by which the Greeks³⁵ were threatened, was so far from inducing them to form a general league, that their evil destiny even led many states to espouse the cause of the barbarians³⁶. Thirty-one Greek towns in all bore arms against the Persians, partly, like Athens and Ægina, burying their ancient animosities, and partly disregarding the opposite character of their constitutions, like Athens and Sparta. Themistocles and the Tegean Chileus were chiefly instrumental in the meritorious work of bringing about this spirit of concord³⁷. But as amidst this general patriotism, particular circumstances, as the constitution of Athens for example, imparted unusual energy to the efforts of certain states, so in judging of the conduct of those which sided with the barbarians, it is requisite to examine

³⁴ Herod. 7. 145. Compare on the subject of the previous dissensions, 6. 49. 50; 73. 85.

³⁵ Herod. 7. 9. 3, puts the expression of his patriotic grief at the fatal distractions of his native country, into the mouth of Mardonius, as an encouragement to Xerxes.

³⁶ Plut. Themist. 20.

³⁷ Plut. Themist. 6; comp. Herod. 9. 9.

the particular causes which led them to become traitors to their country.

When a nation is so swayed by passion as the Greeks were³⁸, its political calculations are generally wavering and unsteady, and whilst it is carried away by the violence of the last impression, it grasps with avidity at the first prospect of advantage that presents itself. The Achæans were, however, wholly indifferent to the danger which menaced their country, and obstinately persisted in their ill-judged and selfish repose. Equally careless of the fate of the mother-country with the Achæans, and perhaps influenced by their example, were the Italiots. The Ozolian Locrians, the Ætolians and Acarnanians, were still too remote from political maturity to be conscious of the bond which united their provinces; they were, in all probability, as indifferent to the notion of Grecian nationality, as they were ignorant of an opposition between Greeks and barbarians. Crete, long estranged from the rest of Greece, and secure from danger, remained an unconcerned spectator of the struggle, but had the decency to allege in extenuation of its conduct, that oracles had forbidden it to take part in the contest³⁹.

Corcyra, whose equivocal policy equally prepared it for either issue of the conflict, kept aloof from the struggle, and waited patiently to hail the approach of the victors, whoever they might be.

Gelon, the Syracusan, had the generosity to assemble his whole force against the barbarians; but either his princely pride, which required the chief command, or (as we should be rejoiced to believe)

³⁸ See vol. i. p. 90.

³⁹ Herod. 7. 169. 170.

the expedition of the Carthaginians against the Siceliots, prevented him from carrying his intention into execution⁴⁰.

The Thebans formed a close alliance with the barbarians, and gloried in their disgraceful efforts to injure their native country. But this resulted less from the depravation of the people than from the infamy of the leaders, Timagenidas and Attaginus⁴¹. The patriotic enthusiasm which had been excited amongst the people⁴² was soon extinguished by the efforts of the dynasts.

The Thessalians, who possessed less stability of character than the Thebans, like them were subject to the tyranny of the dynasts; at first, indeed, in consequence of their enmity to the Aleuadæ⁴³, who were in the Persian interest, they displayed considerable inclination to fight for the great cause; but either the dynasts obtained the upper hand⁴⁴,

⁴⁰ If it be true that Themistocles would not admit Hiero to the Olympic games, (Plut. Themist. 25. from Theophrastus; Ælian, V. H. 95.) appearances and public opinion may at least have been against the Siceliots. However, from the account of Diodorus (14. 109), that Lysias had opposed the acceptance of Dionysius' Theoria, we are led to suspect that a circumstance relating to the one was transferred to the other. Diodorus speaks in favour of Gelon, 11. 26. Hiero afterwards caused the Persæ of Æschylus to be represented, Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1055.

⁴¹ Herod. 9. 86; comp. 15; Pausan. 9. 6. 1: *ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πατριος πολιτεία τῆνικαὶτα ἴσχυεν*.

⁴² See on this point Böckh, *Explicat. Pind.* 340.

⁴³ Concerning their message to Xerxes, see Herod. 7. 6. On the subject of their pretended kindred attachment, Böckh, *Explicat. Pind.* 331. Amongst the numerous accounts of the Milesian courtesan, Thargelia, who was said to have exercised such an ascendant over the Greeks who visited her, as to gain them over to the interests of the Persian king (Plut. Pericl. 24), there is a very remarkable statement in the Anonym. de mulierib., quæ bello claruere, (Biblioth. d. alt. Lit. und Kunst. Stück. 2. p. 22. ined.) that she became the wife of the Thessalian king, Antiochus, and entertained Xerxes at her house. Compare Philostrate. Letters, 13. p. 920, quoted by Buttmann on the Aleuadæ, *Abb. der Hist. Philol. Cl. d. Berl. Ac. d. W.* 1822. 1823. p. 203, and the light which the latter throws on the subject of Antiochus and his successors. Photius only has *Θαργήλεια Ἀγησαγόρου θυγάτηρ, βασιλεύσασα Θετταλῶν λ' ἔτη*. Μελησία τὸ γένος, κ. τ. λ. According to Athenæus, 13. 609. A. she had fourteen husbands. Were there perhaps two of the name, an elder and a younger one?

⁴⁴ This appears to result from Diodor. 11. 2.

or the mass of the people complained, because the Greeks had omitted to occupy the passes of Olympus, and by their retreat to Thermopylæ had left Thessaly entirely unprotected⁴⁵.

Passion and inveterate enmity to overbearing neighbours, were motives which actuated those who fought for, as well as those who were opposed to the common cause. Argos, through the sanguinary conduct of Cleomenes⁴⁶, deprived of its best citizens and rendered wholly powerless, nevertheless abated nothing of its former pretensions to the Peloponnesian supremacy, and chose rather to become the vassal of Persia, than obey the commands of Sparta⁴⁷. However, it merely gave a promise to Mardonius to intercept the passage of the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus, and even this was not attempted. The Argives were satisfied with sending Mardonius intelligence that the Peloponnesians were on their march⁴⁸. On the other part, the patriotism of Mycenæ, Tiryns, the towns of the Acti, Epidaurus, Hermione, etc., as well as Plataeæ, Thespiæ, and Haliartus⁴⁹ in Bœotia, was strengthened and augmented by their hostility to the capital; but we are assured by Herodotus⁵⁰ that the Phocians sided with the Greeks, because their neighbours and hereditary enemies, the Thes- salians, joined the Medes; had the case been re-

⁴⁵ This is the opinion of Herodotus, 7. 172—174; conf. 7. 131.

⁴⁶ Herod. 7. 76—80.

⁴⁷ Herod. 7. 149. However unfavourable a notion we may form of the Hellenism of the Pythia, it is scarcely possible to believe in the genuineness of the oracle, which they alleged, Herod. 7. 148.

Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
Εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων, πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο,
Καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σώσει.

⁴⁸ Herod. 9. 14.

⁴⁹ On the subject of Haliartus, consult Pausan. 9. 32. 4.

⁵⁰ Herod. 8. 30.

versed they would have pursued a directly opposite course.

The Thessalian mountain tribes, the Dolopians, Ænians, Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Malians, Phthiotan Achæans⁵¹, as well as the eastern Locrians⁵² and the Dorians⁵³, were compelled by the invading foe to march against their fellow-countrymen; at least there is no positive testimony that they were willing traitors to their country. The Phocians, in spite of their aversion to the barbarians, were likewise constrained to join the Persian standard⁵⁴.

Even amongst the friends of their country the martial ardour was not everywhere equal; the women of Corinth prayed to Aphrodite to inspire their husbands with strength and courage⁵⁵. It was with difficulty that Themistocles succeeded in uniting the states and inducing them to adopt judicious measures for the conduct of the war; and we read with pain that it was in some cases necessary to resort to bribery to awaken a proper interest in the good cause, as in drawing up the fleet at Artemisium, for example⁵⁶. The generous patriotism of the Athenians, and the military sagacity of Themistocles, were in imminent danger of being baffled by the short-sighted politico-military system of defence of the Peloponnesians, by which it was most unscientifically proposed to stay at

⁵¹ Herod. 7. 132. 185. 196.

⁵² Herod. 8. 34; comp. 8. 203; Diodor. 11. 3. 4.

⁵³ Herod. 8. 31; Diod. 11. 4.

⁵⁴ Herod. 9. 17. 18; comp. 8. 30. 32.

⁵⁵ Schol. Pind. Olymp. 13. 32. Compare the Epigram, ap. Plut. de Herod. Malignit. 9. 456. ed. R.

⁵⁶ Herod. 8. 5; comp. Plut. Themist. 8. According to the spurious authority adduced by Plutarch, indeed, Themistocles employed bribery upon other occasions, viz., to influence the Ephors during the construction of the Athenian wall, Plut. Themist. 19. They who attempt to prove too much, seldom prove any thing to the purpose.

home and guard the avenues to the Peloponnesus.

The stratagems, threats, and undaunted resolution of Themistocles were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the memorable day of Salamis. His prudence had prevailed on the Athenians to wave their claim to the command⁵⁷; the prize of victory was adjudged to the Æginetans, though this was probably occasioned by jealousy of Athens⁵⁸.

The most illustrious manifestation of Grecian patriotism was the magnanimous declaration of the Athenians, in answer to the lavish promises of Mardonius, and the anxious fears of Sparta⁵⁹ in the winter before the battle of Plataeæ. It was drawn up by Aristides⁶⁰. If to this we add the stoning of Lycidas and his family⁶¹, because he had advised the Athenians to accept the conditions of Mardonius, as well as the banishment of Arthmius of Zelea, who had been hired by Xerxes to distribute bribes amongst the Greeks⁶², in order to induce them to enter into an alliance with him, we shall be at a loss to comprehend how a plot could have been formed in the Athenian camp before the battle of Plataeæ⁶³, the object of the conspirators being to subvert the democracy, and in case of failure, to fall back upon the Persians. Upon the flight of two of its abandoned projectors, this scheme of

⁵⁷ Plut. Themist. 7.

⁵⁸ Diodor. 11. 27. 55.

⁵⁹ Herod. 8. 143. 144. The Athenians briefly and characteristically describe the common features of Grecian nationality: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔν ὁμαίῳ τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἡθεὶς τε ὁμότροπα.

⁶⁰ Plut. Arist. 10. Plutarch very justly entitles it *θανναστήν ἀπόκρισιν*.

⁶¹ Herod. 9. 5; Lyc. adv. Leocr. 222. In Demosth. de Coron. he is called Cyrillus, as in the Argumen. Æsch. Pers.

⁶² Argum. Æsch. Pers., Aristid. Panath. 2. 218. (ed. Jebb) and the Schol., not to mention the Athenian orators, who contain such numerous allusions to the decree against Arthmius.

⁶³ Plut. Arist. 11.

treachery and folly was entirely defeated by the prudence and lenity of Aristides.

But how little do the political and military operations of the Spartans appear when compared with those of the Athenians! how narrow-minded their patriotism! how closely bordering on perfidy to the common cause is the indifference which, upon the completion of the Isthmian wall, they testified for the fate of the Athenians⁶⁴, to whom, in their previous terror, they had addressed such urgent entreaties! The selfish and contracted policy of Sparta had rendered her alike insensible to reason and to honour; still the emphatic exhortation⁶⁵ of the Tegean Chileus induced her to march out and win laurels at Plataeæ. Our object being to delineate the political sentiments of the Greeks, and not to describe the effect upon their feelings produced by the sight of the adverse host, we shall not dwell upon the pusillanimity with which the smaller Grecian states hesitated to march out of their encampments, or even the apprehensions of Sparta to come to an engagement with the Persians, whilst Athens everywhere made head against the enemy with enduring self-denial and unflinching fortitude. After the victory, all those states which had not deserted the cause of their country, claimed a share in the glory of the day; hence the Æginetans and others afterwards erected cenotaphs beside the monuments of the Athenians, Spartans, Tegeans, Megarians, Phliasians, Plataeans, Thespians, etc., who had fallen in the fight⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν δέεσθαι οὐδέν, Herod. 9. 8.

⁶⁵ Herod. 9. 9.

⁶⁶ Herod. 9. 85. Doubts are expressed of the authenticity of his account of those who took part in the engagement, and of the interment, in Plut. de

The allied fleet carried the war into Asia⁶⁷; the battle of Mycale achieved the deliverance of the islands and most of the towns on the Ionian coast.

Attention was now turned in the interior to the punishment to be inflicted upon the allies of the Persian monarch; the enmity, which the faithful adherents to the cause of their country testified against those who had so shamefully betrayed it, must, in this instance, be looked upon as originating in a feeling of unanimity, and not, as upon other occasions, as the result of dissension.

The infamous chiefs of Thebes were punished⁶⁸; after which that state sank into utter insignificance, from which it did not again recover for many years. Leutychidas, king of Sparta, marched to Thessaly, whence the Aleuad Thorax had accompanied Xerxes on his flight⁶⁹, but the object of the expedition was defeated⁷⁰ by the sordid cupidity of the commander, who accepted bribes from the Aleuadæ. The proposition of the Spartans to exclude from the council of the Amphictyons all those nations who had borne arms for the great king, is said to have been opposed by Athens (Themistocles)⁷¹.

Athens directed its chief attention to the prose-

Herod. Malign. 9. 460, sqq., ed. R., but the deduction is not complete. Plut. says somewhat more, Aristid. 19. 20. According to Lys. Orat. Fun. 107, ed. R., Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, Athenians, and Plateans fought; according to Diodorus, 11. 32, the Plateans and Thespians were united with the Athenians against the Thebans. But Herodotus appears to be decidedly contradicted by the inscription on the statue of Zeus in Olympia, which was erected by the conquerors of Plateæ. This, in addition to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, contained the names of the Corinthians, Sicyonians, Æginetans, Epidaurians, Troezenians, Eleans, etc.; but also Chians and Milesians!

⁶⁷ In the spring the Greek fleet was at Delos. Herodotus says that they did not dare to advance any further, and that they thought Samos was as distant as the pillars of Hercules! In reading such statements as this, it is impossible for the most lenient critic to acquit Herodotus of the charge of exaggeration.

⁶⁸ Herod. 9. 88.

⁶⁹ Herod. 9. 1.

⁷⁰ Pausan. 3. 7. 8. There is certainly a different account of the affair in Plut. de Herod. Malign.

⁷¹ Plut. Themist. 20.

cution of the war against the barbarians, and this common object of foreign policy served for a number of years to keep up the unanimity of the Greeks⁷². The relative position of the single states, for instance, that of Athens with regard to Sparta, was determined by the remembrance of their common prosperity and adversity, and the benefits which they had received at each other's hands.

The self-esteem of the Greeks and the conviction of their superiority over the barbarians, derived additional force from the victory, which, simultaneously with the defeat of the Persians, the Syracusan Gelon and the Agrigentan Theron (480. B. C.) obtained over the Carthaginians, and that which Hiero the successor of Gelon (474. B. C.) gained in a sea-fight with the Etruscans near Cuma. The eastern and western boundaries of the barbarians were henceforward more accurately defined; the non-Hellenes were either despised on account of the servile character of their political institutions, or hated and treated as enemies in consequence of their want of civilisation. However, language still continued to be a chief point in estimating the national difference between Greeks and barbarians⁷³.

II. DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL.

§ 54. The nobility being deprived of their hereditary distinctions of property, military honour,

⁷² According to Pausan. 9. 35. 2, it was decreed that the temple which the Persians had burned down should not be rebuilt, in order that their ruins might be *ἐχθους ὑπομνήματα*.

⁷³ *Βάρβαρος παλίγλωσσος*, Pind. Isthm. 6. 35. In the same manner Æsch. Agam. 1192, *ἀλλόθρονον πόλιν* speaking of Troy, comp. *ἄγλωσσος*, Sophocl. Trach. 1061.

and exclusiveness of family, their strength as an order became broken, the acquisition of property and warlike exploits imparted elevation to the character of the common freeman, the tyranny had reduced both orders to like subjection, and the Persian war had crowned them with the same laurels. That class which, once raised above the mass, and separated from it by a wide gulf, had engrossed all power and advantage in the state, was now looked upon as one of the ingredients of that mass; according to the democratic spirit of the age, all honours and privileges necessarily proceeded from, and reverted to the great body of the people. None of the ancient aristocracies, with the exception of that of Sparta, as far as this can be called an aristocracy, were henceforward recognised as legitimate dispensations of government; they had lost the moral sanction of opinion¹. Nevertheless aristocracy was not everywhere subverted, nor was democracy uniformly exempt from the machinations of the ambitious and the interested, who sought to raise themselves above the bulk of the people; but public opinion, even where the people were subject to the despotism of a dominant order, was decidedly opposed to this species of authority, to which it applied the odious name of oligarchy; tyranny had in some instances found means to array itself in the garb of the olden monarchy; but oligarchy had been unable to assimilate itself to the ancient aristocracy.

It became a generally acknowledged maxim that

¹ Concerning the opinion of Thucydides on the *ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος*, see below, § 60, on the subject of the oligarchy.

the *demus* constituted the aggregate people², and a citizen could only belong to the state by becoming incorporated with the mass; still this had not yet degenerated into fanatical hostility to every species of hereditary possessions yet annexed to the remnants of the ancient aristocracy; they were suffered to retain various honours and privileges, especially in matters connected with religion, as the inalienable right of certain families. It would seem as though the selfishness of individuals who would willingly have taken those distinctions from their possessors, had been compelled to yield to the prevailing feeling of the majority, who were of opinion that the *demus* which had subjected those pre-eminent citizens to its laws, derived lustre from their excellence; they beheld with pleasure those scattered amongst their own ranks, whom they had regarded with envy as an exclusive order, they respected those whom they had been unwilling to revere, and testified confidence and esteem where they had refused homage. This fusion of nobles and commons necessarily imparted increased solidity and worth to the people, and greater security and splendour to the state; moreover, as the public mind was not yet contaminated, those who were most conspicuous for moral worth were entrusted with political power, so that it became customary to speak of an aristocracy within a democracy³. But on the other hand the populace began to be excited, foul matter was stirred up,

² On the appellations of the mass of the people, see Appendix, § 60. n. 4.

³ Hence, the constitution of Clisthenes is called aristocracy by Plut. Cim. 15. Hesych.: *Ἀριστοκρατούμενοι ὑπὸ ἀρίστων κρατούμενοι ἢ δήμου ἢ ἐτέρων τῶν καλλίστων*. Compare concerning the better aristocracy below in § 60, on the oligarchy.

and polluted the channels of public feeling. This was in some degree effected by the intrigues of the nobility, who now formed part of the civic body; equality was irksome to them; oligarchical machinations spread disaffection amongst the multitude, whose mind became so inflamed with party-animosities, that respect for true merit began to abate. But a dissolute mob-government did not succeed to a calm and moderate democracy in the Grecian states in the same manner as in Rome, where by force of the manumission "per vindictam," without the concurrence of the people, virtuous as well as vicious foreigners might obtain admittance into the citizenship; the degeneracy in question must be traced to those curses of the Greek nation, selfishness and discord; the popular feeling and the laws alike excluded all barbarian admixture; none but Greeks could be citizens, barbarians being at the most only tolerated as Metœci⁴. But it must be confessed, that intercourse with the wealthy barbarians and the prosperity which crowned the Grecian arms, though they ennobled and exalted the national feeling, had in many respects pernicious consequences. Finally, as the proclamation of Marius commanding the "capite censi" to perform military service, instead of adding strength to the Roman citizenship, only became a means to increase the influence of rude manners, so by arming the indigent portion of their population, the Greek states were more injured than benefited.

Correspondent to the original solid and sub-

⁴ Such were probably the ὄχλος βαρβάρων διγλώττων Βισαλτικῶν in the towns of Chalcidice, Diodor. 12. 68.

stantial character of the democracy, was the idea of equality expressed by the word ἴσον⁵. The notion of an absolute equality like that which exists in the dreams of modern levellers, the equality of all in right and privilege, without regard to merits and services, was not unknown to the Greeks; but even from the very beginning the idea was never conceived without all limitation whatever, as certain conditions were tacitly acknowledged to be essential to it, in the same manner as the Dokimasia preceded the drawing of lots amongst the candidates for public offices. Even in the alluring promises of equal rights⁶ held out to the sharers in an expedition for founding a new colony, it is far from improbable that superior authority was tacitly promised to him who was best equipped for the expedition or the hereditary possessor of an important priesthood, to the most intelligent, the best, or the bravest amongst the adventurers. Rational ideas, generally speaking, prevailed upon the subject, and therefore the ἴσον was rather a means to preclude the introduction of an ἄνισον or πλεον⁷, oppression by means of unconstitutional despotism, than to endow all with equal privileges; and one of its chief characteristics was that it conferred upon every citizen a right to vote when laws were enacted for the collective people, to elect the functionaries appointed to administer those laws, and to make them re-

⁵ See vol. i. § 46. n. 67.

⁶ ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, Thuc. 1. 27.

⁷ Eurip. Phœn. 548, 549:

— τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφην.
τῷ πλείονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμον καθίσταται
τοῦ λασσον, κ. τ. λ.

See the definition of this term in Aristot. Pol. 5. 1.

sponsible for their acts. At the same time regard was had to the due proportion between the services which the citizen rendered to the state, through his personal merit or the advantages of fortune, and the distinctions conferred upon him. Hence, the object and scope of the *ἰσον* were to prevent a citizen from raising himself above the great body of the people, and the law, which was the expression of their united will, and to render all uniformly subject to its authority; but this principle was in some democracies carried to such lengths that the mere pre-eminence of an individual, even though unattended with evil designs, was considered dangerous to legal equality, and ostracism was accordingly introduced; but within the measure of excellence which the state tolerated in an individual, the law of equality was applied to him in such a manner that extraordinary virtue in a citizen was recognised in a higher degree than was strictly consistent with the legal equipoise⁸.

The first of the above notions, namely, that the law, having proceeded from all, is equally binding upon all, consequently that it expressly forbids the usurpation of power on the part of an individual or class, is implied by the word Isonomia, the once highly valued privilege of the free-citizens of Greece. It was equivalent to democracy⁹, like which it by no means precluded the existence of gradations according to a valuation. Herodotus entitles it the most admirable of constitutions, and

⁸ This is the *ἰσότης κατ' ἀξίαν*, Aristot. Pol. 5. 1. 7. 8. Compare the exposition of the *ἰσομοιρεῖν* in Thuc. 6. 39.

⁹ It is thus employed by Herod. 3. 143; 5. 27, in speaking of the abolition of the tyranny of Mæandrius on Samos, and that of Aristagoras in Miletus, and the establishment of a popular government.

describes, as its characteristics, that the authorities were appointed by lot, were required to give an account of their conduct, and that every matter for deliberation was submitted to the general body of the people, for, he adds, "every thing is contained in the mass"¹⁰. He likewise uses the word Isocrateia in contradistinction to tyranny¹¹.

The praises of Isonomia in the democratic writers are very frequently accompanied by those of Isegoria. It was chiefly in Athens that the name and the thing itself were brought to maturity, and the word was peculiar to that state; the common Grecian term was Isologia¹². The tendency to public speaking was a prominent feature in the character of the Greeks, and as the spirit of the Grecian republics granted their members the right of expressing their opinions on matters which affected the interests of the state¹³, the free and unimpeded exercise of this right was regarded by the Greek as the palladium of his liberties; whereas in oligarchical and aristocratic states oratory was generally prohibited by the magistrates¹⁴; the popular assembly was the chief theatre of Isegoria. Hence the word designates the most essential property of citizenship, namely, its right to take part in the proceedings of the supreme legislative body,

¹⁰ See the speech of Otanes, 3. 80.

¹¹ Herod. 8. 92. 1.

¹² Mæris: *ἰσηγορία*, Ἀττικῶς — *ἰσολογία*, Ἑλληνικῶς. The exercise of this right, liberty of speech, is the *παρρησία* of the Attic orators.

¹³ Pindar, Pyth. 2. 160: ὁ λάβρος στρατός, i. e. democracy. Eurip. Phœn. 401. 402:

τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυσχερές;

ἐν μὲν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἔχειν παρρησίαν.

Comp. Soph. Œd. Col. 66.

¹⁴ Plut. de Virtut. Eth. 7. 759: διὸ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἐν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἐῷσι παθαίνεισθαι. Comp., on the subject of prohibitions of this nature in Sparta and the Cretan states, Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 292. 4. Orl.

and not only implies that every one might exercise this right, but also that he was entitled to do so, on every subject without restriction; for although the council was charged with the special management of various branches of the administration, the people had by no means renounced their privilege of deciding in the last resort on those matters, on which the former had previously deliberated; on the contrary, with the further progress of democracy, the Bule gradually became more dependent upon the popular assembly, being more especially occupied in bringing state matters into the form in which they might be most conveniently discussed by the general body.

Though the equality of civil rights expressed by the foregoing words, as already stated, rendered it impossible that any individual should raise himself above the people and the laws, it by no means declared that, as no one was permitted to pass the boundaries fixed by the laws, therefore within the same, every one was entitled indiscriminately to aspire to the chief honours of the state; in the delegation of legal powers and privileges, the people were in fact chiefly guided by aristocratic principles. For although it was essential to the more matured democracy to appoint by lot to public offices, still the good sense and proper feeling of the lower orders led them to reflect that those citizens who were possessed of most energy and intelligence, or had the greatest portion of the state-burthens to bear, were entitled to a commensurate share in the government. The lower orders were unwilling to confide in a member of their own body; the just appreciation of personal ad-

vantages generally led them to fix upon proper persons for the public service. But here we are called upon to consider the evil side of the democratic character. For state offices legally brought with them no other recompense than honour; they rather involved the necessity of considerable sacrifices, and were fraught with imminent danger both to property and life. The inferior citizen renounced these the more readily, as the actions of the magistrates were liable to be judged by him as a constituent portion of the mass in its judicial capacity. Although unwilling to encounter this responsibility himself, he did not omit to watch the actions of others, with all the venom of democratic suspicion and jealousy. Hence, the public officers were as frequently the sport of the evil passions, as of the credulity and ignorance of the people, who, whilst they implicitly relied on the official abilities of a person, firmly expected that whatever that person undertook, would necessarily be crowned with success, whilst he was compelled to bear the whole weight of their indignation whenever the force of circumstances had prevented him from fulfilling their chimerical expectations.

The most important office under the more matured democracy was that of Strategus, as in Athens, Syracuse, Tarentum, Argos, Thurii; the Demiurgi ranked next to them. Both grew more influential as democracy advanced; we find that there were Polemarchs in the oligarchical Thebes, as well as in the democratic Mantinea.

From considering such offices as were ordained by law, we naturally turn to that peculiar species

of political power, which, without definite official functions exempt from obligation and responsibility, and supported by popular infatuation and intemperance, at length raised itself to such a height as to endanger the stability of the laws themselves, and to cripple and control the operations of those, to whom were entrusted the regular duties of the administration. Such was the Demagogy, which, the offspring of Isogoria, was nurtured by the officious tendency of the popular assembly to interfere with every department of state, and finally accomplished in political wiles and rhetorical subtleties under the instructions of the sophists. The people who exercised so jealous a control over the actions of the legally-elected functionaries, abandoned themselves without reserve to the guidance of those non-official orators, who affected the most obsequious deference for the popular will, whilst they obstructed the regular functionaries in the performance of their constitutional duties, by their censure and accusation, or assailed them with all the acrimony of their envy and slander; at the same time cloaking their real designs under the semblance of zeal for the public good. The same considerations which inspired the inferior citizen with diffidence in his own abilities to discharge the duties of office, made him feel the necessity of a leader in the deliberations of the popular assembly; and the more the bulk of the people engrossed the power of the state, the more they required to be guided by persons of this description¹⁵. Thus the demagogy was enabled by

¹⁵ Plutarch. Dion, 32, states, that the Syracusans had deserted Dion for Heraclides, διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἀνεσιν καὶ θρασύτητα πρὸ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

circumstances to supply the place of the former Æsymnety.

The odious character which subsequently attached both to the word and the thing itself, must not, however, be looked upon as incident to their origin. The rise of demagogy was a natural consequence of the political system of Greece, Isogoria; the influence of the demagogues did not assume its subsequent invidious character till after the total depravation of the popular mind. Every statesman was more or less necessitated to associate with the people, and endeavour to obtain their approbation of his authority and his projects: this is demagogy in its larger signification¹⁶. Corrupt practices crept in as soon as the demagogues incited the people to disregard the existing laws, and by laying down the pernicious doctrine, that the last expression of the popular will was at all times entitled to have the force and efficacy of law, undermined the stability both of law and prescription, thus teaching them to resign themselves to the dictates of turbulence and passion. This rank and baneful system thrived most luxuriantly at Athens and Syracuse; it attained its zenith in the course of the Peloponnesian war¹⁷; whilst the name grew more odious in proportion as the system itself degenerated¹⁸.

¹⁶ Hence Mæris: Πολιτεύειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι λέγεται, πολιτευτῆς οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ δημαγωγὸς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς· πολιτευτῆς, Ἑλληνικῶς.

¹⁷ See below, § 65.

¹⁸ That the word was originally used in a good sense is evident from Aristoph. Equit. 191:

Ἡ δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ

ἔστιν ἀνδρός, οὐδὲ χρηστοῦ τοῦς τρόπους.

Comp. Valckenaer Diatr. in Eurip. Deperd. Dram. Reliq. 254. b. In Thucyd. 4. 21, Cleon is called ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὧν; there is nothing unfavourable in this. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 7, does not merely say demagogues, but τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν. He employs δημαγωγοί, 2. 3. 27, in the sense of men opposed to the oligarchy.

Besides the term demagogue, the name *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* was frequently employed to designate the person who exercised a similar species of authority. As the regular officers of state could not perform their duties without mingling with the people in the manner of demagogues, so it is not impossible that the appellation *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* may have been applied to a regular functionary; but it is a matter of doubt whether it was so employed or not¹⁹. Indeed we observe in the writers of the democratic period generally, from Herodotus downwards, a disposition to give general designations of political objects without definiteness or precision of expression; as, for instance, *τὰ πράγματα* for state, *τὰ τέλη* or *οἱ ἐν τέλει* for magistrates, etc.²⁰.

III. THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY.

a. *The Character of the People.*

§ 55. The history of the predominance of the democratical principle begins with the battle of Marathon and the administration of Miltiades. Miltiades was the first to quicken and energize the political system established by Clisthenes, to foster and direct the powers of the Athenians, and to teach them to think and act greatly. "In my opinion," says Isocrates¹, "a god who respected the virtues of the Athenians brought about that war, in order that they who possessed such distinguished qualities, might not pass their lives unhonoured and unknown," etc. In truth there was something miraculous in the rapid rise of

¹⁹ See Appendix i.

¹ Panegy. 23. sub fin.

²⁰ See Appendix i.

the Athenians; it was not by advancing on a path to which they had been long accustomed, or by pursuing the bent of manners and feelings confirmed by habit and sanctioned by experience, that they attained the summit of political greatness. In every department of public life things presented themselves to these brave republicans under new and unwonted aspects; in whatever they undertook, they were obliged to quit the political path of their forefathers, and to explore new fields of enterprise, whilst they availed themselves of the extraordinary conjunctures that presented themselves with surprising skill and effect. The war with Ægina first made them familiar with the sea². No sooner had they launched their fleets, than they appear in the character of heroes skilled in naval tactics, and exhibit familiar acquaintance with the perils and caprices of an element which it requires the highest degree of human industry and courage to encounter. Hence the beautiful observation of Plato, who considered the civil virtues of the Athenians³ as a gift of the gods, and the deserved encomium of Thucydides on the Athenian bravery, which, in his opinion, had proceeded from the intellect and the will, and not from habit⁴, whilst their very enemies were forced to acknowledge that the fecundity of the Athenian mind had

² Herod. 7. 144: οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους.

³ De Legg. 1. 642. D.: τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς, ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσιν, ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι· μόνοι γὰρ ἀνεν ἀνάγκης, αὐτοφυῶς, θείᾳ μοίρᾳ, ἀληθῶς καὶ ὅτι πλαστῶς εἰσιν ἀγαθοί.

⁴ Thuc. 2. 39:—ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἤσπον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.

developed new excellence in new channels of enterprise⁵.

The masterly hand of Thucydides has sketched the chief virtues of the Athenian character in the speech of the Corinthians to Sparta, and in the funeral oration of Pericles. In the former, real admiration forces its way through hostility, envy, and fear; in the latter, we hear the accents of the great leader of the people, who was incapable of adulation. But listen to the words of the great historian himself.

"They are, say the Corinthians⁶, fond of innovation, equally quick in conceiving and in executing their projects.—Bold beyond their strength, daring beyond the dictates of prudence, in extremities full of hope.—Never inactive—ever roaming from place to place—they think to make fresh acquisitions by going abroad—victorious over the enemy, they push forward as far as possible; vanquished, they fall back but little. They use their bodies for the state as though they were not their own, whilst their mental capacities are ever in their power, and ready to be dedicated to the service of the commonwealth. When they fail to accomplish their schemes, they think they have lost a portion of their property⁷. But when they are successful, they value the acquisition but slightly in comparison with what they expect from the future.

⁵ The Corinthians in Thucyd. 1. 71:—*ἡσυχάζουσιν μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοις ἵνα πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. Διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας—κεκαίνωται.*

⁶ Thuc. 1. 70.

⁷ Compare 4. 55: *οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειροῦμενον αἰεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκίσεως τὶ πράξειν.*

When a project fails, with reviving hope they think of another expedient to meet the occasion. For with them alone to hope is to possess, because they so speedily execute that whereon they have determined; and to accomplish all this they willingly encounter toil and danger at every time, enjoying but little what they possess, because they are ever occupied in acquiring more. They consider no other day to be a festival than that on which they perform what is needful, and deem inactive rest a greater grievance than toilsome occupation. Therefore should any one sum up their character by saying, that they were born never to be at rest themselves, nor to suffer others to be so, he would speak the truth."

Still more pure and exalted are the commendations which Pericles bestows on their intelligence as the parent of their excellence. "We scrutinize and revolve matters, says he⁸, inasmuch as we are of opinion that words do not prejudice deeds, but rather, the not being instructed by debate before we proceed to action. For it is our distinction, to make the boldest attempts, and to deliberate upon what we are about to engage in; whereas with others, ignorance inspires courage, and deliberation makes them falter. Those must surely be possessed of the greatest souls who, well knowing the terrors and the gratifications of life, shrink not from danger.—In fine, I say, the whole state is the instructress of Greece; and, in my opinion, every single citizen with us is capable of dedicating his personal faculties to the most multifarious objects with dexterity and grace."

⁸ Thuc. 2. 40.

Thucydides does not say too much⁹. History presents no parallel to the combination of intelligence and force in their character, their certainty in conception and performance¹⁰, their simplicity of life amidst the eager pursuits of commerce, their delicate and matured perception of the beautiful, and their perfection in the productions of art, amidst unprecedented efforts to subdue the roughest of elements, constant service in arms, and incessant sacrifices for the good of the commonwealth. The leaders lofty and towering models for the imitation of succeeding ages, the multitude capable of appreciating their exalted worth; no chasm between the intelligence and power of both.

The champions of Marathon¹¹ was the name which their degenerate descendants loved to apply to the heroes of the glorious days of Athens. That period must, however, be extended till the breaking out of the plague and the death of Pericles. Till then, the poison which lurked in the Attic honey¹² did not predominate so far as to corrupt the purer channels of healthful life; the exercise of their powers expanded and invigorated, but did not consume them; liberty was sufficient for their happiness, and the healthful constitution of their minds fitted them for its enjoyment¹³. But their career had been too violent and abrupt; the bow required unbending; the better qualities of the Athenian character, incapable of withstanding the shocks to which they

⁹ Comp. Isocrates Panegy. cap. 22, and Areopagit. p. 224. ed. Lange, where, however, the attempt at rhetorical effect is too evident.

¹⁰ Most appropriate are the words of Thucyd. 2. 40: φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας.

¹¹ Arist. Acharn. 181. Μαραθωνομάχαι, Nub. 986.

¹² Plutarch. Dion 58.

¹³ Thuc. 2. 43: τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες.

were exposed, became the sport of waywardness and caprice.

We must not stigmatize, as the peculiar failing of the Athenians, that arrogance¹⁴ which was common to the whole Grecian race; the Athenians were justly entitled to extol the days of the men of Marathon and the time of Pericles; but vain and empty conceit alone induced them to ascend to the mythical age, and represent the glory of Athens as so ancient as to be lost in the remoteness of antiquity¹⁵; their claims to Autochthony¹⁶ were founded in a proud and honourable feeling, which deterred them from mixing with the barbarians, and therefore rendered them their enemies¹⁷. As long as the exploits of the Athenians corresponded with their confidence in their own powers, there was no lack of its attendant magnanimity¹⁸ and love of honour, which sought to derive lustre from acting nobly¹⁹. The heart of the Athenians, untainted as they were by craft and deceit, resembled a pure and spotless tablet; they enacted no laws for the exclusion of strangers, but granted them unrestricted access and the liberty of viewing whatever they desired²⁰;

¹⁴ Φρόνημα. See the speech of the Athenians, Thuc. 1. 80. sqq., in which they express a well-grounded confidence in their own powers.

¹⁵ The commonplaces of the orators concerning the reception of the Heracleidae, the interment of the Argives by Thebes, the battle of the Amazons, etc., are well known; thus Lycurg. adv. Leocr. 194: τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχει μέγιστον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων παράδειγμα τοῖς Ἕλλησι γέγονε.

¹⁶ Compare vol. i. Append. xi.; also see Eurip. ap. Lycurg. adv. Leocr. p. 204. R.

¹⁷ Οὐ μίσοβάρβαροι, hence μισοβάρβαροι, Plato.

¹⁸ Μεγαλοψυχία. See a description of them, Aristot. Eth. Nicom. 4. 7, where see Zell.

¹⁹ This is also a common topic of the orators, e. g. Demosth. in Lept. 500: οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εὖ ποιῶν δοκεῖ νικῆσαι; yet there is some truth in it.

²⁰ Peric. ap. Thuc. 2. 39: τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομεν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, δὲ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδῶν ὠφελήσῃ.

and in this virtuous age, irascibility²¹ and the arrogance which was just beginning to evince itself²², were equally balanced with pity²³, and the endeavour to gain love and affection. But it cannot be denied that the multitude, as well as the majority of the leaders, were tainted with envy and the lust of gain.

b. Rank of Persons.

§ 56. No sooner did the Athenians become the objects of their own admiration, than they began to set a higher value upon their citizenship, and to dispense it with a more sparing hand. But attempts to obtain it by surreptitious means became proportionally more numerous, and notwithstanding the laws rendered admittance to it a matter of difficulty¹, the authorities were, for a length of time, too heedless to oppose successful resistance to the devices employed to evade their regulations. Hence the unprecedented number of spurious citizens, when Pericles at length thinned their ranks; four thousand seven hundred and twenty were sold into captivity², as the law directed³. It was a natural consequence of the infrequency of naturalization, that birth still continued to be the chief qualifica-

²¹ The Athenians are called *ὀργίλοι*, Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 605.

²² *Υβρις*. See Thucyd. 2. 65.

²³ Comp. vol. i. § 15. n. 10. This is likewise extolled by Demosth. c. Timoc. 753: *τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἐλεῖν*. Comp. (Ps.) Plato Menex. 244. E.: *ἀεὶ λίαν φιλοκτιρμῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἥττονος θεραπείς*. The fine imposed upon Phrynicius, because he had given a dramatic representation of the destruction of Miletus, a city in alliance with Athens, and had thereby grieved the hearts of the Athenians, is very remarkable, Herod. 6. 21; conf. Plut. Præcep. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 243. R.; also the unique decree as to the indefatigable mule, Plut. de Instinct Animal. 10. 41.

¹ According to Ps. Demosth. cont. Neær. 1375, six thousand votes were necessary to decide for the naturalization of a person. This law, doubtless, dates from the age before Euclid, and probably from Solon himself.

² See vol. i. p. 370.

³ Plut. Pericl. 37; Philoch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716; (Siebelis Philoch. 51); Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 98; Meier de Bon. Damnat. p. 80.

tion for the citizenship; still, before the time of Pericles, little importance was attached to the origin of the mothers of citizens, and marriages with foreign women were looked upon as of so little disparagement, that the first men in the state, like Miltiades, made no scruple to contract them, while no disabilities attached to their children in consequence. The wife of Miltiades, Hegesypile, was, it is true, a Thracian king's daughter⁴. It is related of Themistocles, that in consequence of his mother's not having been a native of Athens, he was compelled to perform his youthful exercises in the Cynosarges⁵, being forbidden to associate with the legitimate children of Athenian citizens. But if any credit is to be attached to this statement⁶, which does not appear to be the case, as Themistocles was already Archon⁷ before the memorable day of Salamis (probably 481. B. C.), and consequently had undergone the necessary family scrutiny⁸, it is probable that the low origin of his mother, who appears to have been an enfranchised slave⁹, was the cause of the enactment. Pericles was the first rigorously to enforce the law, which directed that both the parents of any one to whom the franchise descended by hereditary succession,

⁴ Herod. 6. 39.

⁵ Plut. Themis. 1; Athen. 13. 576. C.; Ælian. V. H. 12. 43; comp. vol. i. p. 369. n. 16.

⁶ Photius Lex.: *Κυνόσαργες*—*ἐκεῖ οἱ νόθοι ἐτελοῦντο, οἱ μὴτε πρὸς πατρός μὴτε πρὸς μητρός πολῖται*—but Themistocles was descended from the ancient race of the Lycomedæ! However, *νόθος* might probably be employed afterwards to signify one who was only *ματρογένος*, e. g. Pollux 3. 21.

⁷ Thucyd. 1. 93: *ἔπεισε τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν*. (*ὕπῃρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς, ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξε*.) and Schol. *πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα*. Accord. to Corsini Fasti Att. 3. 144, sqq. See Clinton, Fasti Hellen. Oxon. 1824; Introd. XIII. XIV.

⁸ See vol. i. § 47. n. 41.

⁹ See the passage, n. 4.

should have been citizens¹⁰; an exception to the rule was afterwards made in his favour, and his natural son was permitted to enjoy the full rights of citizenship¹¹.

The citizens of all ages capable of bearing arms, amounted, till the Peloponnesian war, to between twenty and thirty thousand¹²; the official computation of Pericles in Thucydides¹³ gives thirteen thousand Hoplitæ for service in the field, and sixteen thousand including the Metœci, for the garrison; besides these there were twelve hundred horsemen, in which number were comprised the mounted bowmen who did not belong to the citizens. But it is stated in Plutarch¹⁴, that when a census was taken at the distribution of some Egyptian corn, Olymp. 83. 4. (445. B. C.) it was ascertained that there were no more than fourteen thousand two hundred and forty genuine citizens: but, unless naturalization had been permitted, it is impossible to account for such an increase in their number between that year and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; moreover, the destructive Samian war took place in the interval; the difficulty will be removed by assuming that only the poorer citizens partook of the supply of corn before alluded to¹⁵.

¹⁰ μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας, Plut. Pericl. 37. This had, till that time, been a mere traditional observance, which was probably frequently disregarded, comp. vol. i. p. 369.

¹¹ Plut. ubi sup.; comp. below, § 64. n. 5.

¹² Herod. 5. 97, says of Aristagoras, τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐπεισε; Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 432. 433, says: πολιτῶν πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος; only a rough calculation in both cases.

¹³ Thuc. 2. 13.

¹⁴ Plut. Pericl. 37.

¹⁵ Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. (Siebel. Philoch. 51.) appears to express himself more precisely than Plutarch: τοὺς γὰρ λαβόντας γενέσθαι μυρίους τετρακισχίλιους διακοσίους μ'. Comp. Böckh, Staatsh. 1. 37. 98.

The legal regulation of the classes, as far as we are enabled to judge, still continued to be based upon the scale of valuation as established by Solon; but from the increasing wealth of the state and of individuals, the assessments of Solon's time, so far as they had been altered by Clisthenes, must have been considerably too low for the fortunes of this period; it is not only probable that there were more pentacosimedimni than before, but that the surplus property of individuals over and above the maximum assessment was very considerable; moreover, the second and third classes might possibly approach each other very closely and exceed the rate fixed in the valuation of Solon, by which means Aristides was enabled so much the sooner to abolish the exclusive eligibility of the first class to the archonship¹⁶; and lastly, the Thetes likewise ascended in the scale, and the state was rich enough to furnish them with arms to enable them to serve as Hoplitæ¹⁷. The classes were upon the whole divided into the very rich, those in good circumstances, and the poor; there were no beggars in Athens; but the Athenians at all times attached great importance to wealth.

The hereditary nobility had long ceased to form a caste furnished with exclusive family privileges. But in Athens, as probably in all countries and all ages, public opinion looked with reverence upon ancient and illustrious ancestry; this feeling moreover derived strength from the implicit recognition of the heroic root, from which various families pre-

¹⁶ Plut. Arist. 22: γράφει ψήφισμα, κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι, where, however, we must suppose the Thetes to have been tacitly excluded.

¹⁷ This was the case in the Peloponnesian war, Thuc. 6. 43.

tended to be sprung, as for instance, not to mention the Alcmaeonidæ, when Miltiades, Alcibiades, and Themistocles the historian, derived themselves from Ajax¹⁸, Andocides, from the race of the Ceryces from Hermes¹⁹, Lycurgus, the orator, an Eteobutad from Erechtheus²⁰. In various houses, particularly in those to which an hereditary priesthood was annexed, the pedigree was most carefully continued. The importance which was thus manifested for this species of distinction was not, it must be owned, founded in political law, but derived its sanction from public opinion alone²¹. Wealth was in the nature of things, the most effectual prop of the hereditary nobility, as in the case of the often-mentioned family of the Hipponici and Callias²²: but Athens was called upon to make great and unwonted exertions, and to go through severe ordeals, in which nobility and riches were of little avail; the period of political and civil virtue had commenced; counsel and action, military courage, bodily strength and address, the courageous and cheerful sacrifice of property and life, and even the production of works of excellence in the domain of the fine arts—all this, by the aid and support of public favour, opened the avenues to superior rights, to offices and dignities²³, and even by virtue of express and positive

¹⁸ Didymus ap. Schol. Pind. Nem. 2. 19.

¹⁹ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orator. 9. 316. R.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 345. 355. Comp. in general, vol. i. § 30.

²¹ Aristoph. Vesp. 627: οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ πανὸν σεμνοί. The last word conveys the notion of a noble and lofty personal bearing.

²² Ἰππονόκος Καλλίου καὶ Ἰππονόκου Καλλίας. Aristoph. Av. 283. See Heindorf ad Plat. Protagor. p. 465; Clavier sur la famille de Callias, mém. de l'institut, classe d'hist. vol. iii. Concerning the riches of this family, see in particular Athen. 12. 536. F. sqq. Comp. below, § 65. n. 53.

²³ Thus Sophocles was appointed one of the Strategi against Samos in re-

enactments, was rewarded with determinate privileges.

External distinctions of this description emanating from the state, gradually led to the formation of a class of honorary citizens whose position and rank in society may in some measure be compared with those of the chivalric orders of merit in modern days, when these correspond with their title and the object and intention of their foundation²⁴. The list begins with Harmodius and Aristogiton, to whom almost heroic honours were paid²⁵. The most ancient distinction on record is that of being entertained at the public expence in the Prytaneum²⁶, which was said to have existed as early as in Codrus' time²⁷; it was either granted for once, or for life, and was occasionally conferred upon the descendants of a public benefactor; in the case of prytanes and ambassadors²⁸, it was an honour which was assigned to the office, not to the person. Intemperance was unknown at these repasts²⁹. Still greater advantages were associated with the Ateleia, the exemption from all contributions to

turn for the gratification which his Antigone had afforded to the people. Argum. Soph. Antig.

²⁴ Köler: Had the ancients rewards for public services, similar to the orders of knighthood in modern times? Dörptsche-Beitr. 1813, vol. ii. and 1818, vol. i.

²⁵ Demosth. de Falsa Legat. 431. 16, sqq.: — οὐδὲ νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἀς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις, σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποιήσθε καὶ ἄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτε ἐξίσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

²⁶ Σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ. Cic. de Orat. 1. 54.

²⁷ Lycurg. con. Leocr. 196. R. mentions a Cleomantis: — ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ αἰδίων σίτησιν ἔδοσαν.

²⁸ Pollux, 9. 40: — ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως, παρ' ᾧ ἐσιτοῦντο οἷτε κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἦγοντες, καὶ οἱ διὰ πρᾶξιν τινα σιτήσεως ἀξιοθέντες, καὶ εἰ τις ἐκ τμηῆς ἀείσιτος ἦν.

²⁹ Plut. Sol. 24; Athen. 5. 186. It is remarkable that Solon only allowed a citizen to be entertained once at the public expence, but punished him who refused to obey the summons; for he looked upon such conduct as ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κοινῶν, Plut. ubi sup.

the state, which were not connected with the defence of the country, consequently neither from the trierarchy nor the property-tax³⁰. Regular donations and pensions were sometimes granted. Solon appointed five hundred drachmas as the reward for an Olympic victor, and a hundred for an Isthmian³¹; the state acted with great liberality towards the son and daughters of Aristides³². The debts of the renowned general Phormio were paid³³. On the other hand presentation with a crown, conferred nothing but honour, as long as crowns were made of boughs, and not of gold³⁴. They were granted to Buleutæ as a reward for the faithful discharge of official duties, or for having built ships³⁵; it was not till after the time of Aristides, Themistocles and Cimon, that that honour was conferred upon private individuals; Pericles was the first who obtained it³⁶; afterwards it became very frequent, and numerous legal provisions were made on the subject³⁷. A statue³⁸ was first erected to Solon, but probably more as a purely historical memorial, than as a mark of personal distinction, in which intention statues were erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton³⁹; no example again occurs till the time of Conon⁴⁰; however, in the interval,

³⁰ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 5. 82.

³² See Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 267.

³⁴ Στέφανος.

³⁵ Thrasybulus received a crown of boughs, (θάλλον στέφανος.) Æsch. in Ctesiph. 577. R.

³⁶ Argum. Demosth. in Androt. 587. On such occasions the Buleutæ, according to the words of the law used, αἰρεῖν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δωρεάν.

³⁷ Plut. Cim. 8.

³⁸ Val. Max. 2. 6. 5.

³⁹ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 434; conf. 427. 431. 437; Demosth. de Coron. 265; Isocrat. in Callim. 669.

⁴⁰ Εἰκόν.

⁴¹ Demosth. in Lept. 478; comp. Pausan. 1. 8. 5.

⁴² Demosth. ubi sup.

³¹ Plut. Sol. 23.

³³ Pausan. 1. 23. 12.

an honour closely allied with it, namely, the liberty of erecting Hermæ with inscriptions upon them⁴³, was granted to Cimon. Lastly, amongst these must be counted the Proedria.

The Atimia, which will be treated of afterwards in the exposition of public law, must be looked upon as the reverse of the above-named distinctions of merit, viz. as an instrument to deprive public defaulters or dilatory debtors to the state of civil rights and civil honours⁴⁴; the infliction of positive infamy, as in Sparta in the case of bachelors⁴⁵, was unknown to Athenian legislation.

Especial consideration must next be devoted to the relation of the Cleruchi; this system commenced before the Persian war, and notwithstanding it sustained several forcible interruptions, it was continued till the battle of Chæronea; it was however brought to maturity in the time of Pericles⁴⁶. The general characteristic of this relation was that the Athenians settled in foreign countries; so far it comes within the notion of a colony. In order to understand the true nature of this system, which was a source of advantage to the Athenians for a short period of time, but which rendered them the objects of more hatred and hostility than their other political crimes and infirmities, it is necessary to take a survey of the foreign settlements of the Athenians.

The Thracian Chersonesus. The Dolonci by whom it was inhabited, being in need of assistance against the neighbouring Apsinthians, became ac-

⁴³ Plut. Cim. 7, et Æsch. in Ctesiph. 572, sqq.

⁴⁴ Comp. vol. i. p. 369.

⁴⁵ Plut. Lyc. 15.

⁴⁶ See in general Raoul-Rochette établiss. des col. Græcq. vol. iii. iv.; Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 455, sqq.

quainted with the elder Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, and invited him to settle amongst them. This took place Ol. 56. 1; 556. B. C.; he came with a number of voluntary companions, who acknowledged him as their chief, and built a wall of defence against the Apsinthians, extending from Cardia to Pactye⁴⁷. The dominion of the country situate within the wall⁴⁸, after him devolved to his brother's son Stesagoras; after his death the Pistratidæ sent his brother Miltiades there with one trireme, Olymp. 65. 3, or 66. 2, 518. or 515. B. C.; the latter joined Darius in his march against the Scythians⁴⁹, and took to flight, upon the approach of a Phœnician fleet after the subjection of Ionia⁵⁰; upon the expulsion of the Persians the Chersonese became public property. The chief places were Sestos, which Xanthippus wrested from the Persians, Olymp. 75. 2; 478. B. C.⁵¹, Cardia, Pactye, Crithote⁵², Alopecannes⁵³, Elæus⁵⁴; to these were afterwards added Doriscus⁵⁵ and Serrhium⁵⁶ in the vicinity westward of the Hebrus; Sigeum, which was occupied by Pisistratus⁵⁷, must be looked upon as belonging to the tyrants, not to the state; further southward on the Æolian coast Adramyttium was accounted an Athenian colony⁵⁸.

Lemnos and Imbrus were in the undisturbed possession of the Pelasgians, who had once migrated

⁴⁷ Herod. 6. 33—41; comp. Corsini, Fast. Attic. 3. 103, sqq.

⁴⁸ A current phrase of later times was τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τευχῶν, Dem. de Falsa Legat. 390. 3.

⁴⁹ Herod. 4. 137.

⁵⁰ Herod. 6. 41; comp. above, § 53. n. 28.

⁵¹ Diodor. 11. 37.

⁵² Harpocr. Stephan. Byzant.

⁵³ Demosth. in Arist. 675. 20, sqq.; Etym. M. Ἀλωπηκε. see 75, Sylb.

⁵⁴ Demosth. in Arist. 672. 20.

⁵⁵ Here it was where, as far as Herodotus knew, the Persian Mascames defended himself, Herod. 7. 106.

⁵⁶ Demosth. adv. Phil. 133; de Falsa Legat. 390.

⁵⁷ Herod. 5. 94.

⁵⁸ Strab. 13. 606, Ἀθηναίων ἀποικος πόλις.

there from Attica⁵⁹, till in Olymp. 67. 3; 510. B. C. the Persian Otanes subjected them to the Persian rule⁶⁰. In the course of the following years, probably during the insurrection of the Greeks of Asia Minor, Miltiades effected the conquest of Lemnos from the Chersonese, drove out the Pelasgians, and peopled the island with Athenians, or at all events with natives of the Chersonese of Athenian extraction. The destiny of Imbrus appears even at that time to have been similar to that of Lemnos; on his flight from the Phœnicians Miltiades went there⁶² before he sailed to Athens.

In Eubœa, Olymp. 68. 3; 506. B. C. the domains of the Chalcidian Hippobotæ were confiscated, and some Athenians were sent there to take possession of them; but the Hippobotæ appear to have recovered their lands during the Persian war⁶³.

Scyros was inhabited by piratical Dolopians⁶⁴ till the time of the Persian wars; Cimon (Ol. 76. 1; 476. B. C.) reduced them to slavery and founded an Athenian settlement on the island⁶⁵. Halonnesus was also reckoned amongst the most ancient possessions of Athens in the time of the orators⁶⁶.

Amphipolis, Eion, and the mining towns opposite Thasus. The tract of country at the mouth of the Strymon, where Histæus, the founder of the city of Myrcinus, Aristagoras⁶⁷, and afterwards

⁵⁹ Herod. 6. 140; on the subject of the last Pelasgian king Hermon, consult Hesych. and Suidas, Ἑρμώνιος χάρης, and Zenob. Prov. 3. 85.

⁶⁰ Herod. 5. 26.

⁶¹ Herod. 6. 140; comp. Thucyd. 7. 57.

⁶² Herod. 6. 41.

⁶³ Comp. vol. i. Appendix xiii.

⁶⁴ Thuc. 1. 98; Diodor. 11. 60, has Pelasgians and Dolopians.

⁶⁵ Thuc. et Diodor. ubi sup. Plut. Cim. 8.

⁶⁶ Argum. Demosth. de Halonn. p. 75. R.

⁶⁷ Herod. 5. 11. 23. 124; Thuc. 4. 102. Aristagoras was slain there, 497. B. C. (Clinton.)

the Macedonian Alexander⁶⁸ (*φιλέλλην*) had in vain endeavoured to obtain a permanent footing⁶⁹, was opened to the Athenians by Cimon, the conqueror of Eion⁷⁰. Soon after the first attack which the Athenians made on Thasus, Olymp. 78. 4; 465. B. C., thirty-two years after the death of Aristagoras⁷¹, ten thousand men, consisting of Athenians and their allies, were sent into the provinces on the Strymon⁷²; but were soon afterwards cut off by the Thracians near Drabescus⁷³. An army sent to take possession of those mining towns which had hitherto been Thasian, viz. Daton, Æsyme, Scapte Hyle⁷⁴, etc. was soon afterwards destroyed by the Edones near Daton⁷⁵. Agnon, Olymp. 85. 4; 437. B. C., first made the settlement of the Athenians on the Strymon permanent; the town Ennea Hodoi was now called Amphipolis⁷⁶: it is possible that the right to make use of the mines was asserted with greater energy after the capture of Thasus.

Pericles increased and extended the Athenian settlements, and provided for their security. Ol. 82. 1; 452. B. C. he sent five hundred citizens to Naxos⁷⁷, two hundred and fifty to Andros, and probably a body of them to Eubœa, a thousand to the country of the Bisaltæ⁷⁸, a thousand to the

⁶⁸ Demosth. de Phil. Epist. 164. 19.

⁶⁹ On the subject of nine unsuccessful expeditions which the Athenians made thither, see Schol. Æsch. de Falsa Legat. 755. R.

⁷⁰ Herod. 7. 107; Thuc. 1. 98.

⁷¹ Thuc. 4. 102.

⁷² Thuc. 1. 100; Diod. 11. 70; Corn. Nep. Cim. 2.

⁷³ Thuc. 1. 100.

⁷⁴ Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 334. 335.

⁷⁵ Herod. 9. 74; Schol. Æsch. ubi sup.; Pausan. 1. 29. 4, who is not free from error.

⁷⁶ Thuc. 4. 102; 5. 11; Schol. Æsch. ubi sup.

⁷⁷ Plut. Per. 11; Diod. 11. 88, has a thousand, but some of these probably remained in Eubœa and Andros. Comp. Pausan. 1. 27. 6, where it is said that Tolmidas led Cleruchi to Eubœa and Naxos.

⁷⁸ Plut. ubi sup.

Chersonesus⁷⁹; Ol. 83. 4; 445. B. C., two thousand to occupy the possessions of the expelled Histiaæans in Eubœa⁸⁰; Athenians went to join the settlers in Sinope⁸¹, Amisus⁸² and Thurii⁸³, (Olymp. 84. 2; 443. B. C.) In the first year of the Peloponnesian war the Æginetans were expelled, and Cleruchia in their island were allotted to Athenian citizens⁸⁴.

With the further progress of the Peloponnesian war, to these were added Mytilene⁸⁵ and its districts⁸⁶, Potidæa⁸⁷, Scione⁸⁸, Colophon⁸⁹ and Melos⁹⁰. Delos, whither, Olymp. 89. 2, upon the expulsion of its inhabitants, Athenian Cleruchi migrated, was soon afterwards restored to the Delians⁹¹. The settlements in Samos⁹² belong to the age of Philip.

There is a remarkable difference between the whole of these settlements and the transmarine colonies of the earlier age. Those citizens who had voluntarily separated or been expelled from a community could not, as in ancient times, found states, without the participation of the parent-towns; the sea no longer divided them as it once did, when the waves seemed to exercise a sort of oblivious power over the mother-towns and their colonial offspring; and finally, those favourable circum-

⁷⁹ Plut. ubi sup.; Diodor. 11. 88.

⁸⁰ Thuc. 1. 114; Plutarch, Pers. 23; Theopomp. ap. Strab. 10. 445.

⁸¹ Plut. Pericl. 20.

⁸² Strab. 12. 547; Appian Bell. Civ. 3. 83.

⁸³ Diodor. 12. 10, and Wessel.; Heyne opusc. 2. 138, sq.

⁸⁴ Thuc. 2. 27; Diod. 12. 99; Diog. Laert. 3. 2.

⁸⁵ This orthography I have now ascertained to be better authenticated than Mitylene.

⁸⁶ Thuc. 3. 50.

⁸⁷ Thuc. 2. 70.

⁸⁸ Thuc. 3. 52; Diod. 12. 76; Isocr. Paneg. 31.

⁸⁹ Thuc. 3. 34.

⁹⁰ Thuc. 5. cap. ult.

⁹¹ Thuc. 5. 1. 32.

⁹² Strab. 14. 638.

stances, which had once enabled detached hordes to obtain secure and commodious habitations, had long ceased to prevail. The expedition of the elder Miltiades alone appears in the light of a private enterprise; and this probably was not entirely effected without the concurrence of Pisistratus; but the most prominent characteristic of all the settlements which were henceforward made was, that a close connection was to be kept up between them and the mother-town; amongst their immediate objects was that of providing for poor citizens, and securing the authority of the state in conquered countries, by sending citizens there, who, upon receiving grants of land, took upon themselves the duty of defending the settlement, and constituted a kind of garrison⁹³, and finally to obtain influence over a foreign and independent state, by sending a number of citizens to defend it, who contracted relations with their new country, without entirely severing the ties which bound them to the parent-town. The word Cleruchia⁹⁴, which now became usual in lieu of the former Apoikia, is very expressive, inasmuch as, instead of the negative idea implied by the latter, it chiefly conveys the positive notion of property to be expected and formally appropriated⁹⁵.

We shall be enabled to form an accurate concep-

⁹³ Plut. Pericl. 11, says of Pericles: ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολήν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον τε καὶ φρουρὰν τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις.

⁹⁴ See Harpocr. and the other Lexicographers. The antiquity of the word κληρος and of the notion of distribution, the devolution of a district by lot, is evident from the mythus concerning the partition of the earth by the gods into places set apart for their respective worships. There is another expression, however, besides κληροῦχοι in Thucydides; he calls those who go to Melos ἀποίκους, and to Ægina ἐποίκους, 2. 77.

⁹⁵ Agripeta, the Cleruchus, Cic. de Natur. Deor. 1. 26.

tion of the Cleruchia, and of the points wherein it differed from the Apoikia in general, by observing the relation in which the individual partaker of a Cleruchia stood to the parent-town; for the Cleruchi did not wander forth in quest of adventures, or for the purpose of colonising a district in which cultivation had been hitherto unattempted and political society was yet to be commenced, but received allotments of property already laid out and improved, which immediately maintained their proprietors, and in most cases even took possession of Grecian, not of barbarian lands, by virtue of the right of conquest, which had been asserted in the earlier ages in the Greek territories by Thessalians, Bœotians, and Dorians. But on the other part, the more certain the competence to be derived from a Cleruchia, the less it involved the necessity of renouncing the ties which bound the Cleruchus to his own country; the Cleruchia was rather an appendage to the citizenship in the mother-town; the personal rights of the Cleruchus there remained unaltered; they were not even temporarily suspended; he never entirely withdrew from the state, and always continued to be numbered amongst its members⁹⁶; his colonial property was assessed in the public valuation like his possessions in the mother-country, and he was subject to the jurisdiction of the Athenian courts; the term of his residence in the Cleruchia was optional, like that of a townsman upon his estate in the country⁹⁷, during which he was cer-

⁹⁶ A temporary absence is alluded to by Æsch. c. Tim. 78: ἀπεστίν ἐν Σαμῶ μετὰ τῶν κληρούχων. This is likewise implied in the calculation, Demosth. de Symmor. 182. 16.

⁹⁷ Hence γεωργεῖν, the peculiar expression (comp. the Roman arare, Cic. in Verr. 3. 5. 11); ὡς ἐγεωργοῦμεν ἐν τῇ Ναξῷ, Plat. Euthyphr. 4. B.; τοὺς ἐν Χερρόνησῳ γεωργοῦντας, Isocr. ad Philip. 118. ed. Lang.

tainly prevented by absence from exercising various personal rights, whereby, however, neither he nor his children, who might happen to be born in the Cleruchia, in anywise forfeited their title to their municipal rights in themselves⁹⁸. Of course, when a Cleruchus left no property in Athens, and was constantly absent, his dormant rights lost part of their efficacy, as the ties which connected him with home grew relaxed.

But it is certain that the communities did not stand in this confidential relation to the mother-town in their aggregate capacity; for although the individual Athenian, who happened to reside in one, was in every respect looked upon as a citizen of the capital, subject to its jurisdiction, entitled to return there at any time he thought proper⁹⁹, and rated according to his property there, it was inevitable, from the mixed nature of the population, that various Cleruchias, to which either confederates had been admitted, or in which the former possessors had still remained in the character of Perioeci, should, in some measure, be treated as aliens or dependents; and the position of the communities as such, does not, upon the whole, appear to have been so advantageous as that of the Roman municipia. The relation was of the most simple kind between the mother-state and those countries whence the original inhabitants had been expelled, or where they had been subjugated after the Athenians had become all-powerful at sea, such as His-

⁹⁸ e. g. Plato's father, Cleruchus in Ægina, Diog. Laert. 3. 2; Aristophanes, *ibid.*; Acharn. 652. Schol.; the father of Epicurus in Samos, Diog. Laert. 10. 1; Strabo, 19. 636.

⁹⁹ A right which even the Metoecus Lysias of Thurii asserted, Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 322.

tiæa, Ægina, Scione, Potidæa, Mytilene; here the community was considered wholly dissolved, as Capua was by the Romans, after it had been reconquered in the second Punic war¹⁰⁰; the estates distributed were laid under contribution as public property, and the owner paid a proportion of their produce to the state, according to his assessment in the public valuation, and thus, whilst individual citizens acquired property, the state was indemnified for the tribute which the conquered community had formerly paid¹⁰¹. The arrival of Cleruchi in communities, like Thurii and Sinope, which Athens held in dependence without exercising despotic authority over them, effected no sort of change in the nature of the relation between them, and as the principal object contemplated was to provide for the citizens, it was expected that by their means a favourable feeling towards the parent city would be kept up in their new habitations. But the footing on which Lemnos, Imbrus, Scyros, and Amphipolis stood, seems doubtful; they appear to have partaken far more of the nature of the Apoikia than the Cleruchia, notwithstanding the maintenance of union and relationship. The essential difference between these communities and those before enumerated, which must be looked upon as dissolved, is, that the former laid claim to a founder (*κτίστης*), as when Amphipolis referred its origin to Agnon¹⁰², and still earlier, the Chersonese to Mil-

¹⁰⁰ Liv. 26. 16. *Ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta. Ceterum habitari tantum, tanquam urbem, Capuam, frequentarique placuit; corpus nullum civitatis nec senatus, nec plebis concilium, nec magistratus esse, etc.*

¹⁰¹ Hence the Lesbians, who had been despoiled of their property, were no longer required to pay tribute, Thuc. 3. 50.

¹⁰² Thucyd. 5. 11.

tiades¹⁰³, and probably Lemnos to the same; in Scyros, Cimon was considered the founder of the community¹⁰⁴. Communities of this description could not be looked upon as strictly incorporated with the mother-town, and this, of necessity, reacted upon the position of the inhabitants (without reference to those Athenians who arrived afterwards, and who may be compared with the Chape-tones in Spanish America). Hence, notwithstanding Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros were considered to form such essential portions of the Athenian state, that they were guaranteed to it by the peace of Antalcidas¹⁰⁵, we still find that the Lemnians and Imbrians are mentioned separately from the Athenians¹⁰⁶. But the colonial relation of Amphipolis was the less calculated to be of an intimate character, as the Athenians, who settled there at the period of its foundation, must have been so far less numerous than the barbarians; wherefore, when Brasidas afterwards arrived there, so little attachment was manifested for Athens¹⁰⁷.

The position of those Athenians who were not citizens continued, upon the whole, to be regulated by the laws of Solon¹⁰⁸, but the spirit in which they were administered of course varied with the temper of the Athenian people; and in some instances new provisions, either prescriptive or positive, were

¹⁰³ Herod. 6. 38: *καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος, οἰκιστῇ, κ. τ. λ.* There was also a Prytaneum there, Herod. ubi sup.

¹⁰⁴ Diod. 11. 60.

¹⁰⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 1. 31; Demosth. in Phil. 1. 49. 27, speaks of a descent which Philip made upon Lemnos and Imbrus—*αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους φέρετ' ἄγων*, where it is hardly possible that an Athenian garrison can be meant.

¹⁰⁶ Thuc. 3. 5; 4. 28; 5. 8; 7. 57: *Ἀθηναῖοι—καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἐτι χρώμενοι Λήμνιοι καὶ Ἰμβριοι.*

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. 4. 102, sqq.

¹⁰⁸ See vol. i. p. 370, 371.

probably added. The Metœci, whose number increased¹⁰⁹ with the power and commerce of Athens, and through the encouragement of intelligent statesmen, like Themistocles¹¹⁰, were required to perform every species of service, even that of Hoplitæ¹¹¹. By thus taking upon themselves civil burthens, they approached so closely to the citizenship, that they were enabled surreptitiously to appropriate to themselves its rights in the extraordinary degree already stated; but the legal barrier between citizens and slaves¹¹² was by no means removed.

The slaves were very numerous, amounting to upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand¹¹³; they were likewise required to perform certain public services, which, strictly speaking, were the exclusive right of citizens; thus slaves fought at Marathon; in other respects their condition was destitute of legal rights. The law forbidding any slave to bear the name of Harmodius or Aristogiton¹¹⁴, one of the most striking expressions of the democratic spirit, appears to belong to the age of Clisthenes. It is not quite certain whether there were Pericœci in the Cleruchias; it is probable that the Thracian husbandmen in the Chersonese, etc., as afterwards the Mytileneans, stood upon a footing of this description.

¹⁰⁹ Diodor. 11. 43, who, however, must not be believed when he states that Themistocles dispensed the Metœci from the payment of all taxes. Did Themistocles perhaps institute the *ισοτελεῖς*?

¹¹⁰ With their families, they amounted to about forty-five thousand souls, Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 38, sqq.

¹¹¹ Thucyd. 2. 31.

¹¹² Compare at large Ste.-Croix, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. 47.

¹¹³ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 38, sqq.

¹¹⁴ Gell. Noct. Att. 9. 2.

c. *The Political Authorities.*

§ 57. Though the constitution which Solon had begun to render democratic had been divested of various still remaining and not unimportant aristocratic ingredients, it was not yet entitled to the appellation of pure and unmixed democracy¹. It is an essential feature in the two constitutions, that though aristocracy and oligarchy place themselves in absolute and direct opposition to democracy, democracy can never become so entirely developed as to eradicate every approach to aristocracy, wherefore absolute and unqualified equality of the citizens, as to a share in the supreme power, can never maintain itself for any length of time; claims and requisitions, either hereditary or newly acquired, will always raise a certain number of citizens above the multitude. But the democratic form may be secured and maintained in tolerable integrity, by means of the particular provisions of the constitution for regulating a share in the chief power; and wherever these continue to be purely democratical, we are not only at liberty, but are bound to apply to such a constitution the name of democracy². Still it is of paramount importance to ascertain the true nature of the substance and matter contained within the external form we have described, and this, if we may be allowed the expression, can only be gathered from the general tone of the constitution. So far, then, without reference to the formal dis-

¹ Plut. Cim. 15, says, Cimon wished τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρασίαν. See how this must be interpreted, § 54. n. 3.

² Here we may apply the excellent description of Tittmann, Griechische Staatsver. 520, sqq., in its full force.

inction between the Areopagus, as an aristocratic body, and the democratic authorities, we may speak of an opposition, and even of a protracted struggle between aristocracy and democracy within the distinctly defined democratic forms of the constitution, in which the object of the contending parties was not to subvert these forms³, but to engross the greatest possible share of that power which could be obtained through them.

The tendency of the Athenians to navigation and maritime warfare was regarded by the ancient politicians as calculated to arouse democratic feelings⁴. In this, as in the case of the three dramatic unities—that which had previously been the actual fact in Athens, became the basis upon which a general principle was afterwards constructed. But in Athens the feeling of the demus became emboldened by the consciousness of its exploits against the barbarians, and of the ascendant it had gained over those formidable rivals of Athens at sea, Ægina and Corinth. Nevertheless, the recognition of the mob and the insolence of a seditious populace were alike foreign to the character of the Athenian state, which, until the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the plague swept away a number of its best citizens, and Pericles amongst the number, may be compared to a body directed by its noblest members, to whose guidance the remainder yielded ready obe-

³ Concerning the reckless attempt of some aristocratic adventurers in the camp at Plataeæ, see above, § 53. n. 61.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 12:—μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Comp. 5. 3. 5: ὁ ναυτικός ὄχλος γενόμενος αἰτίος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῆς, κ. τ. λ. Comp. Plut. Themist. 19.

dience⁵. High and low vied with each other in endeavouring to promote the aggrandizement of their country, and to render the commonwealth great and illustrious, whilst the leaders and their followers cheerfully encountered toils and dangers, and sacrificed whatever they held most dear with an enthusiasm which scarcely admitted of contentions amongst the orders, and even when they did arise, the danger which threatened their common country induced them to lay aside their differences⁶. Hence, from the noble and lofty sentiments which pervaded the public mind, there can be no doubt that the true Kalokagathoi were very numerous. These were found in abundance amongst ancient and illustrious families, and in the ranks of those sturdy warriors whose glory perhaps only dated from the battles of Marathon or those of Salamis and Plataeæ. To attempt exclusively to confine the Kalokagathoi to a particular class, is an aspersion upon the dignity of the Athenian citizens of that age⁷. The best amongst them were chosen for the discharge of the most influential functions, and thus, as was observed above, notwithstanding the sovereignty which resided in the demus, we are authorized to assume the existence of a kind of aristocracy⁸ in

⁵ See the expressive aphorism of Simonides, πόλις ἄνδρα διδάσκει, ap. Plut. an Seni Respub. etc. 9. 134, R.

⁶ The Atimoi were adopted amongst the citizens upon the approach of Xerxes, Plut. Themist. 11. Andocid. de Myster. 36. (when the battle of Marathon was fought,) more correctly 53, (when the king approached).

⁷ Thucydides indeed, 8. 48, opposes them to the demus: τοὺς τε καλοὺς καὶ γαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίσειν σφίσι πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, and the word ὀνομαζομένους even seems to imply that such was their ordinary denomination; but Aristoph. Equit. 227, et pass. uses it in the sense of good citizens. Compare above, § 54.

⁸ Pericles ap. Thucyd. 2. 37: καὶ ὄνομα μὲν, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' εἰς πλείονας ἦκειν, δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους

the public administration. Though the confidence with which the demus submitted to the guidance of the most distinguished men of the state was great, it still had its vulnerable parts, which being but slightly agitated, the whole body immediately suffered violent commotion, and repulsed those by whom it had hitherto been guided. The apprehension that its liberties might be invaded took possession of its mind, and those to whom it had yielded ready obedience before, were now doomed to suffer from its waywardness and cruelty. This was brought about by the constant alarm of conspiracies against the popular government. Hence the most glorious period in the annals of the Athenians coincided with that in which the foulest blot upon their character, envy and ingratitude towards their benefactors, are most conspicuous, and when the most illustrious ornaments of the state fell victims to ostracism. But this play of the passions cannot be fully understood unless we direct our attention to the simultaneous struggles of faction. Before, however, these party contentions, and the character of the leaders can be properly described, it will be requisite to cast a glance at the political bodies in which the sovereign powers of the constitution chiefly resided.

The relative position of the Ecclesia, the Bule, and the Heliæa underwent no material alteration. It is unnecessary to allude here to the influence which the custom of paying the Ecclesiasts and Heliasts had upon the spirit and mode of their

πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον εἰς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται. Comp. the Schol. 5. p. 387, Bipont.

proceedings; but even at this stage we must not omit to mention the great moral and political power which the popular orators acquired in the Ecclesia; and, on the other hand, the increase in the importance of the Bule, caused by the great extension of their duties, especially in matters relating to navigation and sea trade.

The Areopagus continued to exercise its dignified and important functions till Pericles diminished its authority. As it was composed of such Archons as had vacated office, and as these had in the first instance been chosen from amongst the most powerful of the citizens, it was natural that aristocratic feeling should prevail in it. But its vocation was less to create than to preserve, and it was, moreover, so exclusively concerned with the interior, that during that agitated period when the destinies of Athens were so powerfully affected by external events, its paternal duties were thrown considerably into the background by the youthful and enterprising vigour of the other authorities⁹.

Amongst the offices of state the archonship remained unchanged, but by the law of Aristides other citizens besides Pentacosiomedimni were declared eligible to it¹⁰. Still regard was almost always had to the property of the candidates, and various other features of the ancient dokimasia were retained¹¹. But even this office was not the stage on which a mind occupied in directing the complicated external relations of Athens could dis-

⁹ The account in Plut. Themist. 10, that the Areopagus, in the year 480, gave every warrior eight drachmas, cannot be understood of a grant of public money, for it took place *οὐκ ὄντων δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*; does it not rather refer to an extraordinary liturgy defrayed by the rich men in the Areopagus?

¹⁰ See § 55. n. 17.

¹¹ Comp. vol. i. § 47.

play itself; it was rather a preparation for the serene duties which awaited the blameless ex-Archon in the Areopagus¹². The numerous offices which, upon the growth of the Athenian power after the time of Clisthenes, arose out of the ten Phylæ¹³, were chiefly concerned in the duties of the administration; but from this time the Strategi¹⁴ began to participate extensively in the exercise of the supreme power. As the maritime empire, which was a consequence of the Persian war, secured to the demus greater power and authority upon the whole, so it likewise increased the influence of those popular officers whose avocations were most closely connected with it. Such were the Strategi, as instituted by Clisthenes, and such must have been their character, wherever extensive claims were made on the martial achievements of the demus; wherefore Strategi alone were appointed by Aristagoras in Ionia¹⁵; in a later age the democracies had Strategi for their chief magistrates. At Marathon we behold all the ten Strategi corresponding to the ten Phylæ, and the chief command was held by them in rotation¹⁶. Afterwards it was a rare occurrence that all were sent out, as generally three only were fixed on for that purpose¹⁷, one usually having the chief command,

¹² Therefore, when Pericles was not appointed Archon, and consequently could never become an Areopagite, (Plut. Per. 9.) neither he nor the Athenian people had any cause for regret.

¹³ See vol. i. p. 401.

¹⁴ Tittmann, Gr. Staatsverf. 266: "We are almost led to conjecture that the Strategi, in the time of Pericles for instance, were entrusted with peculiar legislative functions."

¹⁵ Herod. 5. 38.

¹⁶ Herod. 6. 103.

¹⁷ One of the numerous examples was, in the case of Pericles, Agnon and Cleopompus, Thuc. 2. 58.

and the others officiating as joint commanders¹⁸; but the powers of the last were more limited. Strategi extraordinary were likewise occasionally appointed¹⁹. The responsibility of these officers was asserted in all its rigour, and in doing so the people frequently acted in the most arbitrary manner. The commander was only entitled Autocrat, because, in the measures which he adopted, he was not dependent on a council of war, or on the decrees of a municipal assembly. The discretionary power of renowned heroes and statesmen was less limited in this sphere, than that of a functionary whose duties were confined to the management of internal affairs. But the official position which Themistocles occupied during the contest with the Persians must have been of a very extraordinary character²⁰; after having been Archon he became an Areopagite, and once more resumed the conduct of the war, the greatness of the danger, and the distinguished qualities of the man inducing the state to repose unusual confidence in him. Aristides had Strategi associated with him in the command at the battle of Plataeæ²¹.

The spirit of the constitution, as evinced in its progressive development, necessarily exercised considerable influence upon the mode in which appointments to office took place. Democratic

¹⁸ To this refers the *Νικίας—τρίτος αὐτός*, Thuc. 4. 42. *Φαίαξ—τρίτος αὐτός*, Thuc. 5. 4, ubi sup.

¹⁹ Concerning the time when the regular Strategi entered upon their office (spring), see Seidler on the date of the representation of the Antigone, Allg. Lit. Zeit. 1825, n. 26. p. 209, sqq.

²⁰ Pericles, when Strategus, likewise had more extensive powers than ordinary generals; Thuc. 2. 65:—*στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτευσαν*.

²¹ Plut. Arist. 20.

equality requires that the principle of appointment by lot should be applied to the greatest possible extent. This was the invariable practice with the archonship from the time of Clisthenes; but the Athenian demus was wise enough to follow that course, to which even the consideration of its own advantage must have prompted it, and retained the custom of electing all those officers whose duties required superior intelligence and experience, or involved unusual responsibility, such as the Strategi and commanders—Taxiarchs, Phylarchs, Hipparchs, Ambassadors, the President of Finance, the Tamias²², etc.

It results from the foregoing that the archonship is of no importance in the history of the development of the constitution; the Eponymus receives his due share of attention elsewhere. Our object requires a careful examination of the Strategia, which is closely connected with the most important operations of the state. Nevertheless, the power which was exercised by the legitimate officers began, even at this early period, to be opposed by that authority which, without office or title, afterwards became so formidable in the hands of the orators in the popular assembly²³, and which is frequently classed by subsequent writers with that of the Strategi²⁴; but the mischief which resulted from it was still inconsiderable, and no separation yet existed between Strategia and Demagogy. The great leaders of the Athenian people of that age fulfilled their political destination in the

²² See vol. i. p. 400.

²³ See, on the subject of the demagogue Epiclydes, the rival of Themistocles, Plut. Them. 6:—*ὄντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν*, κ. τ. λ.

²⁴ Plut. Phoc. 7.

senate and the field with their valour and their eloquence, and directed their efforts towards securing the welfare of the state, and did not disdain the aid of the muses²⁵ in the prosecution of their object; they needed not the degrading arts of the subsequent demagogues, they directed the views of the people, and to all that was noble and great, swayed their minds by the power of superior intelligence and strength, and in all respects differed as widely from the selfish demagogues of after-times, as the kings did from the tyrants in the opinion of the Greeks in general.

The brilliant series of political heroes who have rendered the glory of Athens imperishable is described by one of the ancients as a school of practical politicians, beginning with Solon, and numbering Themistocles amongst its chief ornaments²⁶; our list commences with Miltiades. We have already spoken of the purity of his sentiments at the time of the battle of Marathon; and the little we know of his political life, both before and after that event, contains nothing calculated to excite any doubts as to his patriotism. It cannot be denied, that whilst engaged in the performance of his public duties he also consulted his own advantage; which object is fully consistent with a due regard for the public good; and it would indeed be to pollute the pure streams of history, if it should be affirmed that the benefits

²⁵ The maxim of Archilochus is beautifully introduced by Plut. in treating of this subject, Phoc. 7:—

Ἀμφότερον, θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίοιο θεοῖο
καὶ Μουσίων ἱερᾶν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

²⁶ Plut. Them. 2. Mnesiphilus is there called the preceptor of Themistocles. Plut. an seni Respub., etc., 9. 175; de Herod. Malign. 9. 447; Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 302. B.

which a good citizen might have derived from his patriotism were an evidence that selfishness had been the mainspring of his conduct. But unfortunately the sentiments of the Athenians but too much partook of this malevolence, and Miltiades had to encounter more than one struggle with personal and political opponents. When he fled from the Chersonese to Athens, they instigated public proceedings against him for having been tyrant in the former place²⁷. Upon the failure of his expedition against Paros, to which, according to Herodotus, he had been actuated by the personal hostility he bore a Parian who had denounced him to the Persians²⁸, and upon his failure in performing his promise to enrich the people²⁹, he was capitally accused by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, as a traitor to the people³⁰. This proceeding was agreeable to the laws, and he was placed in confinement till he should have indemnified the people for the expenses of the unsuccessful expedition³¹. There is no evidence that the conduct of Xanthippus was dictated by party feeling; and it is equally impracticable to determine which of the two, in point of birth and family connections, was least connected with the Optimates³², and which endeavoured to outstrip the other in popularity. Nevertheless, if in Athens, as is so frequently the case in republics, we may assume political opinions

²⁷ Herod. 6. 104.

²⁸ Herod. ubi sup.

²⁹ Herod. 6. 132.

³⁰ Herod. 6. 136.

³¹ According to Plato, Gorgias, 526. D., he was only saved from the Bathyra by the Prytanis.

³² Concerning the family of Miltiades, see Sturz, Pherecydes, p. 84, sqq.; on the alliance of Xanthippus with the house of the Alcmaeonidæ, whose pedigree may be seen in Böckh, Explic. Pindar. 303.

to have been the hereditary badge of particular families, there is every reason to suppose that Miltiades, the father of Cimon, was less closely allied with the demus than Xanthippus, the father of Pericles³³.

THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES.

It is erroneous to oppose these two contemporaries and colleagues to each other, as representatives of the opinions of different parties, Themistocles of the democrats, Aristides of the aristocrats; Aristides had been favourably disposed towards Clisthenes³⁴, who placed the archonship upon a more democratic basis; he and Themistocles were equally devoted to the demus. The real opposition between them arose from the difference of their views concerning the welfare of Athens, and this produced a rivalry between them for the chief place in the administration³⁵. Aristides either does not appear to have reflected on the project of an Athenian maritime supremacy at all, or to have regarded it as perilous and pernicious; he perhaps foresaw danger in the determination of the Athenians to depart from the simplicity and rustic virtues of their forefathers, and to trust their unpractised powers to a faithless element in pursuit of uncertain and precarious advantages; civil virtue and integrity in the perform-

³³ I am not inclined to put faith in so very doubtful an authority as Stesimbrotus of Thasus (Plut. Themis. 4.), who states that Themistocles was opposed by Miltiades on the building of the fleet, etc.; otherwise the narrative contains evidences of party differences.

³⁴ Plut. Arist. 30.

³⁵ Antiquity likewise had its *chronique scandaleuse*; the philosopher Ariston pretended that their enmity arose in consequence of their both being attached to the beautiful Stesileus of Teos, Plut. Them. 3; Arist. 2.

ance of public duties at home, were more in accordance with his feelings. Themistocles, on the other hand, according to Plutarch³⁶, looked upon Marathon rather as a means than an end; he wished Athens to develop her powers, and boldly track her course along that element to which the hand of nature visibly directed her. The opinion of Aristides had greater moral weight; that of Themistocles resulted from more enlarged views, from a just estimation of passing occurrences, the dangers to be apprehended from Asia, and the restless jealousy of the neighbouring nations. The execution of these projects was retarded by Aristides, whose adherents were probably sufficiently numerous both from the moral dignity of his character, and the natural indolence and supineness of men, which make them averse to incur perils abroad when they may enjoy ease and security at home. This led to a contention in which Themistocles was the assailant, when Aristides was unable to ward off the ostracism in which it resulted³⁷. But how little this political hostility was tinged with personal animosity, may be gathered from the manner in which these illustrious men acted towards each other in the sequel. In the eventful night before the battle of Salamis, Aristides apprized Themistocles of a circumstance on which his very preservation depended; this corresponds with the greatness of mind with which Themistocles received the bearer of the intelligence³⁸. Aristides had no share in the banishment of Themistocles, which took place afterwards³⁹;

³⁶ Plut. Them. 3.

³⁷ Herod. 8. 79, sqq.

³⁸ Plut. Arist. 5.

³⁹ Plut. Arist. 25.

for notwithstanding he had at first opposed upon principle the project of maritime aggrandizement, immediately after the first glorious essays of the Athenians in naval warfare, he desisted from all further opposition to the creator of the Athenian glory; indeed we behold him cheerfully and honourably dedicating his virtues to the service of the state in that field which had been opened to the Athenians by the courage and enterprise of Themistocles⁴⁰.

Their political projects and exertions corresponded with their respective qualities, and though they doubtless formed a sufficiently accurate estimate of their own powers, the sequel proves that Aristides entertained too mean an opinion of his own military talents. The character of Themistocles has been drawn by Thucydides⁴¹, and we cannot do better than give his own words. "Themistocles strikingly displayed the power of nature, and was in this respect so distinguished above others as to deserve the highest admiration. For by innate intelligence alone, unaided by study either in youth or after-life, he determined upon the proper course to be pursued in critical conjunctures after short reflection, and was a sagacious calculator of what the future was likely to produce. Whatever he undertook, he was capable of explaining, and even in matters wherein he was inexperienced, the judgment he expressed was not

⁴⁰ According to Theophrastus (Plut. Arist. 35.), in the foreign relations of his country he was even capable of a line of policy which was not exactly consistent with the maxims of justice. — τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, περὶ τὰ οἰκεία καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἄκρως ὄντα δίκαιον, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πράξει πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος ὡς συχνῆς ἀδικίας δεομένην.

⁴¹ Thuc. 1. 138.

far wrong. He foresaw the good or evil in that which the future still concealed, and upon the whole it may be affirmed, that he was signally fitted both by the vigour of his genius and his promptness in deliberation, to take the proper steps in sudden emergencies."

The career of Themistocles commenced during the first Persian war; it is probable that he was amongst the combatants at Marathon⁴². The subsequent excitement of the Athenian people acted very favourably upon the expansion of his powers, his entrance into the political world, his authority, and introduction to office; the spirit of innovation was aroused, and he fostered and encouraged it. There is no doubt that Themistocles soon obtained great importance in the popular assembly by his eloquence; it is recorded that when a youth he exercised himself in pronouncing judicial harangues⁴³, and though he may have been a mere speaker, and not an accomplished orator⁴⁴, his speeches carried great weight with them; they were convinced by their perspicuity and the patriotism of their sentiments. For example, he prevailed upon the Athenians no longer to distribute the silver from the mines of Laurion amongst themselves, but to apply it to the purpose of building a fleet⁴⁵. The first occasion upon which he enjoyed the confidence of the people in an office of high trust was as Strategus and mediator in the

⁴² But if we may judge from the high rank which he held shortly afterwards, he could not have been a beardless youth at the time.

⁴³ Plut. Them. 2; Corn. Nep. Them. 1.

⁴⁴ In the same manner Phocion, as compared with the great master in oratory, Demosthenes, was εἰπεῖν δεινότερος, Plut. Phoc. 5.

⁴⁵ Plut. Them. 4; Corn. Nep. 2.

war between Corinth and Corcyra⁴⁶; when archon, 481. B. C., he began to build the walls of the Piræus⁴⁷. The Strategia in the memorable year 480. is said to have been contested with him by the demagogue Epicydes⁴⁸; having secured his election he swayed the will of the Athenians by his varied intellectual powers: by stirring appeals to their patriotism, and even by stratagem when necessary, he succeeded in collecting the people on board their vessels⁴⁹, recalled the exiles⁵⁰, banished the Persian agent Arthmius⁵¹, and eventually crushed the barbarians. He completed his patriotic labours by restoring the fortifications of Athens, and finishing the works at the Piræus, at the same time eluding the jealous vigilance of Sparta⁵². It is with pain that we must lay to his charge the same failing with his modern transcript, Marlborough, the desire of amassing wealth⁵³. But this was not the cause of his downfall; his vast power had rendered him irksome to the Athenians and hated and dreaded by the Spartans; the first opposition he had to encounter appears to have been from the coalition between aristocratic party-feelings and foreign intrigue; Cimon the aristocrat and Philolacon was amongst his adversaries⁵⁴. He was first expelled by ostracism, Olymp. 77. 2; 471. B. C.⁵⁵, whereupon he repaired to Argos,

⁴⁶ The accounts of these disputes are contradictory; Thuc. 1. 136, he is called *ἐπεπύρετος* of the Corcyraeans; Corn. Nep. 2. has *Coreyræos fregit*; the most probable account is that of Plut. Them. 24, that he had brought about a reconciliation between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, and made the Corinthians pay twenty talents to the Corcyraeans, etc.

⁴⁷ Thuc. 1. 93.

⁴⁸ Herod. 7. 143.

⁴⁹ Plut. Them. 6.

⁵⁰ Plut. Them. 21. His fortune increased from three talents to eighty or a hundred. See Theopompus and Theophrastus ap. Plut. Them. 25.

⁵¹ Plut. Arist. 25.

⁴⁸ Plut. Them. 6.

⁴⁹ Plut. Them. 11.

⁵⁰ Thuc. 1. 90—92.

⁵¹ Thuc. 1. 135.

but the enmity of Sparta did not cease to pursue him even in exile; it charged him with having been privy to the designs of Pausanias, Olymp. 78. 3; 466. B. C. An Alcmaeonid, Leobates, likewise accused him of high treason⁵⁶; but Cimon ungenerously pursued Epicrates, and caused him to be put to death for having conducted the wife and children of the fugitive to him⁵⁷. The thirst of vengeance in the soul of Themistocles seems to have yielded to attachment to his native city; he would not bear arms against his country. The evening of his life was illustrated by a remarkable proof of the extraordinary capacities he possessed; within a year he acquired such proficiency in the Persian language⁵⁸ as to be able to speak it with fluency, which must have been by no means an easy task to a Greek.

Aristides is commonly distinguished by the epithet of "the Just⁵⁹;" he might, with greater propriety, be called the "Disinterested," as he presided over the public economy with blameless integrity, was inaccessible to corruption, and wholly exempt from the wish to obtain the property of others. This must be taken into consideration in weighing over the accounts of his poverty⁶⁰; he probably was not indigent, but testified no desire to add to his fortune⁶¹, which was inconsiderable compared with that of others; a circumstance the more calculated to excite surprise, in an age when the love of gain was

⁵⁶ Plut. Them. 23, de Exil. 8. 389. The father of Leobates, Alcmaeon, is named, Plut. Arist. 25, Precept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 212.

⁵⁷ Plut. Them. 24.

⁵⁸ Plut. Arist. 6.

⁵⁹ See Plutarch, Arist. 1, the discrepancies in the accounts.

⁶⁰ See as to his rejection of the offers of his rich cousin Callias, Plut. Arist. 25.

so universal, and the opportunities of amassing riches were so abundant. Evidences of the same feeling may be discovered in his political conduct; his uncompromising integrity rendered abortive all attempts at peculation on the part of Themistocles and others⁶²; his resistance of the plans for promoting the maritime aggrandizement of Athens, flowed from a conviction that it was unlawful for that state to appropriate to itself the rights of others; the manner in which he determined the respective quotas of the maritime states to the expenses of the Persian war, is eulogised as a model of integrity and justice; and it may with great safety be asserted, that few would have failed to avail themselves of so excellent an opportunity of enriching themselves, or to determine the proportion of each state to the burthens of the war, according to the presents by which they might have been propitiated.

CIMON.

Cimon, who was for a considerable period the leader of the Optimates, and not wholly unconnected with Aristides⁶³, overcame Themistocles, and was himself supplanted by Pericles. The splendour of Cimon's victories has, in some degree, dimmed the lustre of his political character. It cannot be denied that his conduct to Epicrates, the friend of Themistocles, was marked by revolting inhumanity. But upon the whole, his native generosity of mind was not debased by the rancour of party feeling; he was the never-failing advocate of the free citizen, and his profuse liberality caused him to be suspected of

⁶² Plut. Arist. 4.⁶³ Plut. Cim. 5.

aiming at demagoguery⁶⁴. His title to glory was not derived from his victories in foreign warfare alone, but no less from the munificence with which he dedicated the treasures he had amassed in military expeditions⁶⁵, to the gratification of his fellow-citizens at home, and to the construction of works of ornament and utility in his native city⁶⁶. His conduct as a party leader must be viewed in connection with the opinions he entertained as to the principles by which he considered the foreign policy of Athens ought to be guided. He advocated the maintenance of friendly relations between Athens and Sparta; the aristocratic party beheld one of its own supports in the spirit of the Spartan constitution; in fact, that state had conducted to raise up Cimon against Themistocles⁶⁷, whilst the former was the personal element by which the union between the two states was cemented. Still his military genius, and a wish to avail himself of the support of Sparta in the vigorous prosecution of the war against the great king, may have partly occasioned his political attachment to the Spartans. This is the origin of the pernicious custom of regu-

⁶⁴ See Plut. Cim. 10; Peric. 9; Theopomp. ap. Ath. 12. 533. A. B. However, several contributions are ostentatiously enumerated amongst his titles to praise on the score of liberality, which were no more than his duties as a citizen; for instance, the entertainment of his demotæ, the Laciadæ, one of the liturgies of the wealthy Athenians (ἐστίασις).

⁶⁵ *Ἐφόδια τῆς στρατιᾶς*, Plut. Cim. 10. The inability of Cimon to pay a fine of fifty talents, must be referred to the period when his hereditary possessions on the Chersonesus were in the hands of the enemy; the recovery of the Chersonesus, after the victory on the Eurymedon (Plut. Cim. 14), was probably the means of restoring some of his property to him. The debt of his father had already been discharged by the wealthy Callias, to whom Cimon gave his sister Elpinice in marriage, Plut. Cim. 5. He was not wholly inaccessible to corruption, if we may judge from the accusation brought against him with respect to Alexander of Macedon, to which we shall afterwards return.

⁶⁶ Such were the southern wall of the Acropolis, the foundation of the long walls, the Academy, Plut. Cim. 14. Gorgias said (Plut. Cim. 10.) that he had amassed treasures, ὥς χρῆτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὥς τιμῆτο.

⁶⁷ Plut. Themist. 20; Cim. 16.

lating the internal system of Athens by considerations as to the policy of Sparta, after which the aristocrats were called Philolacones, and the democrats Antilacones; the latter were undoubtedly the more consistent and determined of the two, whilst the former could neither place firm reliance upon Sparta, nor act with vigour and resolution themselves. The rupture which took place with Sparta soon afterwards, was attended by the downfall of the Athenian aristocrats.

PERICLES WITH HIS ASSOCIATES AND OPPONENTS.

Shortly after Cimon's victory near the Eurymedon⁶⁸, there arose a representative of the demus against the aristocrats in the person of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus and Agariste, the niece of Cleisthenes; but Cimon retained his authority unimpaired for many years⁶⁹. After the expedition against Thasus (Olymp. 78. 45. 465. B. C.), he was accused of having been bribed by Alexander, king of Macedon, to refrain from attacking his possessions⁷⁰. This is the first occasion on which Pericles appears in the character of his adversary. The latter is said to have been moved to clemency by the entreaties of Cimon's sister, Elpinice. The result of this prosecution was, that Cimon was adjudged to pay a heavy fine⁷¹. He was still powerful enough,

⁶⁸ According to Diodorus (11. 60), Olymp. 77. 3. (470. B. C.) Clinton has Olymp. 78. 3. (470. B. C.) referring *μετὰ ταῦτα* in Thuc. 1. 100. to the reduction of Naxos; but whether correctly or not appears questionable, as *μετὰ ταῦτα* may, with equal propriety, be referred to the transfer of the empire of the sea to the Athenians, and to the regulation of the tributes (1. 96).

⁶⁹ The political career of Pericles lasted forty years (Cic. de Orat. 3. 34; comp. Plut. Pericl. 14); his death took place in the year 429.

⁷⁰ Plut. Cim. 14; Pericl. 10.

⁷¹ To this must probably be referred the passage, Demosth. in Aristog. 688. 25, sqq.—*καὶ Κίμων, ὅτι τὴν πάτριον μετεκίνησε πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ* (this must have rather been a ground of accusation than the words of the in-

in Olymp. 79. 1; 464. B. C., to procure a decree for affording assistance to the Spartans in the war with the rebellious Helots; it was in vain that the proposal met with violent opposition from the Antilacon Ephialtes⁷²; Cimon himself took the command of the auxiliary army against Ithome⁷³. During his absence⁷⁴, Pericles laid the foundation of a new political system, by which he proposed to establish an Athenian supremacy, instead of maintaining a balance of power between Athens and Sparta, as heretofore. He was as confident that the Athenians possessed the requisite courage and energy to obtain the hegemony of Greece, as that he himself was the man destined to direct them in the attempt. But this object was only to be realized by calling up all the latent powers of the state, by eradicating from the minds of the people their prejudices and scruples, and by inspiring them with courage and inclination for extraordinary efforts, whilst it was equally necessary to counteract the influence of aristocratic impressions; hence a contest with the remains of Cimon's party became unavoidable.

Amongst those who co-operated with Pericles at this period was Ephialtes, the son of Sophonides⁷⁵, whom many of the ancient and modern writers contemptuously denominate a vile and worthless de-

dictment), *παρὰ τρεῖς μὲν ἀφῆσαν ψήφους, τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι· πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα εἰσέπραξαν.*

⁷² Plut. Cim. 16.

⁷³ Thuc. 1. 102. Plutarch speaks of two expeditions of the Athenians against the Messenians, Cim. 16. 17; but this must only be understood of the discharge of the crew.

⁷⁴ Plut. Cim. 15. says, when Cimon, upon the termination of the law-proceedings against him, *πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐξέπλευσε.* It is here unnecessary to understand any other expedition than that against Ithome.

⁷⁵ Ælian, V. H. 2. 23.

magogue, but whom an attentive examination of the accounts of the ancients will enable us to pronounce an upright statesman and citizen. Though poor⁷⁶, he is said to have been liberal⁷⁷, just, and disinterested⁷⁸; he is described as an honourable man⁷⁹ by Plutarch⁸⁰, and placed in the same rank with Aristides and Cimon. At the suggestion of Pericles he appears to have made an attack upon the power of the Areopagus⁸¹. This resolution did not proceed from any desire to detract from the dignity which characterized that noblest ornament of Athens as such; but from a conviction, that as long as the archonship continued to be filled by the upper orders, the Areopagus, which was supplied from it, must, by means of its moral dignity, its reputation for justice, and the spotless purity of its proceedings, necessarily keep up aristocratic feeling⁸², and generate a spirit in the mass of the citizens at variance with the projects of Pericles. But it cannot be satisfactorily ascertained in what respects the authority of the Areopagus was restricted; its jurisdiction is asserted to have been

⁷⁶ *Æl. ubi sup.*

⁷⁷ *Heracl. Pont. 1*: 'Εφιάλτης τοὺς ἰδίους ἀγροὺς ὀπωρίζειν παρέιχε τοῖς βουλευμένοις, ἐξ ὧν πολλοὺς ἐδείπνιζε, in which, however, there is no indication of poverty.

⁷⁸ *Plut. Cim. 10*; *Æl. V. H. 13. 39*; *11. 10*; *Valer. Max. 3. 8. 4.*

⁷⁹ *Plut. Demosth. 14.*

⁸⁰ Some scattered accounts of his political agency are extant. Ephialtes once commanded thirty triremes as Strategus, *Plut. Cim. 13*. He proposed that the tables of Solon's laws should be removed from the citadel to the Prytaneum and market, which was accordingly executed. *Pollux, 8. 128*; *Harpocr. and Phot. Lex. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος*, where τοὺς ἀξονας καὶ τοὺς κύρβεις — εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μετέστησεν 'Εφιάλτης. *Pausanias* saw the tables in the Prytaneum, *1. 18. 3*. *Comp. Plut. Sol. 25.*

⁸¹ *Plut. Cim. 15*; *Pericl. 7*; *Arist. Poll. 2. 8. 3*. The Ephialtes of the comic poet Phrynichus was probably not intended for him (see *Fabric. bibl. ed. Harl. 11. 405.*) Phrynichus does not appear in history before 435 or 429 (see *Clinton, 3. 429.*)

⁸² *Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 213. R.*: βουλὴν τινες ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ὀλιγαρχικῇ κολούσαντες, κ. τ. λ.

limited, and it was only in certain cases that it retained the power of pronouncing judgment⁸³; but this statement, which refers to criminal justice⁸⁴, cannot be depended upon, or at any rate it is imperfect; at the same time there is reason to suppose that the judgments of the Areopagus were liable to the Euthyne in the popular tribunal⁸⁵, whilst the effect of its interposition in the capacity of censors of the public morals became greatly weakened⁸⁶, when those matters of which it once took exclusive cognizance came before the ordinary law courts.

The insulting manner in which the Spartans treated the Athenians at Ithome⁸⁷, did not fail to affect the authority of Cimon in Athens; and Pericles perceiving this to be a favourable moment for his attack, succeeded in banishing him by ostracism, *Ol. 79. 4*; *461. B. C.*⁸⁸ During Cimon's absence his party was not idle; according to an unquestioned statement of Thucydides⁸⁹, the hopes of the aristocrats rose high upon the appearance of a Peloponnesian army in Bœotia; they went so far as to negotiate with it secretly, with the view of overthrowing the democracy, and opposing obstacles to the construction of the long walls. At this juncture Ephialtes was murdered by Aristot-

⁸³ *Plut. Pericl. 9*: — ὥστε ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις; *Cim. 15*: τῶν δικαστηρίων κυρίους ἑαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες (οἱ πολλοί), κ. τ. λ.

⁸⁴ *Meier und Schömb. Att. Proc. 143. n.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid. 216.*

⁸⁶ *Comp. vol. i. p. 388. 389.*

⁸⁷ *Thuc. 1. 102*: — μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν — εἰπόντες — ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδίδονται αὐτῶν ἔτι.

⁸⁸ *Plut. Cim. 17*; *Pericl. 9*. The statement that Cimon was accused by Pericles on account of his relation to his sister Elpinice, is nothing but the prattle of the grammarians, which probably originated with Didymus. See *Ps. Andoc. con. Alcib. 129*; *Schol. Aristid. Plut. 2. 128.*

⁸⁹ *Thucyd. 1. 107*; *comp. Plut. Cim. 17.*

dicus of Tanagra⁹⁰; in all probability not without the concurrence, and perhaps even at the instigation of the conspirators; the demus became apprehensive of attempts to subvert the constitution⁹¹, and all who were capable of bearing arms marched towards Tanagra. Cimon's innocence became apparent; he himself as an exile was not allowed to take part in the engagement, but a hundred of his friends, cheered and encouraged by his presence, laid down their lives for their country on that memorable day⁹². Pericles performed prodigies of valour⁹³."

The gloomy picture presented by the animosities of contending factions, is somewhat relieved by the exploits of those brave warriors, Myronides, Tolmidas, and Leocrates; though remote from demagoguery themselves, they were by no means the decided opponents of Pericles and the demus, and their whole career was marked by the endeavour to vie with one another in noble actions. Myronides the son of Callias⁹⁴, who had at Plataeæ been joint-commander with Aristides⁹⁵, was extolled as a brave soldier both by his contemporaries and by succeeding generations⁹⁶; he was a faithful supporter of the existing democracy, and justified the confidence of his fellow-citizens by endeavouring to promote its interests by expeditions into Bœotia, Phocis, and Thessaly. Leocrates had also been

⁹⁰ Diodor. 11. 77; Aristot. ap. Plut. Pericl. 10. At the time of Antiphon the murderers were not yet known, de Herod. Mal. 737.

⁹¹ Thucyd. 1. 107: — καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψία ἦν.

⁹² Plut. Cimon, 17.

⁹⁴ Diodor. 11. 81.

⁹³ Plut. Pericl. 10.

⁹⁵ Plut. Arist. 20.

⁹⁶ Diod. 11. 89, ἀνὴρ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμαζόμενος. To this probably refers the significant μελάμπυγος, Aristoph. Lysis. 802, analogous to the δασύπρωκτος and the emblem of noble manhood (was it perhaps the origin of an equally bold and expressive designation in modern times?)

one of the colleagues of Aristides at Plataeæ⁹⁷; in the war against Ægina, Olymp. 80. $\frac{3}{4}$; 457. B. C., he was entrusted with the chief command⁹⁸. Tolmidas, a general of more boldness than prudence, during the banishment of Cimon, brought to a successful conclusion several of the enterprises which had been commenced by Pericles; after the death of Cimon, Olymp. 83. 2; 447. B. C., in spite of the remonstrances of Pericles⁹⁹, he marched with a body of volunteers against the Thebans and allied aristocrats of Bœotia, and perished with the flower of the Athenian Hoplitæ at Coronea¹⁰⁰.

After the battle of Tanagra¹⁰¹, the position of the enemies of Athens becoming critical, Pericles drew up a decree for the recall of Cimon¹⁰², that through his mediation a peace might the more readily be brought about between Athens and Sparta. The return of Cimon was far from leading to the fall of Pericles and the democracy, and the generosity with which Pericles consulted the welfare of the state has been justly extolled¹⁰³. No change was effected in the interior of the state after the return of Cimon, who soon after marched out to gather fresh laurels in the war against the barbarians, the chief theatre of his valour, when death closed his career in the moment of victory. Olymp. 82. 4; 449. B. C.

Thucydides the son of Melesias¹⁰⁴, a relation of

⁹⁷ Plut. Arist. 20.

⁹⁸ Thucyd. 1. 105.

⁹⁹ Pericles said: τὸν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον ἀναμείνας χρόνον.

¹⁰⁰ See a review of his campaigns in Pausanias, 1. 27. 6.

¹⁰¹ Plut. Cim. 17.

¹⁰² Plut. Pericl. 17.

¹⁰³ Plutarch, Cim. 17: οὕτω τότε πολιτικαὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαφοραὶ, μέτριοι δ' οἱ θυμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐανάκλητοι σύμπερον· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία πάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα τῶν παθῶν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεχώρει καιροῖς.

Cimon, replaced him as leader of the aristocratic party; though he appears to have been a brave man¹⁰⁵, he was in all respects inferior to Pericles, and is loud in the commendation of his great qualities¹⁰⁶. His party attempting to expel Cimon by ostracism, the latter retaliated; and, Olymp. 84. 1; 444. B. C., Thucydides was compelled to quit the city¹⁰⁷. His return seems to have taken place shortly afterwards¹⁰⁸, but his party was almost dissolved, and individually he possessed but little political influence¹⁰⁹. After the expulsion of Thucydides, Pericles continued to guide the helm of the state till his death, and though during this period he was not without enemies, he had upon the whole no formidable competitors to contend with. As his political character attained maturity in the course of these fifteen years, this is the proper place to describe its most prominent features.

Pericles had all the virtues which an Athenian could possess, and only shared the faults of his fellow-citizens from motives of policy. The annals of Greece present not his equal for intelligence, fortitude, and the qualities that enable men to rule others. Exhibiting the characteristics of his nation in unequalled perfection, he towers above the mul-

¹⁰⁴ Plut. Pericl. 11: *κηδεστήν Κίμωνος*. Schol. Aristid. Plut. 2. 118: *γαμβρόν ὄντα θορυβώδη τὸν Μιλησίον τοῦ Κίμωνος*.

¹⁰⁵ The last mentioned Scolion adds, in all probability unjustly, *σκυλακώδη ὄντα καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν*. See the praises expressed of him in Menexenus 94, D., and by Aristotle ap. Plut. Nicias, 2.

¹⁰⁶ See the appropriate observations of Plut. Pericl. 8: "*Ὅταν, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκείνος ἀντιλέγων, ὡς οὐ πέπτωκε, νικᾷ καὶ μεταπίθει τοὺς ὀρώντας*". There is a story of his suddenly becoming silent in the court, Aristoph. Vesp. 536.

¹⁰⁷ Plut. Pericl. 14.

¹⁰⁸ He was probably the Strategus in the war against Samos. Thuc. 1. 117.

¹⁰⁹ In Aristoph. Acharn. 703, he is called *κύφος*, bowed down with age.

titude, which he governed like a being of a higher order; his grave and majestic countenance, the index of a mind too proud to flatter and to cringe to the people, presents a marked contrast to the truckling complaisance of the time-serving demagogue¹¹⁰. His character was trained under the instructions of Damon, the greatest political theorist of that age¹¹¹, Zeno the Eleatic, and Anaxagoras the Clazomenian¹¹², the influence of the last more especially served to dispel the mists of popular prejudice from his mind, to impart to it moral strength and dignity, and to inspire him with the desire of political distinction¹¹³. From the very commencement of his career, his solicitude for the public welfare knew no pause, either from pleasure or from the desire of repose¹¹⁴. In warlike exploits, Pericles was not inferior to the bravest soldiers of his time¹¹⁵; as a commander, he united consummate prudence to undaunted courage, and never failed to respect the free citizen, the Greek, and the Athenian, who fought under his command¹¹⁶. His eloquence, which was the first that deserved the name¹¹⁷, swayed the passions and the will of

¹¹⁰ Thucyd. 2. 65. *κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἢ αὐτὸς ἤγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ, κτώμενος ἐξ οὗ προσκόντων τὴν δύναμιν, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τι ἀντειπεῖν*. Sine ulla liberalitate, Cicero de Offic. 1. 4. On the subject of his πρόσωπον καὶ συνεστηκός, see Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 193; comp. Plut. Pericl. 5.

¹¹¹ Plut. Pericl. 4; Plat. Alcib. 1. 118. B. He was ostracised ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος, Plut. ub. sup.

¹¹² Plut. Pericl. 4: *μάλιστα περιθεὶς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρονήμα δημογωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον ὅλως τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξέφρας τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἥθους Ἀναξάγορας ἦν*. ¹¹³ Plut. Pericl. 7.

¹¹⁴ Plut. Pericl. 7. ¹¹⁵ Compare above, n. 90. His remark, Plut. Apophth. 6. 706; Qu. Sympos. 8. 453: *Πρόσεχε Περικλεῖς· ἐλευθέρων μέλλεις ἄρχειν, Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἀθηναίων*.

¹¹⁶ Cicero Brut. 7. Concerning the share which Anaxagoras had in the rhetorical education of Pericles, see Plato Phædr. 207. A. Aspasia is called his σοφιστρία during his preparation, Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 532; Clem. Alex. Strom. 4. 523. B.: *Ἀσπασίας—ἀπέλαυσεν—Περικλῆς εἰς ῥητορικὴν; omp. Harpocr. Ἀσπασία*.

the fickle multitude¹¹⁸ with irresistible force; he was conscious of the power of his words, but did not trust to the impulse of the moment; he never spoke unprepared¹¹⁹, always assumed a dignified and imposing demeanour¹²⁰, and uniformly rejected the rhetorical artifices of the demagogues¹²¹. But the choicest flower in the wreath of his virtues, was a total exemption from the sordid wish to amass riches in the public service¹²²; an exemplary manager of his own fortune, he administered the public finances with a probity no less scrupulous than that of Aristides. Thus conscious of his own integrity and greatness, when the welfare of the state was at stake, he fearlessly braved the clamour of the assembled multitude, and discoursed on the posture of public affairs with the convincing eloquence of truth. But his austere perfection knew no sympathy with the vulgar multitude; he seldom transacted state-matters in person¹²³, and then only when he feared that others might not deliver his commands with energy and effect¹²⁴.

But what did this eminently-endowed and all-

¹¹⁸ Thucyd. 2. 65; ὁπότε γοῦν αἰσθοιότι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσύνοντας λέγων κατέπλησεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ δεδιώτας αὐτὸν ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστηεν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. The comic poets said that he bore thunder and lightning upon his tongue, Plut. Pericl. 8.

¹¹⁹ Plut. de Lib. Educand. 6. 20.

¹²⁰ Aristid. Plat. 2; μηδαμῶς τῆς σεμνότητος ἀφιέσθαι.

¹²¹ Plut. Nic. 3; ἀπὸ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ λόγου δυνάμειος τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἰδεῖτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος; comp. Plut. Pericl. 8.

¹²² Thucyd. 2. 65; Plut. Pericl. 15. 16. 25.

¹²³ He was a practical illustration of the truth of the τὸ σπάνιον τίμιον of Plato (Euthydem. 334. B.); Plut. Pericl. from Critolaus, ὥσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν τριήρη ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιτιθεῖς, τὰλλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας ἑταίρους καθιεὶς ἔπραττεν. Amongst the less important instruments of Pericles are commemorated Menippus, Charinus, and Lampon, Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 237; Metiochus, ub. sup. 234.

¹²⁴ The muse of history blushes at such assertions as that contained in Schlözer's Univers. Hist. 267—"What a licentious rabble had they (the Athenians) become, since the days of the profligate Pericles!" What a noble contrast to this vulgar invective do the exalted reflections of Heeren present! Political Hist. of Greece, 228, sqq.

powerful ruler accomplish? What fruits did Athens reap from his exertions? What influence had he on the Athenian character? Some persons have reproached him with having, in order to maintain his position, ministered to the most glaring foibles of the Athenians, cupidity and the love of pleasure, and with having thereby corrupted the national feeling, and exhausted the resources of the state. That he gratified the demus by means of cleruchias and judicial salaries¹²⁵; adorned Athens with the Propylæa, the Parthenon, etc., and allowed the people the gratuitous indulgence of their love of dramatic exhibitions and of art, by instituting the Theoricon, cannot be denied. But will any one assert, that notwithstanding this sternness of word and mien, he strove to win the favour of the multitude by his largesses and profusion? Enquiry will show how entirely destitute of foundation is the assertion, that he sought to maintain his ground by pandering to the avarice of the people. His endeavours to retain the reins of power were wholly untainted by self-interest, and when a statesman renounces his own personal enjoyments and gratifications, and shrinks from no amount of toil and sacrifice to ensure the welfare of the state, as he did, malevolence will strive in vain to sully the purity of his fame: he at the same time, taught the people to disregard hardships¹²⁶; habituated both young and old to the use of arms, and exercised them in naval tactics; banished dissipation; stimulated energy and activity; taught individuals

¹²⁵ He had no share in the introduction of the regulation for paying the ecclesiasts, Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 245.

¹²⁶ Μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόρους, Thucyd. 2. 63. This was his great principle of action. Compare the beautiful description of the manner in which this led to εὐπορία, Plut. Pericl. 12.

to deem their own interests subordinate to the claims of the people at large¹²⁷, and extended the supremacy of his fellow-citizens over adjacent as well as remote islands and shores. Were the benefits already alluded to too large a compensation for the zeal and devotedness of the Athenians? Is there no difference between enabling a brave and indefatigable community of warriors to enjoy refec-tion and recreation after their labours, and pandering to the depraved appetites of a gluttonous and sensual populace? The former calls forth as much as the latter paralyzes strength, and through Pericles, both the productive power and the material prosperity of the state were augmented; the limited revenue and penurious consumption of the preceding age were replaced by ample gains and a corresponding expenditure; and we ask, is not that society whose powers are brought into full and effective operation, and in which nature has, in various channels, been rendered subservient to the objects of political life, more perfect, than that whose necessities are indeed moderate, but whose resources are undeveloped? It remains to be asked how long could this straining of the sinews of the state continue? What did Pericles expect from the future, and who was to possess the same command of resources as he did? The sequel, unfortunately, but too clearly proves that his institutions contained no internal pledge of stability. Like too many great rulers, he adapted the state to his own strength, and though this, more or less, diffused itself through its various channels, the action of the political machine was the more liable to be impeded, after

¹²⁷ See his exposition of this principle, Thucyd. 2. 60.

his death, in consequence of his extensive innovations and the removal of various barriers against evil passions, from which no inconvenience had resulted as long as abuses were prevented by his vigilance. Add to this, that the artificial fabric of the state reposed upon a basis of external power, and, as every one must admit, upon despotic force, and this is liable to rapid vicissitudes.

The government of Pericles lasted till the third year of the Peloponnesian war, during which he was not exempt from the attacks of enemies. History has not preserved the name of any demagogue of importance in the interval between the banishment of Thucydides and the Peloponnesian war; a Cephisodemus¹²⁸, Simmias¹²⁹, and Cleon¹³⁰, seem to have raised their voices against Pericles, whilst the comic poets sought to discover some handle for ridicule in his great and exalted character¹³¹; penned lampoons against him and his friends, and held up to derision the obedience of the demus. But in viewing the indications of sycophancy presented by the malignant attacks upon Pericles' friends, Anaxagoras¹³² and Phidias¹³³, and his mistress Aspasia¹³⁴, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, we have a sad presage of the corruption which was so soon destined to follow.

¹²⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 405: *λάλος ῥήτωρ*, κ. τ. λ.

¹²⁹ Plutarch *Præcept. Reipub.* Gerend. 9. 212.

¹³⁰ Plut. *Pericl.* 13. Compare below on the subject of the comedy in its relation to democracy. Still more injurious to his fame with posterity than these attacks of his contemporaries, have been the calumnies of such polluters of history as the Thasian Stesimbrotus, who pretended that Pericles carried on a criminal intercourse with the wife of his own son, Athen. 13. 589. D.; Idomeneus, who laid to his charge the murder of Ephialtes, Plut. *Pericl.* 10. etc. Plutarch exclaims against Stesimbrotus in noble indignation: *Καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀνθρώπου σατυρικοῦς τοῖς βίοις, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κριττῶνων βλασφημίας, ὥσπερ δαίμονι κακῷ, τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθίωντας ἐκάστοτε, θαυμάσειεν*, κ. τ. λ.

¹³² Under the archonship of Euthydemus (431. B. C.), Diodor. 12. 39. Concerning the sycophancy of Cleon on the occasion see Diog. Laert. 2. 12.

¹³³ Plut. *Pericl.* 31.

¹³⁴ Plut. *Pericl.* 33; Diodor. 12. 38.

He himself was accused soon after the war had broken out¹³⁵—the petulance of the demus required a victim—Pericles made atonement, and regained unlimited confidence. Such an authority over a demus jealous of its sovereignty, a monarchy in the truest sense of the term¹³⁶, as firmly established as power, based upon public opinion and personal superiority on the one side, and on real obedience on the other, can be, if considered dispassionately, will outweigh all Cimon's victories over the barbarians.

d. The States dependent upon Athens.

§ 58. The maritime ascendancy of Athens effected a relation amongst the states which equally differed from its imperfect prototype, the supremacy of Corinth over its colonies in earlier times, and the Spartan hegemony before and during the Persian war, which never arrived at maturity; it bound its members by closer ties than any preceding confederacy had done, and considerably influenced the peculiar form of their several constitutions, partly because it gave strength and support to the democratic principle in Athens, and partly because it disseminated the same principle over a great number of states. That this may be thoroughly understood, it is necessary to trace the gradual steps by which the maritime power of the Athenians attained such a height, that an undisputed dominion over islands and coasts at length gave rise to the distinction between the Athenian empire and the Athenian state.

¹³⁵ Thucyd. 2. 59, sqq.; Plut. Pericl. 32.

¹³⁶ Thuc. 2. 65: ἐγίγνετό τε γὰρ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρός ἀρχή. Cicero calls him princeps consilii publici, de Orator. 1. 50.

By sending twenty ships to the Ionian war, Athens displayed an intrepidity which was wholly unconnected with the calculation of political strength. After the battle, Miltiades first encouraged the Athenians to make an attempt to reduce the islands of the Ægean sea; a pretext was easily found; Paros was accused of siding with the Persians; but the undertaking failed. The measures of Miltiades were probably not so much the commencement of a series of operations designed to secure to Athens the maritime supremacy of Greece, as the result of his love of military adventure; but Themistocles conceived the design of an Athenian empire of the sea, on a bold and enlarged scale¹. Ægina, Corinth, and Corcyra, the three most considerable naval powers of the Grecian mother-country, did not view the ambitious projects of Athens without inquietude; but still they omitted to unite for the purpose of opposing her designs. Sparta, from the geographical character of the country, and the manners and pursuits of its inhabitants, had no opportunity of familiarizing herself with nautical affairs, wherefore, maritime power could not, in this stage, be the object of her policy; still the sea-states were likewise subject to her command when the dissensions with Persia begun. Aristagoras first repaired to Sparta; at Artemisium and Salamis, the second-rate Greek states refused to fight under the banners of Athens, and demanded to be led by Sparta²; whereupon the latter prosecuted the war for several years alone.

¹ Thucyd. 1. 93: τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτία ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐνγκατεσκεύαζε.

² Herod. 8. 3.

After the battle of Mycale, we first discover how inadequate the Lacedæmonian hegemony was to the new form which the relations of the Greeks to the Persians had assumed, and we perceive the endeavours of the Athenians to open to themselves a new field of enterprise. The Peloponnesians, in the spirit of their ancient system of defence, proposed to remove the Ionians to the mother-country³; the Athenians protested against such a proceeding, upon the ground that the Peloponnesians had no right to pass decrees affecting Athenian colonies⁴—an argument which involved a bold infraction of the existing political system. The Athenians, full of alacrity and intelligence, vehemently urged the prosecution of the war; desirous of enlarging their boundaries, they felt that they had only laid the first foundations of their greatness; the sea incited their love of enterprise, and they panted for novelty and distinction. In the first assembly of the Greeks, after encountering the Persians on Grecian ground, Aristides brought forward a proposition for the annual celebration of the Eleutheria at Plataeæ, and for the continuation of the war against the barbarians⁵. The Spartans hereupon appear to have become sensible of the advantages attending the hegemony in such a war. Anxious to enjoy it, without molestation, and impressed with the idea that the Peloponnesus was the real bulwark of Greece, they strove to prevent

³ Herod. 9. 106.

⁴ Herod. ub. sup.; Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἔδοκεν ἀρχὴν, Ἰωνίων γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον, οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικίων βουλευεῖν. Comp. Thucyd. 6. 32. Aristagoras indeed in his attempts to ingratiate himself, had already reminded them of this tie, Herod. 5. 97.

⁵ Plut. Aristid. 21; Diod. 11. 55; Pausanias (10. 55. 2.) mentions another decree designed to keep up their hatred to the Persians, in which it was declared that the temples which they had destroyed should not be rebuilt.

the Athenians from completing their walls⁶. The stratagem which Themistocles made use of to deceive them upon that occasion, was only a fair retaliation for their own previous duplicity; he accomplished considerably more than the fears of Sparta had anticipated; completed the Piræus, and by that means, as an ancient author expresses himself, annexed the town to the sea⁷, upon which it henceforward became dependent; but the tradition, recounting his design to burn the confederate fleet of the Greeks⁸, must be numbered among those anecdotes with which the characters of the public men of that age have been so liberally decked out. The overt and undisguised operations of Themistocles alone would have sufficed to destroy the naval hegemony of Sparta, even if the task of asserting it had devolved upon a less unskilful, arrogant, and profligate leader than Pausanias.

Pausanias, more a despot than a general, was guilty of various acts of violence against the other commanders. He had the insolence to claim the victory of Plataeæ, and the weakness to cause an inscription to that effect to be placed in the temple of Delphi. His whole conduct was one tissue of perfidy⁹, and strikingly illustrates the evils calculated to arise from a rigorous adherence to ancient forms, when the discipline by which they were supported has become relaxed, and the humanising influence of civilisation has not supplied its place. His character was the more odious to the

⁶ Thucyd. 1. 90, sqq.

⁷ Plut. Themist. 19; τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης.

⁸ Plut. Arist. 22.

⁹ Thucyd. 1. 128, sqq.

Greeks, from the striking contrast it presented to that of his contemporaries, Aristides and Cimon¹⁰. Some of the Ionians, namely, the Chians and Samians¹¹, revived their kindred ties, and declared their readiness to enrol themselves under the banners of Athens; their example being followed by the Lesbians, the commanders appointed by Sparta to supply the place of Pausanias were sent back. Sparta herself, whose desire to retire from the naval war against Persia, and whose anxiety to guard her native manners against foreign corruption¹² overbalanced her jealousy of Athens, hoped to maintain her hegemony on the continent upon its ancient basis the more easily, the more the Athenians directed their views towards Asia, and accordingly resigned the hegemony by sea, Olymp. 75. 4; 477. B. C.¹³ Now the Athenians imparted a more systematic form to the armed confederacy of those states which continued to take part in the war, whilst Aristides regulated their respective contributions with the utmost equity, and fixed the total amount at four hundred and sixty talents; the treasure of the confederates was deposited at Delos, the primeval sanctuary of the Ionian Nesiotæ, and the charge of guarding and administering it was confided to the Athenians, for the latter of which duties they appointed Hellenotamiæ¹⁴. The federal congress of the Greeks who had fought against the army

¹⁰ Plut. Arist. 23.

¹¹ Thucyd. 1. 95; οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες—καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες—φοιτῶντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουσιν αὐτοῦς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές.

¹² Thucyd. 1. 95; οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι, μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιώντες χείρους γίγνωνται—ἀπαλλαξέοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, κ. τ. λ.

¹³ Diod. 11. 41; comp. Clinton Fasti Hellenici, append. VI. According to Dodwell, not till Olymp. 77. 2.

¹⁴ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 189, sqq.

and fleet of Xerxes, was, during the war¹⁵, generally assembled on the Isthmus, and does not appear to have been convened again. But the union formed by the Athenians by no means supplied its place, in the sense of an association of the collective Greeks, as it was never proposed to transfer or concede to them a hegemony of this description. We must not be misled by the use of vague and indefinite expressions so frequent amongst the writers of antiquity, as, for instance, when they speak of an Athenian hegemony generally, without any qualification¹⁶. The league was virtually formed for the purpose of enforcing the determination expressed by Athens, to protect the Ionians in the seats they then occupied; their apprehensions of further attacks from the Persians were soon dispelled; the inland states of the mother-country took no further part in the war, and the remaining states of the Peloponnesus, together with Ægina, in the train of Sparta, disappear from our view. With the exception of Eubœa, no state of the mother-country seems to have paid a war-tax, nor to have sent ships to the allied fleet. Thus the armed confederacy of Sparta, with its ancient federal council¹⁷, subsisted together with that of Athens; whilst all the claims of the former to take the lead in the politics of the mother-country remained in full force.

The assertion of Herodotus, that in the spring after the battle of Salamis the Greek fleet under the command of Leutychidas king of Sparta, had anchored at Delos, fearing to continue the voyage

¹⁵ Herod. 7. 175; 8. 123.

¹⁶ e. g. Demosth. Phil. 3. 116. 20. R.; προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε.

¹⁷ This was the κοινὸν συνέδριον. See below, § 61. n. 3.

towards the east, because Samos appeared as distant as the Pillars of Hercules¹⁸, rather seems to contain a satirical allusion to the irresolute conduct of Leutychidas, than seriously to imply that they dreaded a passage with which both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians must long have been familiar; still we cannot but be astonished at the celerity and confidence with which the Athenians traversed the Ægean sea, and the boldness and skill with which they united so vast a number of scattered islands and maritime places into one great confederacy. This was not promoted by continued attachment to the league on the part of those who had at first voluntarily entered it, and the Athenians were obliged to maintain it by different means from those by which it had been formed. The proneness of the Greeks to split themselves into distinct and independent communities would probably have severed the bands of this confederacy, as it had done those of so many preceding ones, as soon as the danger which had called them into existence was past, had not the Athenians employed coercion to keep up that connection which had at first been voluntary. Their powerful fleets and victorious seamen crushed every effort for the recovery of independence, and those states which, undaunted by the celerity of their movements and their formidable squadrons, endeavoured to throw off their allegiance, soon yielded to the force of their arms. But unfortunately the Athenians were not satisfied with exercising that power which was necessary to prevent defection from the league; that which had

¹⁸ Herod. 8. 132:—τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἠπιστάτο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. Comp. § 53. n. 66.

originated in fear of the enemy, and been continued as an honorary preeminence, was now converted into a source of pecuniary advantage¹⁹; the allies were compelled to become the servile instruments of their aggrandizement, and had moreover to suffer from the effects of their violence and arrogance. The assertion that the Athenians first learned this system from the example of Pausanias²⁰, is not strictly correct, though there is no doubt that the increased severity of their conduct was greatly promoted by the efforts of the more powerful states of the confederacy to recover their liberties.

The history of the administration of Themistocles does not contain a shadow of evidence that the sea-states had complained of oppression; when he laid Paros under contribution and besieged Andros²¹, the war was not yet ended. After Pausanias had entered into an understanding with the barbarians, Cimon renewed the war against them with great vigour, and hereupon services of a very onerous nature were imposed upon the allies. Cimon proposed to accept from those who considered personal service a grievance, a commutation in empty vessels and money²². The smaller states, to which this was a very welcome regulation, neglected the precautions requisite to their security, whilst the dexterity and strength of the Athenians, who were thus compelled to perform duty so much the more frequently, proportionally

¹⁹ Thuc. 1. 75: ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτήν (τὴν ἀρχήν) ἐς τὸδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελείας.

²⁰ Isocrates, Panath. 425. calls the Athenians *ὀψιμαθεῖς* in oppressing the Greeks; he says that the Lacedæmonians had repeatedly done so before them.

²¹ Herod. 8. 111. 112; Plut. Themist. 21.

²² Thuc. 1. 99; Plut. Cim. 11.

increased; Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, were the only states which still kept up their naval force and continued to perform service in person. Others, reverting to the period when they were exempt from all control, refused to do one or the other, and flew to arms. Force was first employed against Naxos, which was reduced, Olymp. 78. 3; 466. B. C.²³; the Athenians now began to display a more grasping spirit. Some of the possessions of Thasus on the Thracian coast, had fallen into the power of the Persians, and required to be delivered from the Persian garrisons by which they were occupied; we may infer from the expeditions to Eion and Daton, that this was chiefly effected by the Athenians, who upon pretext of compensating themselves for their exertions, retained possession of those places; hereupon Thasus took up arms, but after holding out nearly three years it was reduced; Olymp. 79. 2; 463. B. C. By disarming these two important islands, contracting alliances with powerful republics, such as Argos, Thessaly, and Megara, sending forth cleruchias and founding colonies, the power of Athens rapidly increased. During the lifetime of Aristides, and with his concurrence, the treasure of the allies was removed from Delos to Athens²⁴.

Under the government of Pericles Athens attained the zenith of her greatness; free states were reduced to subjection, and the bands of her despotic ascendancy were strained to the utmost

²³ Thuc. 1. 98: — πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστῆδες ἔδουλώθη.

²⁴ The year is uncertain; was it perhaps Olymp. 79. 4? According to Diod. 12. 38, Pericles was the superintendent of the treasury; according to Plut. Pers. 12, it was at his instigation that the treasure was removed; but Plutarch, Arist. 75, says the Samians were the occasion of it.

possible degree; but this was preceded by severe struggles. When Pericles took upon himself the direction of affairs, Athens had not yet extended her authority over the surrounding states; Ægina could ill conceal its chagrin at the loss of its dominion over the Saronic gulf; Corinth, which had formerly been upon terms of friendship with Athens, looked back with fruitless regret to the time when it had lent ships to the Athenians, and being disquieted and endangered by their attempt to navigate the Corinthian gulf, took umbrage at the forcible march of an Athenian army through the Corinthian territory, and began to display its rancour and animosity. The Athenians were long accustomed to prefer force to every other mode of settling their differences. The insolence of Ægina required to be chastised, and at the close of a naval war with Ægina, Corinth, etc., Olymp. 80. 4; 456. B. C., the first was reduced, disarmed, and compelled to join the Athenian confederacy²⁵. From the time of the rupture between Athens and Sparta, in the war against the Messenian Helots, the rebels continued to receive assistance from Athens, and when, in the tenth year of the war, Olymp. 81. 2; 455. B. C., Ithome was obliged to surrender, such of the Messenian combatants as escaped unhurt were conveyed on board an Athenian fleet to Naupactus, a fortress of which the Athenians had taken possession a short time before, on the coast of the Ozolian Locrians²⁷, whilst this

²⁵ Plut. Cim. 17.

²⁶ Thuc. 1. 108: — ὁμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Αἰγινῆται — τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἑπείτα χρόνον.

²⁷ Thuc. 1. 103.

town, whose new inhabitants were faithful allies of the Athenians, became one of their chief bulwarks in the western seas. Pericles, as before stated, soon afterwards sent cleruchi to Naxos, Andros, and Thrace, as well as to the Thracian Chersonesus and to Sinope. In consequence of the revolt of Eubœa, Olymp. 83. 3; 446. B. C., Chalcis²⁸ was reduced to still more galling servitude, and Histiaea was destroyed. The passage over to Asia was rendered secure by the cleruchi on Naxos, the entrance to the inner channel of Eubœa by those in Oreos (Hestiaea), the voyage to the northern seas by those of the Chersonesus, and the settlements of Athenian cleruchi in Sinope, was designed to protect the navigation along the coasts of the Pontus, of which the Athenians had deprived the enfeebled Miletus. The active part taken by Athens in the foundation of Thurii, resulted from the design of extending her naval power over the west. Pericles had still to sustain one hard and sanguinary conflict before the authority of Athens over islands and coasts could rest upon a secure basis; in Olymp. 84. 4; 441. B. C., Samos raised the standard of liberty, and its example was followed by Byzantium; under the direction of the philosopher Melissus²⁹, Samos defended itself with desperate valour against the superior force of Athens and the military skill of Pericles, but being subdued in the following year, its chains were still more firmly

²⁸ Thuc. 6. 76. the Athenians are accused of Χαλκιδέας — τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ — δουλωσαμένους ἔχειν. This is alluded to in the jests of Strepsiades on the subject of Eubœa, Aristoph. Nub. 213: οἷδ' ὑπὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν παρετάθη καὶ Περικλέους.

²⁹ In Suidas, Μέλιτος, there is a tradition to the effect, that Melissus conquered the tragedian Sophocles in a sea-fight, Olymp. 84.

rivetted than before³⁰. Hereupon Byzantium returned to its allegiance.

It is impossible, even with the aid of conjecture³¹, to determine with any degree of probability how many and what townships were comprised under the maritime empire of Athens, which flourished in its greatest extension after the reduction of Samos, as even the names of many of the places included under it are doubtless forgotten. Aristophanes³², in making their amount the basis of a sportive proposition in political economy, fixes them in round numbers at a thousand. The chief of them were Ægina, Eubœa, the Cyclades, with the exception of Melos and Thera³³, the islands and cities of the southern coast of Thrace, the towns on the Hellespont, on the Propontis, the Thracian Bosphorus³⁴, part of those on the Pontus, the islands and nearly all the towns of the western coast of Asia Minor³⁵, and probably some of the towns of Lycia; in the Crissæan gulf Naupactus, in the Ionian sea Cephallenia and Zacynthus³⁶; on the gulf of Tarentum Thurii was, if not dependent upon, at least in alliance with Athens. But strictly speaking, it is necessary to distinguish between those places to which cleruchi had been sent, and

³⁰ Thuc. 1. 115, sqq.; Diod. 12. 27. 28. Compare Seidler in the preface to Hermann's edition of the Antigone, Süvern on some of the historical and political allusions in the ancient tragedy, Böckh, in the Antigone of Sophocles (both lectures in the Berl. Ak. der Wiss. 1824), and Seidler's supplementary remarks (Allg. Lit. Zeit. 1825. Jan.)

³¹ Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 439, sqq., Kortüm zur Geschichte hellenischer Staatsverfassungen, 1821, p. 46, sqq.

³² Vesp. 707, sqq.; comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 443.

³³ Diod. 12. 42.

³⁴ Here was also a place called Nymphæum. Harpocr. Νύμφ.

³⁵ Thuc. 2. 9. On the subject of Rhodes in particular, see 7. 57.

³⁶ Thuc. 7. 57: Κεφαλληνες μὲν καὶ Ζακύνθιοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατειργόμενοι, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν Ἀθηναῖοι.

such states as were held in dependence by means of the confederacy and by force.

The degree of dependence varied in the single states³⁷. Athens enjoyed a general pre-eminence; Pericles laid down the principle, that she was not bound to give an account of the monies contributed to the expenses of the war³⁸. This principle he asserted, and the aggregate amount of the contributions was probably, by means of a despotic decree, raised to six hundred talents³⁹. The Athenians did not scruple to declare that the stronger were entitled to command the weaker⁴⁰, and followed up their declaration by a corresponding line of conduct. Pericles was fully conscious that the fear of punishment alone restrained the allies from defection, and that the authority which, like a tyranny, had been unjustly acquired, could not be relinquished without danger⁴¹. Hence, the most conspicuous feature in his policy was distrust of the allies⁴². Sixty Athenian triremes cruised about the Grecian seas the whole year round, and the citizens did duty on board by rotation⁴³; the Athenian squadrons covered the seas, and the dismayed allies regarded the rapidity of their movements with a terror almost amounting to supersti-

³⁷ Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 430, sqq., and Kortüm ubi sup.; the principal passage is in Thucyd. 6. 85: — τοὺς — ξυμμάχους, ὡς ἕκαστοι χρήσιμοι, ἐξηγούμεθα, Χίους μὲν καὶ Μηθυμναίους (Mytilene had already been reduced to servitude), νεῶν παροκῇ αὐτονόμους, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰς χρημάτων βιαιότερον φορῶν. ἄλλους δὲ καὶ πᾶν ἰλευθέρως ξυμμαχοῦντας, κ. τ. λ.

³⁸ Plut. Pers. 12.

³⁹ Plut. Arist. 24; comp. Thuc. 2. 13.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 1. 76: — ἀεὶ καθεστῶτος, τὸν ἥσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι. Compare the pregnant negotiations of the Athenians and Melians, especially 5. 98, 105, also 6. 82, and 5. 47, where in the alliance between Athens and Argos these words occur: ξύμμαχοι, ὧν ἄρχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι.

⁴¹ Thuc. 2. 13: — ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν (τὴν ἀρχήν), ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον.

⁴² Διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, Thuc. 2. 13. ubi sup.

⁴³ Plut. Pers. 11.

tion; this feeling was increased by the proceedings of the magistrates called Inspectors⁴⁴, and Secret Officers⁴⁵. Meanwhile the Athenians, elated with the consciousness of their superiority, daily became more overbearing, and abandoned themselves without reserve to that tone of insolence in which they had so early become proficient⁴⁶. In the political phraseology of the time it became customary to make distinct mention of allies and subjects⁴⁷; although the former name, like the Roman word *socii*, sometimes occurs as a common denomination for free and dependent states⁴⁸, the latter expresses the true nature of most of them, and the semblance of the federal character was only retained in a few outward forms of etiquette. It is scarcely necessary to mention that the foregoing remarks do not apply to those independent allies of Athens, to whom equal rights with that state were secured by the terms of their confederacy, as Argos, Megara, Plataeæ, etc.

At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, the three states Chios, Mytilene, and Methymna⁴⁹, had retained nothing more than the shadow of their former Autonomia, together with the exercise of a few of the rights included under it. As they had never ceased to equip and maintain fleets of their own, they did not pay

⁴⁴ Ἐπίσκοποι. See Harpocr. ἐπισκ. Also φύλακες. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1022. Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 436, 437; Pollux, 8. 52, likewise designates the Hellenotamiae τὰς πολιτείας αὐτῶν (τῶν νησιωτῶν) ἐφορῶντες. But no reliance can be placed upon that. Comp. Kortüm, 56, n. with Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 189.

⁴⁵ Κρυπτοί. Bekker, Anecd. 273.

⁴⁶ Diodor. 11. 70: βιαίως καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἤρχον.

⁴⁷ Ξύμμαχοι and ὑπήκοοι, Thuc. 6. 22, et passim.

⁴⁸ Thuc. 6. 43.

⁴⁹ Thuc. 2. 9. The Lesbian townships, Antissa, Pyrrha, and Ereassus, were at that time subject to Mytilene. Thuc. 3. 18.

contributions in money⁵⁰; Chios in particular was distinguished for the cheerfulness and punctuality with which it furnished its supplies of men and ships⁵¹. Hence the name of the Chians was mentioned in the public prayer at Athens⁵², as well as was that of the Platæans. These states doubtless ordered their own affairs without the fear of any restraint or interference on the part of the Athenians. On the other hand, Athens appears to have laid claim to a right which the chief powers of former federal unions had never possessed, viz., that of judicially deciding upon the mutual disputes of two or more states, and forbidding them to take up arms for the settlement of their differences⁵³.

The payment of tribute alone, as *ὑποτελείς φόρον*, did not necessarily involve the idea of subjection, nor could it have done so according to the principles of international law which prevailed in ancient Greece. During the Peloponnesian war we still find that Autonomia was by no means incompatible with the obligation to pay tribute⁵⁴; but as so many towns and states were subject to the latter, in consequence of having ceased to occupy themselves with military affairs—the three states before mentioned forming the sole exceptions—an idea of degradation gradually became associated with it. A far more essential feature of subjection

⁵⁰ Thuc. 7. 57.

⁵¹ Eupolis ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 880.

⁵² Theopomp. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 880.

⁵³ Plut. Pericl. 25, it is stated that the Athenians had made war upon the Samians, because in the war against Miletus they *παύσασθαι—καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπέθοντο*.

⁵⁴ In the peace of Nicias, Thuc. 5. 18, it was stipulated that Olynthus, Stagirus, etc., should retain their autonomia, but *ἀποδιδόντων τὸν φόρον*.

was the obligation to plead before the tribunals of Athens and the administration of criminal justice by that state⁵⁵, a relation which had already subsisted between Epidaurus and its colony Ægina⁵⁶. But after a community has lost the right of punishing one of its citizens with death, and it becomes absolutely necessary to transfer other important judicial matters to the courts of another state, it is almost needless to enquire whether it still possesses freedom or not, and in Grecian republics in particular this mode of wounding the public mind in its most sensitive part could not fail to dispel any illusions as to the real nature of their dependence. Hence, it would be a vain and futile enquiry to ask if states of this description had retained the privilege of regulating their constitution, electing the magistrates, and determining the manner in which the administration was to be conducted. But the Athenians took peculiar delight in exercising this sort of jurisdiction; and their passion for the business of the law-courts was unfortunately combined with the sordid wish of obtaining the salary which Pericles had appointed for the judges. The confederates who, like all the Greeks, were extremely jealous of any interference in their judicature, were the more keenly alive to this infraction of their rights, as, notwithstanding the assiduity of the Athenians in attending the courts of justice, the number of suits accumulated to an inordinate degree, and the indignation of the litigants at being forbidden to plead before their own

⁵⁵ See below *ἀπὸ συμβόλων δικάζεσθαι*. Bekker. Anecd. 436; Hesych. etc. Concerning the exercise of the criminal jurisdiction, see Antiph. de Cæd. Herod. 727.

⁵⁶ Herod. 5. 85. See vol. i. p. 196.

tribunals, was increased by the difficulties they encountered in obtaining a hearing in Athens⁵⁷, and the expenses they were obliged to incur by a protracted residence in that city. Hence this eminently conduced to increase the general exasperation against Athens⁵⁸. Finally, the Athenians were not satisfied with the war-tax which had been substituted for personal service, but when circumstances required it, exacted levies of men besides⁵⁹.

Still more degraded was the position of those unfortunate people whose land had been parcelled out into cleruchias; for example, the inhabitants of Naxos and Eubœa, and at a later period the Mytilenæans; they must, as before observed, be regarded in the light of Periœci or Penestæ⁶⁰.

It still remains to be asked, what description of constitutions subsisted in the states which were dependent upon Athens⁶¹, and how far they were modified by the influence of that state. The Ionian insurrection had paved the way for the revival of democracy in the cities of Asia Minor, and democratic forms were in all probability universally re-established upon their deliverance from the Persian yoke⁶². It may, however, be affirmed that where Athens felt no uneasiness about the

⁵⁷ See the almost sarcastic description in Xenoph. (?) *Repub. Ath.* 2. 16-18.

⁵⁸ Isocrates himself confesses that, *Panath.* 411. Hesych. ἀπὸ συμβόλων merely says καὶ τοῦτο ἦν χαλεπὸν.

⁵⁹ e. g. from Miletus, *Thuc.* 4. 59. *Comp.* 6. 31. 43.

⁶⁰ Their criminal causes, however, were tried before the courts in Athens, and could not be decided by the cleruchi.

⁶¹ The industry of Tittmann has collected all the scattered and scanty statements on the subject. See *Griech. Staatsvf.* particularly p. 396-412; 425-493.

⁶² In Photius. *Lexic. Σαμίων*, the following has been preserved from Aristotle: οἱ—Σάμιοι, καταπονηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, σπάνει τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἐπέγραψαν τοῖς δούλοις ἐκ πέντε στατήρων τὴν ἰσοπολιτείαν. This appears to have taken place at that time.

stability of her power, she suffered prescriptive usages to exist in tolerable vigour; thus Potidæa continued to receive *Epidemiurgi*⁶³ from Corinth, till the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Still she left no expedient untried to awaken democratic feeling in the people at large, and conciliated the lower orders by every means in her power; in point of fact these constituted her chief support, whilst the upper orders everywhere regarded her efforts with ill-concealed chagrin, and looked forward with impatience to the moment of defection. But wherever the Athenians were apprehensive of oligarchial machinations, they took care to revive democratic institutions. This was the case in Samos, where, after quelling an insurrection, they introduced a less mixed democracy in lieu of the former constitution, which had not been effectually secured against the oligarchs⁶⁴. There is also reason to suppose that Athens either occasioned or supported the revolt of Diagoras against the Eretrian knights⁶⁵, as well as that against the ancient and noble race of the Diagoridæ in Rhodes⁶⁶.

Lastly, it is natural to suppose that the confederacies among the states on islands, and in maritime districts, such as the Ionian on Delos, the Panionia, etc., which had never possessed real vitality, henceforward became mere shadows, whilst the festivities by which they were accompanied ceased to retain any of their former spirit and vivacity. At the beginning of the Athenian

⁶³ *Thucyd.* 1. 56.

⁶⁵ *Aristot. Pol.* 5. 5. 10.

⁶⁴ *Thuc.* 1. 115.

⁶⁶ *Comp. Müll. Dor.* 2. 148.

supremacy, meetings were held at Delos⁶⁷, when in all probability the ancient panegyris was revived; but after the treasure was removed, the sanctuary lost its importance.

IV. DEMOCRACY WITHOUT THE EMPIRE OF ATHENS.

§ 59. In the present section I propose to show, that also without the limits of Athens, the representative of the age, the democratic principle became widely disseminated, almost universally establishing itself without the influence of external causes, as the spontaneous and natural product of the age, and having its principle of growth within itself. We have already seen that in some states monarchy was immediately succeeded by a popular government, which may be compared to a partition of the property of the defunct father among his children, the nobility, like sons already arrived at maturity, immediately entering into possession in the majority of them; that the encroachments of the last, and the aspiring efforts of the demus, which afterwards became ripe for political agency, produced dissension, wherein the aristocracy occasionally made voluntary concessions, concord being restored by *Æsymnety* or legislation, and democracy thereby obtaining security and sanction; and finally, that in other states it was first necessary to go through the fiery ordeal of tyranny. No community was wholly exempt

⁶⁷ Thucyd. 1. 96 :—*Ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο*. In this point of view the revival of the Delia in the Peloponnesian war by the Athenians (Thuc. 3. 104.) is very significant.

from this movement, which set in from various quarters towards democracy. The sacrifices and victories of the demus in the Persian war had inspired it with confidence, which the example of Athens served to keep alive. Some states, however, present no decided indications of advancement till the Persian war, or shortly after it; at least history is silent respecting them till that period. Equally scanty are its accounts of legislation in general. The disposition of the Greek states to regulate their political condition by means of a constitution framed with calm and deliberate reflection almost entirely ceased. This presupposes a certain moderation in the masses, a diffidence of their own intelligence and ability, the recognition of superior wisdom and experience in pre-eminent members of the commonwealth, and a determination calmly to await the produce of the future. All this ceased. Laws were proposed, framed, and promulgated in the midst of the people at large; their desire to participate in this, the highest employment of human reason, was uncontrollable—their confidence in their abilities for the task unbounded; they left nothing to time, but eagerly grasped at the advantage of the present, hazarded crude and hasty decisions upon intricate questions, and rashly built, and felt no anxiety for the stability of the fabric.

Now in an historical view of the various manifestations of the democratic principle during its development, it is not only necessary to consider the states in which it attained maturity and vigour, but also those in which its growth was prematurely arrested. But in order to prevent confusion, I

shall premise an account of the several states in which democracy prevailed during the interval between the victories over the Persians and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, whether distinguished for permanence and solidity in respect of time, or for the strength and decision with which the democratic spirit demonstrated itself; but the subject of those states in which mere tumults arose, whilst aristocracy or democracy effectually maintained itself, will be reserved for the following chapter.

1. ARGOS¹.

The diminution of its territory, after the towns of the Actè, Epidaurus, Trœzen, etc., separated themselves from it, and its dreadful overthrow by the wild Cleomenes, have been adverted to above². This event determined its subsequent history, both internal and external. There is strong reason to suppose that the relation of the citizens of Argos to those in the neighbouring towns had before been in the nature of a supremacy, like that of the Spartans over the Lacedæmonians; but after the butchery of its citizens upon that occasion, several places, such as Cleonæ, Orneæ, and Midea, declared themselves independent. Strabo³ calls them disobedient. Soon after the Persian war Cleonæ was in alliance with Argos⁴, upon the same footing as Tegea, but was attacked by Corinth as a separate and distinct community⁵.

¹ Besides Kortüm, p. 124, sqq.; Tittmann, p. 355, sqq.; Müll. Dor. 2. 108. 140. 142; see also Manso, Sparta 1. 2.

² Vol. i. 200.

³ Strabo 8. 373.

⁴ Strabo 8. 377. Comp. § 61. n. 7.

⁵ Plut. Cim. 17.

In the middle of the Peloponnesian war⁶ it still continued to assert its liberty, and its federal relations to Argos. Mycenæ too, mindful of its regal splendour in the ante-Doric age, once more raised its head, and conceived hopes of being able to regain its lost ascendant.

Thus, whilst Argos had been, as it were, almost entirely confined within itself and the small townships situated within the jurisdiction of the city, it had been exposed to imminent danger from the effects of intestine commotions. The Gymnesii, whom Herodotus denominates slaves⁷, revolted, and succeeded in possessing themselves of the supreme power, which they retained for a number of years. Their usurped authority was not overthrown till the sons of those whom Cleomenes had slaughtered attained manhood, and drove them out. The Gymnesii seceded to Tiryns, where they put themselves in a posture of defence, and made war upon Argos, but were eventually subdued⁸. Argos, however, was not satisfied with the restoration of its internal independence; it was also desirous of recovering its ancient sway over the adjacent country. But its citizens were too much reduced in numbers to be able to effect this object, wherefore it began to employ coercive measures⁹. By attacking those places singly which had detached themselves from it, it easily reduced them, whilst such of the conquered as did not fly were transplanted to Argos, where they were invested with the franchise; thus, by employing measures of conciliation, the state was

⁶ Thuc. 5. 67.

⁸ Herod. ubi sub.

⁷ Herod. 6. 83.

⁹ Herod. 7. 156.

secured and consolidated. A similar fate to that of Tiryns¹⁰, which lost its independence¹¹ upon the forcible entry of the Gymnesii, soon after the Persian war, befel Orneæ¹², Midea, Hysiaë, and several other towns¹³. Orneatæ nevertheless occur in the Peloponnesian war as allies of Argos¹⁴; thus the city had either not been entirely deprived of its population, or new inhabitants had been sent to it from Argos. Orneæ was not destroyed till the eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war¹⁵. Hysiaë, too, was still in existence during the same war, but it was probably nothing more than a fortress¹⁶ garrisoned by Argives. Mycenæ was reduced by famine¹⁶ in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad; force had been employed in vain against the massive strength of its Cyclopean walls. Half of the citizens of this ancient place, who partly traced their origin to the old Achæan times, fled to Alexander (Philhellen) in Macedonia; a portion of the remainder escaped to Cleonæ and the Achæan Ceryneia, whilst the rest were made slaves¹⁸. Hermione was also conquered¹⁹; but could not be maintained.

The internal constitution of Argos was importantly modified by the naturalization of the above-mentioned Perioeci. As the ancient citizens did not, as subsequently in Thurii and Amphipolis, make arrogant and invidious pretensions, and

¹⁰ Pausan. 5. 32. 2.

¹¹ Paus. 2. 25. 5.

¹² Paus. 18. 27. 1:—καὶ εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν.

¹⁴ Thuc. 5. 67.

¹⁵ Thuc. 6. 7.

¹⁶ Χωρίον τι τῆς Ἀργείας. Thuc. 5. 83.

¹⁷ Diodor. 11. 65.

¹⁸ Paus. 7. 25. 3; Diod. ubi sup.

¹⁹ Strabo, 8. 375.

thereby excite disaffection in the new-comers, equality of rights and democracy necessarily made rapid progress. It is probable that the democratic germ existed at a very early period in Argos; it was nurtured and developed by hatred to Sparta, the prevalence of naturalization, and the alliance with Athens; and democratic institutions are beheld in full vigour and maturity at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war²⁰.

We are but imperfectly acquainted with the forms of the constitution, and whether it was purely democratic or not; the latter point can only be deduced from the relative position of the council and the popular assembly. Upon the approach of Xerxes Spartan ambassadors submitted a proposal to the council, to the effect that Athens should join the confederacy against the Persians, and that body returned them an answer, without having previously consulted the popular assembly²¹. But it is evident, from the nature of that answer, that the council had been prepared for the arrival of the ambassadors, and that the people had invested it with plenary powers beforehand. In the Peloponnesian war Corinthian ambassadors treated with the magistrates and the people²² concerning an alliance. The same constitution, however, somewhat anomalously contained an institution peculiar to pure democracy, viz., ostracism²³; and another by which the government of the many might easily succumb to

²⁰ Thuc. 5. 29 et 44: πόλιν δημοκρατουμένην.

²¹ Herod. 7. 148.

²² Thucyd. 5. 28; comp. 5. 41, where the Lacedæmonians direct the question of the alliance to be submitted τῷ πλήθει.

²³ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 5; Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 865.

the efforts of oligarchy, viz., the maintenance of a thousand native warriors, chosen for their strength and riches (*λογάδες*), and destined to fight in the advanced ranks of the army²⁴. The kingly office subsisted in name till the time of the Persian war²⁵, long after its substantial attributes had passed away. Associated with the council in the duties of the administration were the Eighty and the Artynæ, of whom cursory mention occurred above²⁶. The important record preserved to us in Thucydides²⁷, relating to the league between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, names the magistrates from the four states who swore to the league, and were appointed to administer the oath to the plenipotentiaries of the other states. The similarity of these duties would lead us to conclude that there was a correspondent affinity in the offices themselves. A synoptical view of them will obviate the necessity of entering into separate details below. Those appointed to take the oath—

- in Athens: the Bule and the *ἐνδημοὶ ἀρχαί*;
- in Argos: the Bule, the Eighty, and the Artynæ;
- in Mantinea: the Demiurgi, the Bule, and the other Magistrates;
- in Elis: the Demiurgi, the *τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες*, and the Six Hundred.

Those who administered the oath—

- in Athens: the Prytanes;
- in Argos: the Eighty;
- in Mantinea: the Theori and the Polemarchs;
- in Elis: the Demiurgi and Thesmophylaces.

²⁴ —οἱς ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἀσκεῖται τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρῆ-
χεν. Thuc. 5. 67; comp. Diod. 12. 75.

²⁵ Herod. 7. 149; comp. vol. i. 223.

²⁷ Thuc. 5. 47.

²⁶ Vol. i. 226.

The Eighty are here mentioned as distinct from the Bule, and therefore can hardly have corresponded to the Athenian Prytanes. We are almost tempted to conjecture that there was another council similar to the Athenian Areopagus; or may we here apply the statement of the great etymologist²⁸, that Demiurgi had previously existed (pre-eminently or earliest?) in Argos and Thessaly? And did not the name arise till afterwards? Assuming this to be correct, they must have been a description of civic deputies, a sort of controlling board or commission.

The Strategi, who were five in number, are mentioned as special magistrates²⁹. It may easily be supposed that their dependence upon the people at large, and their responsibility, were considerable. They were not allowed to enter the city, upon their return from a campaign, until they had undergone a scrutiny³⁰, at a place called Charadron. It cannot be determined whether the chiefs of the demus, with whom Alcibiades treated in the Peloponnesian war³¹, as well as the leaders of the people mentioned by Æneas the Tactician³², are to be considered as regular officers, or as demagogues.

2. MANTINEA AND TEGEA.

After the downfall of the monarchy in these two leading states of Arcadia, democracy had continued to subsist as the natural form of government. Still both exhibited evidences of develop-

²⁸ In V. *Δημιουργοί*.

²⁹ Thuc. 5. 59.

³¹ Plut. Alc. 14.

³⁰ Thuc. 5. 60.

³² Cap. 11; comp. Append. i.

ment, though they were neither simultaneous nor uniform. This partially resulted from the position in which they severally stood toward the adjacent provinces. The relation of Mantinea to Argos was no less intimate than that of Tegea to Sparta; this alone is sufficient to explain why Mantinea outstripped its sister-town, and produced a wise and judicious legislator³³ in Demonax. Before the time of Epaminondas nothing is known on the subject of organic changes in Tegea; yet we are led to conjecture that its defection, soon after the Persian war³⁴, from the armed confederacy headed by Sparta, had been accompanied by intestine commotions, as was the case at a later date. The political condition of Mantinea was modified soon after the Persian, or at all events before the Peloponnesian war, by the Synoikismus of the four rural townships with the capital³⁵. This measure was effected with the co-operation of Argos³⁶. Henceforward Mantinea assumed a more commanding attitude with relation to the neighbouring districts, and reduced the Parrhasians to the condition of Perioeci³⁷. The union of the rural communities, though it did not accelerate the march of democracy, could not fail to impel the state-machine with greater violence, and to divert it from its ancient course. Hence resulted the necessity for new legal ordinances. Nicodro-

³³ See vol. i. p. 318.

³⁴ See § 61. n. 7.

³⁵ Strabo, 8. 337: *ἐκ πέντε δήμων ὑπ' Ἀργείων συνφοκίσθη*. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 7: *διφοκίσθη τετραχὺ καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾠκουν*. The apparent contradiction may indeed be reconciled by assuming, that Xenophon tacitly considered the original town as the fifth part.

³⁶ See vol. i. p. 269.

³⁷ Thuc. 5. 33, (below § 62. n. 95.) Comp. 5. 29, concerning a district of Arcadia, which Mantinea had reduced to subjection.

mus, the favourite of the Melian Diagoras, is recorded as the legislator of the Mantineans, and to the latter is ascribed the chief share in those enactments³⁸. Nothing definite has been transmitted respecting the substance of his laws; their provisions, upon the whole, were looked upon as unusually perfect³⁹. Their date cannot be determined with accuracy, but if Diagoras was obliged to fly from Athens⁴⁰ in Olympiad 91. 2; 415. B.C., the year after the subjugation of Melos, in consequence of his atheism, but more probably because he was a Melian, and afterwards perished by shipwreck⁴¹, the legislation in question would fall about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. With regard to the election of the magistrates, allusion has already been made to the remarkable institution of a board of electors⁴².

3. ELIS.

The union of the rural townships with the city⁴³, to which Oxylus had paved the way several centuries before⁴⁴, was at length consummated in the second year of the 77th Olympiad, 471. B. C. The downfall of the oligarchy was accelerated by the above-mentioned effects of the Synoikismus. The original aristocracy had made way for the oppressive oligarchy of the Ninety⁴⁵; but it was necessary for the overstrained bands of govern-

³⁸ Æl. V. H. 2. 23.

³⁹ *ἑνὸμώτατοι* (οἱ Μαντ.) Ælian. 2. 22.

⁴⁰ Diod. 13. 6.

⁴¹ This Diagoras can hardly have been the person who was said to have overthrown the government of the Eretrian knights. See vol. i. p. 268, and Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. under Diagoras.

⁴² Aristot. Pol. 6. 2. 2. Comp. vol. i. p. 269.

⁴³ Diodor. 11. 54.

⁴⁴ Paus. 5. 4. 1.

⁴⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 8; comp. vol. i. p. 262.

ment to be relaxed. But the new council, the before named Six Hundred, and the Demiurgi, were of a democratic character; it is not impossible that the superior magistrates (*οἱ τὰ τέλη ἔχοντες*) and the Thesmophylaces⁴⁶ may have somewhat partaken of the ancient aristocratic character. The progress of democracy is moreover attested by the increasing coolness of Elis towards Sparta. Here, too, as in Argos, there was a band of three hundred Logades⁴⁷, who were especially devoted to the career of arms. It might naturally be supposed that the continued attachment of the inhabitants to a rural life, and the excellent practice of sending itinerant judges about the country⁴⁸, by preventing the mass of the population from flocking to the city, would have guarded Elis against the dangers of ochlocracy: nevertheless it was afterwards convulsed by the wildest excesses of faction. The Olympic council and the Hellanodicæ were extraordinary magistrates, whose powers were delegated to them for a short period only; no particulars have been transmitted concerning their influence upon the interior⁴⁹.

4. MEGARA⁵⁰.

Democracy here had degenerated into the most dissolute mob-government before the beginning of the Persian war. We have already⁵¹ adverted to the reckless depravity which prevailed in this obscure state, and caused its name to be linked with

⁴⁶ Thuc. 5. 47.⁴⁷ Thuc. 2. 25. Comp. below, § 73. n. 46.⁴⁸ Polyb. 4. 73. 8.⁴⁹ See Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 367.⁵⁰ I have examined Reinganum's work on ancient Megaris, 1825, in search of exact particulars respecting the constitution, but to no purpose. The principal merit of the book consists in chorography and topography.⁵¹ Vol. i. p. 204.

that of Abdera, though its excesses were still more reprehensible. The ridiculous presumption of the Megarians was aptly characterized in the sarcastic answer of the oracle⁵², the native poet Theognis deploras their corruption⁵³, and Aristotle stigmatizes their system as devoid of order and just subordination⁵⁴. The removal of the rural population into the city powerfully contributed to establish the government of the many⁵⁵, and this was no sooner effected than, probably in imitation of Athens, ostracism was introduced⁵⁶. The continued outrages of this prematurely-corrupted people and their leaders, stimulated the wealthier orders to overthrow the dominion of the rabble. An oligarchical party had assumed the reins of power before the Peloponnesian war, and this occasioned the defection of Megara from the Athenian confederacy⁵⁷.

5. AMBRACIA AND LEUCAS.

Whilst in the mother-city, Corinth, the mass of the people still continued to occupy the middle or a still lower grade in the political scale, they attained the chief authority in nearly all its colonies. The overthrow of the ruthless Periander was immediately followed by the establishment of democracy⁵⁸; the multitude could not long be kept within bounds, and the qualification for a

⁵² Vol. i. p. 90.⁵³ v. 43. 66. 215. 825. etc.⁵⁴ *Ἀραξία* and *ἀναρχία*. Pol. 5. 2. 6.⁵⁵ Theog. 53.⁵⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 851.⁵⁷ Müller, Dor. 2. 167, justly infers, from Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 3, that the expelled nobility had already returned, before the Peloponnesian war, with arms in their hands, and that the offices had been conferred upon those alone who had fought against the people (Aristot. Pol. 4. 12. 10).⁵⁸ Arist. Pol. 5. 3. 6; 5. 8. 9.

participator in the supreme power, which before had been moderate, being now made very low⁵⁹, violent distractions ensued. In Leucas aristocracy made way for popular government, as soon as the law prohibiting the alienation of landed property was infringed, and the nobles became impoverished.

6. CORCYRA.

Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, Corcyra presents the spectacle of a demus agitated by the wildest political commotions, whose seditious cabals derived fresh strength from the ineffectual opposition of the wealthy class; nor can it be determined with any degree of certainty whether this arose from the intercourse of the Corcyræans with Illyrian and Italian barbarians, and the increase of civil prosperity and self-confidence⁶¹, their collisions with the Etruscans who dwelt along the east coast of Upper Italy, or their early conflicts with the mother-town, Corinth. Our knowledge of the constitution is very scanty; there were, as might naturally be expected, a Bule⁶², and a popular assembly in which the chief power resided⁶³. Mention is likewise made of leaders of the demus (*προστάται τοῦ δήμου*), who were either officers like the Demiurgi, or mere demagogues⁶⁴. A somewhat disgraceful peculiarity is recorded of the Corcyræans: a large whip is said to have been frequently employed in their civil brawls⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ Arist. Pol. 5. 2. 9.⁶⁰ Arist. Pol. 2. 4. 4.⁶¹ Zenob. 4. 49: — ὑπερηφάνους γὰρ εὐπραγοῦντας τοὺς Κερκυραίους φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης γενέσθαι.⁶² Thuc. 3. 70.⁶³ Thuc. 3. 81.⁶⁴ Thuc. 3. 70. 75. 82; Æn. Tact. 11.⁶⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1471: Κερκυραία μάστιξ. συνεχῶς δὲ Κερκυραίοις ἀταξίαι γίνονται· διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν οὖν ἐπέπολασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ μάστιξ, ὥστε διπλαῖς χρῆσθαι μεγάλας καὶ ἐλεφαντοκόποις.

7. EPIDAMNUS.

The changes in the condition of the ancient aristocracy here were effected gradually. In the first place⁶⁶, the above-mentioned Phylarchs, a Gerusia of an ancient aristocratic character, were replaced by a democratic Bule⁶⁷; but the families of the nobility were not deprived of all their privileges. Most oppressive in its operation was the oligarchical regulation by which a single magistrate engrossed all the powers of government⁶⁸; and which accordingly led to long and severe struggles⁶⁹. Aristotle⁷⁰ states that a dispute concerning a marriage occasioned the insurrection which resulted in the overthrow of the government of noble families. A citizen betrothed his daughter to the son of another, the latter became a magistrate and punished the former, who thereupon placed himself at the head of the party which was excluded from power, and effected the downfall of the nobility. It is not certain whether this occasioned the civil feuds which concurred in producing the Peloponnesian war. The event of this contest, however, was favourable to the upper orders; the Corcyræans reinstated the fugitives, and the former constitution appears to have been revived in various particulars. Aristotle, for instance, speaks of a privileged class and of a magistrate charged with the whole administration, as still existing in his time⁷¹. Those who possessed

⁶⁶ Vol. i. p. 261.⁶⁷ Arist. Pol. 5. 1. 6.⁶⁸ Arist. Pol. ubi sup.; comp. 3. 11. 1.⁶⁹ Thuc. 1. 24: στασιάζαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, κ. τ. λ.⁷⁰ Pol. 5. 3. 4.⁷¹ See Append. i.

the full rights of citizenship abstained from all trades and crafts which were exercised by public workmen⁷², for the most part chosen from the numerous Metœci in the place⁷³.

8. SYRACUSE.

Under the domination of the Syracusan and Agrigentan tyrants, the greater part of the Greek states in Sicily lost all independence, several cities, such as Gela, Camarina, Eubœa, Megara⁷⁴, Catana, and Naxos⁷⁵, deprived of their inhabitants, became scenes of desolation; and even the citizenship of Syracuse was degraded by the admission of bands of foreign mercenaries. The last named city threw off the yoke of the tyrant, Olymp. 78. 3; 446. B. C.; and gave the signal for a series of violent convulsions, during which the immoderate desire of liberty did not allow of that line of policy in which force is tempered by justice and self-denial. Aristotle, indeed, apparently represents the constitution of Syracuse till its final triumph over the Athenian power as a democracy blended with genuine aristocracy (Politeia), which was not followed by pure democracy till afterwards⁷⁶; but he is not consistent in the denomination he employs, in another passage⁷⁷ calling it an unqualified democracy, at the same time that his account is at variance with established facts. Democracy, accompanied by the most violent demonstrations of strength and fearlessness in the mul-

⁷² Arist. Pol. 2. 4. 13.⁷³ Æl. V. H. 13. 16.⁷⁴ Herod. 7. 156.⁷⁵ Diod. 11. 49; comp. Strabo, 6. 268; Schol. Pind. Nem. 9. 1; Böckh, expl. Pind. 348.⁷⁶ Arist. Pol. 5. 3. 6.⁷⁷ Arist. Pol. 5. 10. 3.

titude, now followed. A necessary preliminary to all other measures was to stamp the citizenship afresh. The former Gamori seem to have been almost extirpated, and no further mention occurs of them. In addition to the descendants of the ancient Syracusans and the naturalized inhabitants of such towns of the surrounding country as had been reduced in war, there were ten thousand foreigners in the city⁷⁸, who had formerly been in the pay of the tyrants. According to Aristotle⁷⁹, these last were also admitted to the citizenship, but Diodorus⁸⁰ states that such as were then naturalized, were excluded from all participation in the elections (*ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τιμῆς*). However this may have been, collisions could not fail to arise between the ancient citizens of Syracuse, who prided themselves upon their hereditary rights, the mercenary soldiers who had hitherto been superior to them, and still confided in their arms, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who had been naturalized, and looked for an adequate compensation for the home they had quitted. These at length broke out into open hostilities. The foreigners, probably the mercenaries alone, occupied Acradina and Tyche, the two principal quarters of Syracuse, but were besieged and defeated in a sally, Olymp. 79. 2; 463. B. C. At the same time the inhabitants of the adjoining districts, who had been naturalized, viz. those of Catana, prepared to return to their former habitations. A portion of these had in the interval been occupied

⁷⁸ Diod. 11. 68.⁷⁹ Arist. Pol. 5. 2. 11: — καὶ Συρακούσιοι μετὰ τὰ τυραννικά τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι ἰστασίσαν.⁸⁰ Diod. 11. 68.

by the mercenaries of the tyranny, whose leaders now endeavoured to maintain their independence. But Syracuse helped to reconquer Catana, to which its former inhabitants once more returned. The same happened with several other towns which were now freed from the foreigners who had been forced upon them, whilst it was agreed that such of their citizens as were in Syracuse at the time should be reinstated in their domestic rights, the mercenaries all being sent to Messana⁸¹. Still, notwithstanding the storm had thus burst over Sicily, tranquillity was far from being restored, either in Syracuse or the other cities. It was impossible to reconcile the discordant elements of the citizenship and to impart to it its former unity, whilst its exclusiveness ceased to be preserved; moreover, naturalization and divisions of land produced discontent⁸².

Tyndarides aspired to the tyranny in Syracuse; his violent death did not deter others from making similar attempts. Hence the people introduced petalism, by which the expulsion of any citizen who appeared dangerous to the constitution might be effected, the citizens voting with olive leaves⁸³. This opened a door to the machinations of the demagogues, and the more powerful amongst the citizens entirely withdrew from public affairs for fear of incurring suspicion. The pernicious effects of this measure became apparent in the evils that

⁸¹ Diod. 11. 76.

⁸² This is alluded to in the speech of Alcibiades, Thucydides, 6. 17: ὅχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμίτοις πολυανδροῦσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς.

⁸³ Diod. 11. 87.

ensued⁸⁴; and even the people themselves at length became conscious of their folly, and abolished petalism. Nevertheless Thucydides describes the period by which it was succeeded as one of unbridled anarchy⁸⁵. Demagogy, with its attendant evils, calumny and hostility to all who possessed any distinguishing excellence, continued unabated. Its character may be collected from the speech of Athenagoras in Thucydides⁸⁶. Its activity is proved by the circumstance that a peculiar style of public eloquence, totally distinct from the sublimer oratory of Pericles, was invented here, chiefly by Corax and Tisias⁸⁷, the Leontine Gorgias, whose native city was no less agitated by the cabals of the demagogues, afterwards introducing it into Athens, a city which Syracuse closely resembled, both in its taste for the drama and in its whole mode of thinking⁸⁸. A difference of orders only existed in the actual pre-eminence of individuals remarkable for their riches or personal qualities. Athenagoras calls his adversaries *the young*⁸⁹, which probably only involves a satirical allusion to the youth of Hermocrates, the bravest amongst the more powerful citizens.

The position of the authorities is known but very imperfectly. The popular assembly⁹⁰ decided upon war and peace⁹¹, chose the officers, etc.

⁸⁴ Diod. ubi sup., where the delineation is not, as so frequently with this author, a mere collection of vague generalities.

⁸⁵ —τῶν πολλῶν ἀξύντακτον ἀναρχίαν. Thuc. 6. 72.

⁸⁶ Thuc. 6. 38.

⁸⁷ Taylor in Vit. Lys. ap. Reiske. Or. Gr. p. 6. 110. Comp. Quintil. 2. 17. 7; 3. 1. 8; Schol. Hermog. Reiske. Or. Gr. 7. 195.

⁸⁸ Plato, Hippias Maj. 282, A.; Pausan. 6. 17. 4.

⁸⁹ Thuc. 6. 39, νεώτεροι; 6. 40, νέοι.

⁹⁰ Like the Athenian —τὸ πλῆθος. Thuc. 6. 38.

⁹¹ Thucyd. 6. 73. 103.

Leaders of the people (*δήμου προστάται*) appear to have borne the character of distinct functionaries⁹². Jealousy of the power of the authorities, and a design to enable a greater number of citizens to be nominated to important offices of state, had occasioned the appointment of fifteen Strategi⁹³.

9. AGRIGENTUM.

The tyranny ended here with Thrasydæus, the profligate son of Theron, Olymp. 77. 1; 472. B. C.⁹⁴. It was followed by a moderate democracy. All the citizens were not entitled to decide upon all matters without distinction; a council of a thousand was chosen from among the principal citizens⁹⁵, and probably appropriated to itself the principal share of the supreme power. Nevertheless the people appear to have exercised the chief authority in the law-courts; the philosopher Empedocles accused two rich men, who were suspected of aiming at the tyranny, in consequence of which they were put to death⁹⁶. He moreover abolished the council of a thousand, and appointed in their stead a magistrate for three years, to which dignity others besides persons of wealth and rank were eligible. He was destined to experience the inconstancy of popular favour; the same people who at one time wished to proclaim him king, afterwards allowed the children of his old political opponents to drive him into exile⁹⁷. Agrigentum, upon the whole, attained a higher degree of prosperity during the democracy; but considerable

⁹² Thucyd. 6. 35.⁹³ Thucyd. 6. 72.⁹⁴ Diod. 11. 53.⁹⁵ Diog. Laert. 8. 66: *ἄθροισμα*. On the subject of a similar one in Rhegium, see Heracl. Pont. 25.⁹⁶ Diog. Laert. ubi sup.⁹⁷ Diog. Laert. 8. 67.

WITHOUT THE EMPIRE OF ATHENS. § 59. 123
allowance must be made in reading the fantastic description of Diodorus⁹⁸.

10. TARENTUM.

Democracy owed its existence here to an extraordinary circumstance. A great number of the nobles were slain in a battle against the Japygians, Olymp. 76. 3; 474. B. C.⁹⁹, by which means the people attained greater power¹⁰⁰. But nowhere did the nobility display so generous and at the same time so prudent a spirit of concession as here; they suffered the poor, amongst whom the fishermen¹⁰¹ were particularly numerous, to enjoy the proceeds of their estates¹⁰². The magistrates were chosen partly by election and partly by lot; no one could be appointed general for a longer time than one year, and then only once¹⁰³. Thus contentment and a love of order were fostered in the minds of the people, and prosperity flowed from the judicious distribution of civil and political rights¹⁰⁴.

11. THURII¹⁰⁵.

The consequences of civil contentions and their attendant excesses, led to the downfall of ancient Sybaris¹⁰⁶. The scanty remnants of the former citizens endeavoured some time afterwards, Olymp. 81. 4; 453. B. C., under the directions of

⁹⁸ Diodor. 13. 81. sqq.⁹⁹ Herod. 7. 170; Diodor. 11. 52.¹⁰⁰ Aristot. P. 5. 2. 8.¹⁰¹ Aristot. P. 4. 4. 1.¹⁰² Aristot. P. 6. 3. 5.¹⁰³ Diog. Laert. 8. 79.¹⁰⁴ Strabo, 6. 280:—*ἴσχυσαν—οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν πολιτευόμενοι δημοκρατικῶς*.¹⁰⁵ See, besides Heyne, Opusc. 2. 138, sqq., Kortüm and Tittmann, Schneider ad. Aristot. Pol. 5. 6. 5; 6. 5. 10.¹⁰⁶ Diodor. 12. 9.

Thessalus, to re-establish the fallen state; but all their efforts were ineffectual. Hereupon the Athenians were induced to send a number of their own citizens and members of other communities to restore it. The departure of the colonists took place under the command of Lampon and Zenocrates, Olymp. 84. 2; 444. B. C. (according to Corsini, Ol. 83. 3¹⁰⁷). Many brave men, amongst whom was Herodotus, shared in the expedition to this city, which was henceforward called Thurii. According to a suspicious authority¹⁰⁸, the high-minded Protagoras drew up the constitution of Thurii; but it is more probable that here, as in the adjacent Chalcidian states, the institutions of Charondas were adopted, with such modifications as the difference of time and place required¹⁰⁹. But the young community soon suffered from the baneful effects of civil discord. The arrogant pretensions of the ancient Sybarites produced struggles between them and the new-comers, which ended in the expulsion of the former¹¹⁰. The tranquillity consequent upon their departure was not again interrupted till the decay of the Athenian maritime power exposed the naturalized Athenians in Thurii to insult and aggression.

The principal authorities of the city were the Symbuli and the Strategi. The province of the former was to ward off danger from the constitution¹¹¹, and abuse of power in the latter was guarded

¹⁰⁷ Compare above, § 56. n. 83.

¹⁰⁸ Diog. Laert. 9. 50, from Heracl. Pont.

¹⁰⁹ Diodor. 12. 11; Heyne, Opusc. 2. 161.

¹¹⁰ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 10; Strabo, 6. 263; Diod. 12. 22. The passages in Arist. Pol. 5. 6. 6. and 5. 6. 8, relate to subsequent disputes. See below § 75. n. 68.

¹¹¹ Arist. Pol. 5. 6. 8.

against by a law forbidding any citizen to hold the office more than once in five years¹¹².

To the list of these democratic states, which attained their full maturity before the Peloponnesian war, might be added many others; but little else is known of their history than the bare fact that they were democracies. The following are deserving of special mention: Cyrene, in which a popular government was introduced upon the death of the fourth Arcesilaus, about 450. B. C.; his death was effected by violent means¹¹³; Achaia, whose ancient democratic institutions evinced so little inherent tendency to progress and advancement that in Pellene they even began to incline towards aristocracy; Plataeæ, which was probably impelled by its growing democratic spirit to shake off the yoke of the Theban tyrants, and was supported by Athens in the maintenance of its democracy; Naupactus, which was peopled with the emancipated Helots of the Messenian race, in whom democratic feeling must have been fostered by the remembrance of former slavery, and by gratitude towards Athens; and lastly, Crotona, where, after the downfall of the Pythagorean aristocracy and the convulsions by which it was followed, Achæan institutions were established¹¹⁴.

V. THE OLIGARCHY.

§ 60. During the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, the character of the ancient aristocracy underwent a radical change.

¹¹² Aristot. ub. sup.

¹¹³ Schol. Pyth. 4. init.; comp. Thrige, Hist. Cyren. 210; Böckh, Expl. Pind. 266.

¹¹⁴ Vol. i. p. 266.

Aristocracy, even in those places where its strength had not been impaired by the inroads of tyranny, could no longer maintain its commanding attitude, and defend itself against the aspiring and grasping spirit of the age; it was compelled to retreat, and in attempting to repulse its eager assailant, lost part of its characteristic dignity and purity; the paternal feelings which it had formerly testified for the mass of the people were supplanted by suspicion and resentment, as soon as the latter attempted to assert their political rights, which during their non-age had been dormant; this in a short time brought on a rigid despotism. Moreover, the numerical increase of the nobility bore no proportion in most states to that of the *demus*; the numbers of ancient families became gradually reduced, and, as a natural consequence, notwithstanding individuals retained the pride of birth and ancestry, they lost their strength and confidence as an order. Meanwhile a new class had arisen in various states, consisting of the members of the ancient nobility, of wealthy, and, in some instances, of meritorious individuals, denominated "the pre-eminent" (*γνώριμοι*)¹. This was, however, deficient in the stability which characterized the old aristocracy; changes in the families which composed it succeeded each other more rapidly, and as its former exclusiveness could no longer be maintained, the mass lacked solidity and consistence. Still less was it able to obtain the sanction of public opinion. The upstart whose pretensions ran counter to the interests of the *demus*, was more liable to incur

¹ Thucyd. 3. 65: *ἄνδρες πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει*. But this is the language of the oligarchical Thebans.

envy and odium than a member of the ancient nobility, whose claims to superior rank and privileges were deducible from remote antiquity. This was especially aggravated by the selfish character of the new aristocracy². At the same time, the democracy were indefatigable in directing the attention of the people to this selfishness, and scrupled not to impute it to others who were exempt from it, so that the breach became widened on both sides; while the sarcasms of the *demus* and the calumnies of its leaders were unceasingly levelled against those members of the nobility whose purity of character ought to have shielded them from suspicion, or drove men to form evil designs who had never thought of them before. The mischief was not effected all at once, it is true³. Before the Peloponnesian war its progress had been gradual, but the aristocracy lost the healthful soundness of the good old time, and in their degeneracy did not long retain nobility, wisdom, and majesty. The consuming fever of faction raged without intermission, and frustrated all attempts at reconciliation. The dominant order, whose authority was based upon force, delighted in oppression and outrage, whilst the *demus* was impatient for rebellion and revenge.

Meanwhile new political appellations began to prevail. Nicknames and epithets in general are more frequently derived from external circumstances and coincidences, than from any intrinsic

² Thucyd. 8. 89: *κατ' ἰδίας δὲ φιλοτιμίας—ἐν ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ὀλιγαρχία ἐκ δημοκρατίας γενομένη ἀπόλλυται*. πάντες γὰρ αὐθημερὸν ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐχ ὅπως ἴσοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι. The latter equally applies to usurpers, parvenus, renegadoes, etc.

³ As e. g. Hermocrates and his friends by Athenagoras in Syracuse, Thucyd. 6. 35.

qualities in the objects they designate, and it is during the prevalence of civil feuds and dissensions that men are especially active in applying sobriquets to themselves and their adversaries. This is the history of names like the Neri and Bianchi, the Gueux, Caps, Roundheads, Cabliaux, etc. The same impress is clearly perceptible in many of the appellations of the oligarchy, and though some appear to have been sincere tributes to the merits of those to whom they were applied, we must not overlook the bitter, and sometimes extravagant political irony which is conveyed by others; the *Best*, the *Illustrious*, the *Stately* will be viewed in their proper light when compared with the *Fat*, the *Clumsy*, etc.; and it is owing to the caprice of language alone that the ironical tincture has disappeared. Especially deserving of remark is the custom of designating orders according to their mass or bulk⁴, those who towered above the multitude being called the Few (*ὀλίγοι*) and their authority oligarchy, whilst the multitude, as such, is described in its plurality and fulness⁵. Both these denominations probably originated with the great bulk of the people; they liked to estimate themselves according to their weight, and the despots who

⁴ Comp. vol. i. p. 225, sqq.

⁵ Οἱ πολλοί, τὸ πλῆθος, τὸ πλεον. Οἱ πλείονες, Thuc. 8. 73. Generally in contradistinction to the ὀλίγοι, as in Thucyd. 8. 9. 14: 4. 78; 6. 38. The democratic constitution itself is called δῆμος (δῆμος generally rather signifying the form, the frame πλῆθος and ὄχλος the substance) for instance, Thuc. 6. 89: πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐναντιούμενον τῷ δυναστεύοντι δῆμος ὠνόμασται. It is however likewise termed πλῆθος; Thuc. 6. 60: τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας σφῶν τῷ πλῆθει; 6. 89: ἡ προστασία τοῦ πλῆθους. Comp. Aristoph. Vesp. 666. πλῆθος frequently signifies the assembled people, the Ecclesia, as in Thucyd. 4. 22; Aristoph. Acharn. 317. In the same manner ἀναφέρειν ἐς τοὺς πλείονας, Herod. 7. 149. Here too δῆμος likewise occurs in the sense of πλῆθος, Thucyd. 5. 45. init.

raised themselves above them, according to the smallness of their numbers. However, the word oligarchy in this stage was far from necessarily supposing a degenerate constitution in the absolute sense in which it was afterwards used by the philosophers; Thucydides admits of an oligarchy with Isonomia, a sort of aristocracy⁶. But the signification of Dynasteia⁷, as expressing the illegal and usurped authority of several, was one of unmitigated odium, and no less imbued with political venom than the analogous word Tyrannis in its later acceptation as applied to the domination of one person. The same may be observed of Hetaireia, as an association detrimental to the public weal, and formed to foment sedition and revolution⁸. However, like the words liberty, equality, religion, etc. in modern times, contending factions arrayed themselves beneath general constitutional names, and under cover of these committed unbridled outrages.

1. SPARTA.

Sparta was still the chief amongst the aristocratic-oligarchical states; till the Persian war her constitution had been aristocratical in the noblest sense of the word, within certain democratic limits, which, though destitute of important or active influence, still served to keep up the remembrance

⁶ Thuc. 3. 62. The Thebans are speaking of the condition of Thebes in the Persian war: ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα, οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν.

⁷ The Thebans continue in the same strain: ὅπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα.

⁸ See Append. iii. on the words which were used as denominations of the dynasts, and which were taken from some quality they possessed.

of popular liberty; after the Persian war oligarchy arose by a regular process of development. Sparta now became one of the main pillars of oligarchical despotism in other states, and openly declared her resolution to maintain it.

The constitution of Sparta was framed upon the principle of a rigid exclusion of foreigners, and upon ignorance of their luxuries and vices. But even before the Peloponnesian war Sparta had been impelled by her lust of conquest to overstep her own narrow boundaries, and afterwards those of the Peloponnesus itself, while the events of that war necessarily brought her into contact with the rest of the Greeks, whose intercourse was marked by a restless spirit of activity and by the utmost diversity of political relations. Her prescriptive usages and the purity of her nationality could not withstand the combined influence of the nation at large; the Spartans who were only in their proper element when drawn up in the field, or in the stern discipline of the camp, were not proof against the temptations presented to them by the luxurious lives of their kinsmen and countrymen; this sowed the seeds of corruption; new wants and new wishes began to struggle with their former blind resignation to the laws. But a sudden relaxation of legal rigour was impracticable. No middle course, whereby ancient customs might be reconciled with modern innovation, was attempted; nothing could prevent the disease from breaking out externally or from preying internally. Both evils ensued. Sparta had attained the zenith of her glory with the martyrdom of Leonidas and his band; the halo which had encircled her brow arose to heaven, whilst the

grave closed upon her heroic sons who had offered up their lives for the liberties of their country. Her decline dates from the battle of Plataeæ. At the time she was leading the Grecian armies to victory against their hereditary foes, her children had already begun to imbibe that poison which was destined to corrode the sinews of the Lycurgan institutions. The reckless outrages of Pausanias served as a warning to the upper orders, who at length, though too late, resorted to the only expedient that was left them, viz., a restoration of the ancient system of separation and exclusion at home⁹. The two safeguards of the Spartan constitution, the regulation for imparting dignity to the citizenship by providing it with an inferior class in the half-citizens and slaves, and that for conferring such distinctions upon deserving members of the state as should be proportioned to their civil virtue, became gradually impaired. Unrestricted intercourse with the rest of the Greeks during the Persian campaigns, acted with the same force upon the Lacedæmonians and Helots, as upon the Spartans themselves, and diverted them from the path of custom. The Helots had not wholly forgotten the liberty of their forefathers, and their thirst of vengeance was not assuaged by the paltry privilege of being allowed to participate in the spoils of war. Their disaffection was fomented by the first man in the state, Pausanias, who, as regardless of virtue and justice as he was perfidious towards his people, offered the Helots freedom and civil rights

⁹ Thuc. 1. 95: καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι, μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χείρους γίγνωνται. Comp. Dion. Chrys. 2. 59. R.: ὁ Σπαρτιάτης — τὸν νησιώτην καὶ τὸν Ἴωνα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποτιον ἀφεῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε.

on condition that they would rise against the citizens¹⁰. His treacherous scheme was never carried into effect, and the earthquake, which happened soon after his death, Olymp. 78. 4; 464. B. C. was the signal for the Helots and some of the towns of the Periœci to revolt¹¹. The Spartans were obliged to employ all their strength to avert danger from their own community, and were unable to reduce the insurgents to their former state of dependence.

To the decrease of the servile class must be added the diminution in the numbers of the citizens themselves. This must not be ascribed to the losses occasioned by the Persian war and the earthquake alone, but also to that decrease in the population which the whole course of ancient history proves to have been a universal consequence of the deterioration of the national character—a circumstance calculated to operate with peculiar force under Lycurgan institutions, which required an extraordinary increase in the citizens, though in themselves by no means adapted to promote it. A state could not now, as formerly, be said to be most prosperous and flourishing with the least possible number of citizens; and not only the ascendancy which Sparta still endeavoured to maintain amongst the states in the Peloponnesus after she had relinquished the command by sea, but also her own safety against the servile order rendered it indispensable that the ranks of the citizens

¹⁰ Thuc. 1. 132.

¹¹ Thucyd. 1. 101: — *καὶ τῶν περιόικων θουριᾶται τε καὶ Αἰθελῆς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέρησαν*. Comp. Pausan. 4. 24. 2; Plut. Cim. 16; Diod. 11. 64.

should be replenished. This led to naturalization on an extensive scale, in consequence of which the aristocracy gradually became converted into an oligarchy of ancient citizens. This was fully accomplished in the course of the Peloponnesian war; but the task of entering fully into the subject, as well as of considering the position occupied by the political authorities in pursuance of the changes which had been effected in personal rank, must be reserved for a future section.

2. BŒOTIA.

Thebes bore the same relation to Sparta amongst the oligarchical, as Argos did to Athens amongst the democratical states of Greece. Nowhere had aristocracy sooner degenerated into oligarchy than in Thebes, where it had already reached its zenith during the Persian war¹². The chiefs, Timagenides, etc.¹³, who exulted in their nefarious league with the barbarians, met with the just reward of their treason to the common cause, and the oligarchy itself was suspended. Little is known of the state of public affairs from the capture of Thebes, after the battle of Plataeæ, till the Peloponnesian war. Democracy, which, however, was but very imperfectly constituted, prevailed for a time. After the battle of Tanagra (Œnophyta?)¹⁴ oligarchy once more raised its head, and Thebes

¹² See the passage from Thucydides above, n. 5. Comp. § 53. n. 41.

¹³ Herod. 9. 86-88.

¹⁴ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 6: *ὅλον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύταις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη*. But the joint victory of the Thebans and the Spartans at Tanagra sixty-two days before, is more correctly considered to have been the signal for the subversion of democracy, which was afterwards re-established for a short time in Bœotia, without Thebes, by Myronides, the conqueror of Œnophyta. See the next section.

henceforward became, in conjunction with Sparta, a main pillar of the oligarchical system till the time of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the chief authority was in the hands of Eurymachus¹⁵, the son of Leontiades, who had fought at Thermopylæ¹⁶.

In faithful alliance with oligarchical Thebes was Orchomenus, which once, under the command of Thersander, had made its submission to the Persians¹⁷, and which, when Thebes was humbled and subdued, became the retreat of the oligarchical fugitives of the neighbourhood¹⁸. The dominant order were called knights, and maintained their authority longer than the oligarchs in Thebes, and there is every reason to suppose without interruption¹⁹.

Thespiæ, notwithstanding its hostility to the last named city, was likewise governed by an aristocracy²⁰, which possessed in an eminent degree the solid and substantial characteristics of the ancient nobility.

3. THESSALY²¹.

The whole country bore the yoke of oligarchs, and the struggles of the oppressed demus²² in some parts led to civil warfare. But nothing was done to ameliorate its condition; the authority

¹⁵ Thucyd. 2. 2.

¹⁶ Herod. 7. 205, who is however contradicted by the author of the dissertation de Malign. Herod. Plut. 9. 440, R.

¹⁷ Herod. 9. 16.

¹⁸ Diod. 15. 79.

¹⁹ See, besides Tittmann, Griech. Staatsvf. 388, sqq., 713, sqq., Buttmann, über die Aleuaden, Berl. Abhand. histor. phil. El. 1822, 1823, p. 203, sqq.

²⁰ Vol. i. p. 266.

¹⁶ Thucyd. 1. 113.

²⁰ Comp. vol. i. p. 263. n. 30.

remained in the hands of the Aleuadæ and their relatives the families of Antiochus²³, and the Scopadæ, till tyranny from Pheræ forged new chains for the people.

The principal states were Larissa and Crannon, the former of which continued to be the seat of the Aleuadæ²⁴. The three brothers, Thorax, Eurypilus, and Thrasydæus were contemporary with Xerxes; the first, who was the guest and friend of Pindar²⁵, accompanied him on his flight²⁶. Thargelia and Antiochus were spoken of above²⁷. Tumults were excited amongst the people by the demagogy of the Politophylaces, who were selected from the oligarchs, whereby the authority of the Aleuadæ became insecure²⁸. The Scopadæ ruled in Crannon, the original seat of their line²⁹. No particulars are known concerning their forefather Scopas³⁰. Diactorides the Scopad is mentioned³¹ as early as 600. B. C., amongst the suitors at Sicyon; the second Scopas, renowned for his riches³², and the subject of a poem by Simonides, in which is recorded his preservation when the room in which the guests were assembled fell in³³, descended from Creon and Echekratia, in Crannon. He regulated the tax of the Periœci³⁴. His son was Creon, the father of the younger Scopas, a drunkard³⁵, who lived at the time of the Pelopon-

²³ Theoc. 16. 34. Comp. Böckh, Expl. Pind. 332.

²⁴ Comp. vol. i. p. 220. n. 27.

²⁵ Pind. Pyth. 10. 100.

²⁶ Herod. 9. 1. 58. Comp. the citations in Böckh, Expl. Pind. 333.

²⁷ § 53. n. 43. ²⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 5.

²⁹ Cicero de Orat. 2. 86; Schol. Theocr. 16. 36. Comp. Quintil. 11. 2. 15.

³⁰ He is mentioned Quintil. ubi sup. ³¹ Herod. 6. 127.

³² Critias, Distich Plut. Cim. 10. Comp. Cicero ubi sup. et Cato Mas. 18.

³³ Cic. et Quintil. ubi sup.

³⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. 6. 1. 7.

³⁵ Athen. 10. 438, C. Ælian. V. H. 2. 41; 12. 1.

nesian war³⁶. The descendants of one of these Creons were called Creondæ³⁷.

Pharsalus appears to have been dependent upon Crannon in the time of the second Scopas³⁸, but was in all probability the residence of the house of Antiochus, which was allied to the Aleuadæ and Scopadæ. Antiochus is called the son of Echekratidas³⁹, the contemporary of Simonides⁴⁰. He had a son named Echekratidas, and his grandson Orestes was expelled from Pharsalus a short time after the Persian war. The latter experienced kindness from Athens⁴¹, whilst the Athenians were afterwards befriended by the Pharsalian Menon⁴². There are no means of ascertaining whether the party which rose against Orestes, and was opposed to Menon, was, as in the rest of Thessaly, of a democratic nature; Menon himself possessed a great number of Pericæci⁴³.

4. STATES IN ALLIANCE WITH SPARTA IN THE PELOPONNESUS AND ON THE ÆGEAN SEA.

To those already enumerated must be added Corinth, Epidaurus, Træzen, Hermione, Halieis, Sicyon, Phlius, Ægina, and Melos. Rigid oligarchy existed in few of these states, and even indications

³⁶ See below, § 67. Concerning the Scopadæ in general, see Perizon. ad Æl. V. H. 12. 1; Van Göns (Duker) de Simonide Ceo, Utrecht, 1768; Schneider ad Aristot. Pol. add. 491, sqq.; Heindorf ad Plat. Protag. § 72. Böckh, Expl. Pind. 333. 334; Buttmann on the Aleuadæ ubi sup. 190, sqq.

³⁷ Theocr. 16. 39.

³⁸ Xenoph. Hell. ubi sup.

³⁹ In the Scholion on Theocritus, 16. 34, 'Εχεκρατίδου must be read instead of 'Εχεκράτιδος. See Böckh, Expl. Pindar, 334; Buttmann on the Aleuadæ, p. 201.

⁴⁰ Buttmann, ubi sup. 204, sqq.

⁴¹ Thucyd. 1. 111.

⁴² Thuc. 2. 22. Comp. the following section.

⁴³ See § 62. n. 54.

of a rising democracy are perceptible in Sicyon⁴⁴; the oligarchy⁴⁵ in Ægina soon became subject to the paramount jurisdiction of Athens, and it was in Melos alone that it was rigorously maintained⁴⁶.

5. CRETE.

The dynasty of the Cosmi, in the single states of Gnossus, Gortys, Lyctus, and Cydonia, repressed every attempt of the people to assert their liberty; but their government itself was brought so near to dissolution as to be utterly unworthy of the name of a constitution⁴⁷, whilst the character of the Cretan people was entirely corrupted.

6. HERACLEA ON THE PONTUS.

Democracy was the form of government established at the foundation of the colony, but the reckless proceedings of the demagogues who rose against the principal inhabitants, and drove them out of the city, led to the overthrow of the constitution. The exiles effected their return by force of arms, and then founded an oppressive oligarchy, which continued in existence till the age of Philip⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ Vol. i. p. 266.

⁴⁵ Vol. i. p. 261.

⁴⁶ The Athenian ambassadors (416. B. C.) say, *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις*. Thuc. 5. 84.

⁴⁷ Vol. i. p. 261.

⁴⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 5. Comp. vol. i. p. 268.

7. THE GREEK STATES ON THE WESTERN SEAS.

The nobility governed firmly, and with the dignity of the olden time, in Apollonia⁴⁹, in the Epizephyrian Locri⁵⁰, and in Massilia⁵¹.

The subject of the nobility of Delphi, and of other places not comprised under the democratic or oligarchical states, will be treated in the following chapter.

⁴⁹ Vol. i. p. 260.

⁵⁰ Vol. i. p. 215. Hence the encomiums which Pindar pronounces on the state of affairs there. Olymp. 10. 11. 17.

⁵¹ Vol. i. p. 264.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND OLIGARCHY IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREECE.

FROM THE FLIGHT OF XERXES TILL THE END OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREECE TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

§ 61. Immediately that the youthful and vigorous democracy of Athens began to advance, the internal and external policy of states became more closely interwoven, and a change took place in the position of the Grecian communities towards each other, in consequence of the daring encroachments of the democracy, to which they gradually grew hostile. After the preceding outline of the progress which took place within the individual states, in conformity to a native and inherent principle of advancement, I next propose to show how the states of Greece, upon the development of the Athenian democracy, divided themselves into two hostile confederacies, one comprising the democratic, and the other the oligarchical party; and how these henceforward became mainly instrumental in determining the external variations which the political system underwent; it will, moreover, be seen, that this in its turn importantly modified the internal organization of the several states, whose independence grew more limited from day to day,

and if not directly controlled by despotic authority, was, at least indirectly, endangered by the reaction of the pressure from without.

About the time that democracy entered upon its most flourishing period, Sparta possessed the hegemony over the whole of Greece, and consequently took the command of her armies against the barbarians in Asia. After the victory, she punished Thebes and Thessaly¹ (Olymp. 77. 2; 470. B. C.), framed a general treaty for the pacification and independence of the Grecian states, and at the same time regulated the amount which they were respectively required to contribute to the further expenses of the war². Till Pausanias commenced his career of outrage, the general concerns of the Greeks were discussed in the Synedrion at Sparta³, where it was also proposed to arraign Themistocles⁴. It cannot be denied that the feelings of Sparta towards Athens, immediately after the victories over the barbarians, became tinged with jealousy, as the history of the embassy concerning the erection of the Athenian walls⁵ testifies. Still Sparta beheld the progress of the Athenians without inquietude, and in such a spirit resigned into their hands the command in the naval war against the barbarians⁶, whether in Olymp. 75. 4.

¹ See above, § 53. n. 66—69.

² Thucyd. 3. 68. The festival of Zeus Eleutherius at Platææ, is said to have been instituted by Aristides, Plut. Arist. 20.

³ Diodor. 11. 55. For the history of the Grecian Synedrion during the Persian wars, consult O. Müller's Prolegom. 406, sqq.

⁴ Plut. Them. 23; —*κριθισόμενον—ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν*.

⁵ Thucyd. 1. 90.

⁶ The description of the feelings of the two states towards one another at that time is too highly coloured by Diodor. 11. 27, who states, that owing to Sparta's jealousy, the prize of victory at Salamis was awarded to the Æginetans (comp. Herod. 8. 122), and that through fear of the displeasure of Athens, a double prize was afterwards given to Themistocles, whereupon the Athenians, indignant at his having accepted it, deprived him of the command.

or 77. 3. cannot be accurately determined. But after having relinquished the general hegemony, it became of vital importance to her to maintain her old position in the Peloponnesus, and to retain the command of the land armies. But many of her confederates were no longer disposed to obey her orders, and through the inactivity of the majority of them, during the protracted Persian war, it was the more natural that internal dissensions should break out amongst them. Tegea, which had once been amongst the most faithful allies of Sparta, now turned its arms against her (Olymp. 77. 4; 469. B. C.), and entered into a league with Argos, which accordingly rendered it assistance⁷. Sparta obtained a victory over her enemies at Tegea, and once more, when all the Arcadians, except Mantinea, sided with Tegea, at Dipæa⁸, in the land of the Mænalians⁹. The position of the Arcadians upon this occasion was unnatural; the hegemony of Sparta went forth unharmed from the contest, and some time afterwards she succeeded in restoring and consolidating the Peloponnesian league. But Sparta was again crippled for several years by the revolt of the Helots¹⁰, and the war against those in Ithome (Olymp. 78. 4—81. 2; 464—455. B. C.) She had just been upon the point of commencing hostilities against Athens, by sending assistance to Thasos, which the latter had reduced to great extremities¹¹. In spite of the succours which the Philolacon Cimon led from Athens against the

⁷ Herod. 9. 35, and thence Pausan. 3. 11. 6.

⁸ Pausan. ubi sup.; comp. Pausan. 8. 8. 4; 8. 45. 2.

¹⁰ See § 60. n. 9.

¹¹ Thucyd. 1. 101.

⁹ *ἐν Διπαῖσιν*.

Ithomatiens, the rupture was deferred but for a short time. The siege of Ithome being greatly protracted, the Spartans became jealous of the Athenians, and dismissed them with contumelious language¹².

Thereupon Athens, for the first time, entered into a league with Argos and with some of the states of Thessaly. In Argos, the natural impulse of the democracy towards that of Athens was combined with rooted jealousy of Sparta; the relations with Thessaly, as before remarked, are but imperfectly understood, but it seems less probable that the object of Athens was to renew the former hospitable treaties, such as had subsisted between the Pisistratidæ and Cineas, than to reap advantage from the dissensions which reigned in Thessaly, and which offered a convenient handle for her designs. Olymp. 80. 3; 457. B. C., Athens¹³ was joined by Megara, which was doubtless impelled to such a course by the violence of democratic feeling kept alive by its border feuds with Corinth; the city of Megara was connected with its harbour, Nisæa, by means of long walls, whereby it became more closely associated with Athens¹⁴. The summons of Pericles to the Greeks collectively to assemble for the purpose of deliberating on the subject of the temples, which had been burned down by the barbarians, must probably be referred to this period¹⁵. Its unfavourable reception might easily have been foreseen. The restriction of the

¹² Thucyd. 1. 102.

¹³ Diodor. 11. 79.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 1. 103.

¹⁵ Plut. Pericl. 17, indicates the time: 'Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀχθεσθαι τῇ ἀξίῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, κ. τ. λ.

Corinthian trade by the naval operations of Athens, the coercion which that state began to employ towards Corinthian colonies, such as Potidæa, etc., and the instigations of Sparta, who, unable to appear upon the scene of action herself on account of the Messenian war, was, nevertheless, desirous of throwing obstacles in the way of the Athenians, determined Corinth to arm against Athens; its allies were Ægina and Epidaurus. But Athens, impatient for the commencement of hostilities, did not await their attack. Several battles were fought both by land and sea; Corinth was humbled, Ægina blockaded, and Athens now endeavoured, by occupying the Geraneia, to confine the Peloponnesians within their own peninsula¹⁶.

Sparta having meanwhile restored tranquillity to the Peloponnesus, and closely invested Ithome, was now able to direct the whole power of her armed confederacy against the Athenians. The revival of this league nearly coincides in order of time with the establishment of the Athenian Synteleia, concerning which a few observations must be premised¹⁷. The Spartan confederacy differed both in its ostensible object and intrinsic character from that of Athens; the latter state assumed to itself the right of interfering with the internal affairs of its confederates, reducing them to a state of almost servile dependence, whereas the league of Sparta was purely military¹⁸, and did not restrict the inde-

¹⁶ Thucyd. 1. 105. 106.

¹⁷ Comp. at large Manso Sparta, Kortüm z. Geschicht. Hell. Staatsv. p. 31-46; Müller, Dorians, 1. 178, sqq.

¹⁸ We may safely assume that there was a *ἑπιστασία*—ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν, Thuc. 1. 44, where the *ἑπιστασία*, as a defensive alliance, is also specified. Comp. on the subject of these terms, Thuc. 3. 70. 75; 5. 47. 48. *Ὀπαιχμία*, Thuc. 1. 18, is the actual military alliance, but *ἑπιστασία* is also used instead of *ἑπιστασία*. e. g. Thuc. 6. 22. 23. 25.

pendence of the confederate states, as regarded their domestic constitution and administration; hence the merit of respecting their *Autonomia*, *Autoteleia*, and their claims to be *αὐτοδικοί*, is attributed to Sparta¹⁹. By the terms of the confederacy, each of its members was bound to arm and do military service in time of war. Supplies²⁰ were demanded from the single states²¹ as necessity required, but probably according to a fixed scale. There was no joint treasury²². Matters which regarded the interests of the league were discussed in the federal assembly²³ at Sparta or Olympia, and decided by vote, the confederates having equal votes²⁴. There was no federal tribunal; but all violence proceeding from intestine dissensions, or otherwise, was repressed by the ascendant of Sparta, the Olympic Hieromenia, and occasionally by an appeal to the Delphic oracle, or to other arbitrators²⁵. The principle of mutual representation was mostly, though not always, acted upon. The Doric spirit which Sparta found means to keep up among the members of the league, in some measure atoned

¹⁹ Thucyd. 5. 79: πόλεις τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ—αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, κατὰ πάτρια δίκας διδόντες τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. Comp. 5. 77: τὰς δὲ πόλεις τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους, κ. τ. λ. Comp. 5. 27. But on the other hand see Pericles' observation on the ἐπιτηδείως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτονομεῖσθαι, Thuc. 1. 144.

²⁰ Τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, Thuc. 2. 10. e. g. the materials for besieging and fortifying, Thuc. 3. 16; 7. 18, as well as ships in the Peloponnesian war. Thuc. 2. 7; 3. 16.

²¹ Περιαγγέλλειν κατὰ πόλεις, the peculiar province of Sparta, Thucyd. 2. 10. 85.

²² Thuc. 1. 141.

²³ Thuc. 1. 67: ξύλλογον τὸν εἰωθότα.

²⁴ Ἰσόψηφοι, Thuc. 1. 141. Comp. 5. 30: εἰρημένον, κύριον εἶναι, ὅ, τι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων ψηφίσῃται, but with the proviso in favour of Sparta: ἢν μὴ τι θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ. See an example of voting, 1. 125.

²⁵ At least this occurs in the disputes between Corcyra and Corinth, Thuc. 1. 28, and in the treaty between Argos and Sparta, Thuc. 5. 79.

for the absence of more binding ties. But owing to the circumspect slowness of Sparta, and the independence which was secured to the confederates individually, the league was deficient in energy and vigour. In the field Sparta had the sole command²⁶, and Spartan officers²⁷ were appointed to lead the contingents of the allies. But, on the other hand, the Spartan generalissimo summoned the chief officers of the confederate army to attend a council of war²⁸.

Relying upon the assistance of her allies, Sparta had sent an army from the Peloponnesus towards the north, with the view of defending Doris against the Phocians²⁹. But the expedition was not solely destined to defend the Grecian continent. Sparta was desirous of regaining a position in northern Greece, and though she might not avow it, her chief object in taking this step appears to have been to march back through Bœotia, and raise up Thebes against the Athenians, whilst the Dorian sea-states should offer them battle. This being accomplished, and the Athenians having taken the field in favour of the disaffected Bœotians, they were beaten at Tanagra, Ol. 80. 4; 457. B. C.³⁰, whereupon a treaty was concluded between Sparta and Thebes³¹, which confirmed the authority of the latter over the rural districts of Bœotia. Thus Argos and Thebes, the two states which had betrayed their common

²⁶ e. g. Thuc. 5. 54.

²⁷ Thuc. 2. 10:—τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους παρῆναι.

²⁸ Thuc. 1. 107; Diod. 11. 81.

²⁹ Diod. 11. 81; Justin 3. 6. Comp. Thuc. 3. 62; Müller, Orchom. 417. n.; Böckh, Explic. Pind. 532.

³⁰ Thuc. 1. 108.

VOL. II.

country, were once more restored to dignity and importance, the former by Athens, the latter by Sparta; but at the same time the chief towns of their respective territories were averse from their authority, those of Bœotia being in favour of the Athenian, and those of Argolis of the Spartan connection. Two more battles were fought in Bœotia. The victory which Myronides obtained at Oenophyte, sixty-two days after the battle of Tanagra, enabled him to re-establish the influence of Athens in Bœotia, except at Thebes and Orchomenus, whereupon democracy was everywhere introduced under the Athenian banners³². Myronides also succeeded in gaining over Phocis, which was distracted by internal quarrels, but probably not without guaranteeing to the people the possession of the chief power. The Opuntian Locrians were compelled to give a hundred of their richest citizens as hostages for their fidelity³³. The Athenians failed in their attempts to reinstate the expelled Pharsalian Orestes³⁴. In the meantime Ægina had been reduced and constrained to join the Athenian Synteleia, Olymp. 86. 4; 456. B. C.

After the return of Cimon, which took place in the fifth year of his exile³⁵, 456. B. C., there appeared prospects of a reconciliation between Sparta and Athens; the mediation of Cimon had first effected a three years' armistice, and ultimately in Olymp. 82. 1; 450. B. C., a five years' truce between Sparta and Athens, and a thirty

³² Thuc. 1. 108.³⁴ Thuc. 1. 111.³⁵ Plut. Cim. 17. 18; Corn. Nepos, 3; Ephor. ap. Schol. Aristid. Marx, 224.³³ Thuc. ubi sup.

years' peace between Sparta and Argos³⁶. It was with this intention that Pericles had caused Cimon to be recalled, and Athens retained her influence in Bœotia and Phocis for some time longer.

Cimon next directed the Athenian arms against the hereditary enemy in Asia, when the victory of Cyprus, Olymp. 82. 4; 449. B. C., was the means of extorting from the great king, what the Athenian orators term a glorious peace, usually entitled the peace of Cimon. But even granting the encomiums which the orators so lavishly bestowed on Athens to have been little more than empty declamation³⁷, one thing at least is certain, that in consequence of the expedition of Cimon, Persia, for a period of thirty years, ceased to be the object of care and inquietude to the Greeks. The real facts of the case appear to have been that Athens submitted the articles of her much-vaunted peace to the Persian monarch, who was too proud to accede to such terms, and too weak to obtain any that were more favourable, whereupon the Athenians construed his silence into assent, and regarded their actual dominion of the seas and coasts as though it had been stipulated by treaty. That the western coast of Asia was not delivered from the Persian yoke by the battle of Mycale, is demonstrated by the history of Themistocles who found a secure retreat in Ephesus, and subsequently derived an income from Lampsacus, Myus, and

³⁶ Thuc. 1. 112.³⁷ See the criticism in Meier de Bon. Damnat. p. 117—122; Dahlmann Forschungen auf dem Gebiete d. Gesch. vol. i.; Krüger in Seebode Archiv.; Müller, Dor. 1. 186.

Magnesia, which were bestowed upon him by the Persian monarch absolutely, and not merely *in partibus*³⁸. In the Peloponnesian war there was a royal general in Ephesus, and the barbarians had so far the ascendant there as to place the lives of the Greeks in danger³⁹.

After the death of Cimon the animosities which had slumbered once more awoke. The two leading powers were at first contented with making indirect attacks upon one another, but even these undertakings sufficiently reveal the endeavours of each to obtain the hegemony. Sparta sent troops to Delphi against Phocis⁴⁰, apprehensive lest the efforts of the last to foster and promote the democracy established there by the Athenians might endanger the rigid oligarchy of the priests in Delphi. But even in this instance the views of Sparta were not those which she alleged; her real object was to secure to herself the Promanteia and Proedria as a counterpoise to the high priesthood of Athens at the Panegyris of Delos. This was the opinion of Pericles, who immediately marched to Delphi, appointed the Phocians presidents of the Delphic sanctuary, and appropriated the Promanteia to the Athenians. Meanwhile oligarchical fugitives from various towns and villages in Bœotia had assembled in Orchomenus, where their ranks were swelled by Locrians, Eubœans, and others of the oligarchical party⁴¹. An army composed

³⁸ Thuc. 1. 138.

³⁹ Plut. Lysand. 3.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 1. 112; Plut. Pericl. 21. Concerning the separation of Delphi from the Phocians, see Plut. Cim. 17; Strabo, 9. 423: — ἀπίστησαν τοὺς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ συστήματος τῶν Φωκίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν καθ' αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι.

⁴¹ Thucyd. 1. 113: — καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν.

of the flower of the Athenian troops was beaten at Coronea, Ol. 83. 2; 447. B. C., and together with the Athenian ascendancy fell the democracy of Bœotia⁴². Oligarchy appears to have been established in Phocis about the same time. Megara, doubtless at the instigation of an oligarchical party, revolted from Athens, Ol. 83. 3, whose enemies were now joined by Eubœa, where, though the ancient equestrian system was not wholly extinguished, considerable oppression had prevailed. An army marched from the Peloponnesus, Olymp. 83. 3; 445. B. C.⁴³. Pericles bribed the Peloponnesians to retire, reduced Eubœa, and concluded a thirty years' truce. Athens ceded Megara, Pagæ, Achaia (in Megaris?)⁴⁴, Trœzen⁴⁵, and recognised their independence. The provision that any state not in alliance with either of the two powers should be at liberty to join whichever of them it should think proper⁴⁶, proves how inveterate must have been the hostility between combatants, who in the very act of laying down their arms, were still careful to keep up the remembrance of their animosities. Hence the statement of Thucydides that Corcyra had been in alliance neither with Sparta nor Athens⁴⁷, is especially worthy of remark.

The subjugation of Samos, a project by which Pericles designed to consummate the maritime

⁴² Thucydides says, 1. 113. somewhat singularly: — πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

⁴³ Thuc. 1. 114.

⁴⁴ Müll. Dor. 1. 193. However, were it not for the position of the word between the names of two Megarian towns, we might assume it to have been the district of Achaia, where Athens had certainly endeavoured to obtain firm footing, and whence it had undertaken an expedition against Sicily. Thuc. 1. 111.

⁴⁵ Thuc. 1. 115.

⁴⁶ Thuc. 1. 35.

⁴⁷ Thuc. 1. 31.

supremacy of Athens, was followed by the establishment of a constitution on that island, which was intended to guarantee the Athenian power⁴⁸. In the course of the war some of the Peloponnesian states had prepared to take up arms, but had been prevented from accomplishing their purpose by Corinth⁴⁹; and it was probably owing to the advice of the valiant king Archidamus that Methymna's application for assistance in its defection from Athens was unsuccessful⁵⁰.

II. STATE OF PARTIES IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

§ 62. The collisions between the two principal powers and their confederates had divided the whole of Greece into two conflicting portions; every state was now compelled to declare for one or the other of these leaders, and this division superseded all former associations, whether for festive or other objects.

The armistice had not quenched the fire of discord, and a breath might fan it into a flame. In considering the accounts of the occasion of the war, we must be careful to distinguish between the internal tendency, the external impulse, and the ostensible pretext. The first resulted from the efforts to obtain the ascendancy on the one hand, and the fear of oppression on the other, or from the indignation of those on whom the yoke had already been imposed; and like most ineffectual crises which only irritate and increase the inflammation, the previous hostilities had rather

⁴⁸ § 58. n. 62.

⁴⁹ Thuc. 1. 140.

⁵⁰ Thuc. 3. 2.

stimulated than allayed the animosity of the combatants. The external occasion was the interference of Athens with the colonial disputes of Corinth, a state in the highest degree tenacious of its colonial relations. The expelled oligarchs of Epidamnus attacked the demus of their parent-city sword in hand, and the latter being unable to obtain succours from Corcyra was assisted by Corinth, under whose auspices Corcyra had founded the colony of Epidamnus. Hereupon Corcyra, whose democracy was almost dissolved in anarchy, coalesced with the oligarchical fugitives of Epidamnus. Corinth was supported by Megara, which now faithfully adhered to the mother-town, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzen, Phlius, Elis, Thebes, Paleis in Cephallenia, Ambracia, and Leucas; Corinth was the object of almost universal hatred. In the further progress of the war Corinth and Corcyra applied to Athens, whose importance in nautical affairs was acknowledged by both; but their object was to obtain her alliance not her arbitration¹. Athens could not long hesitate as to the course she should pursue. Permanent friendship was not to be looked for from Corinth, whilst a league with Corcyra might promote her design of destroying the Peloponnesian power at sea. Pericles accordingly decided for the league with Corcyra, which proceeding did not, according to the principles of Grecian law, involve any infraction of the thirty years' armistice on the part of Athens. Whilst the Athenians and Peloponnesians were fighting off Corcyra², Corinth and its

¹ Thuc. 1. 24—43.

² Thuc. 1. 45—55.

allies were exasperated to the last degree by the rigour with which Athens treated the Corinthian colony Potidæa in Chalcidice. This city, wavering in its forced obedience to the Athenians, the latter commanded the inhabitants to demolish a wall which guarded their city on the side of Pallene, give hostages for their fidelity, and dismiss the Corinthian Epidemiurgi. A secret correspondence was now carried on between Potidæa and the Peloponnesians, and the former, relying upon the assurances of assistance it had received, revolted from Athens, and was immediately besieged. The Peloponnesians now assembled in Sparta to complain of danger individually and collectively, when the Spartans, at the persuasion of the bold Ephor Sthenelaidas, resolved on war³. As the thirty years' truce, however, had not been openly and completely violated by the attack which Athens had made upon a town in Thrace, it was thought proper to save appearances by alleging various grievances against Athens, and these served for the ostensible pretext of the war. The chief accusations were, that Athens⁴ had imposed⁵ commercial restrictions upon Megara⁶; that she had neglected to punish the Alcæonidæ, who were polluted with the blood of Cylon's adherents, and that she tolerated Pericles⁷. They then declared that she should be required to consent to the independence of all the Greek states⁸.

³ Thuc. 1. 56—88.

⁴ Thuc. 1. 126, sqq.

⁵ Thuc. 1. 139: *καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προὔλεγον, κ. τ. λ.* This coincides with the vehement allusions to the subjects contained in the Attic comedy. Aristoph. Pac. 609, sqq.; Archarn. 509, sqq.

⁶ Aristoph. ubi sup.

⁷ Thuc. 1. 126.

⁸ Thuc. 1. 139.

It was natural that Athens should decline, as soon as she paused in her career of aggrandisement. By not advancing she lost ground, and every concession entailed a long train of losses. On the other hand what a boundless prospect was offered to the stirring and enterprising spirit of the Athenians by that element on which they reigned supreme; what advantages must they not have hoped to derive from a naval war! As obviously as this would seem to result from all principles of common policy, as well as from the particular character of the Athenians, still there have not been wanting numerous writers, both in ancient and modern times, who have ascribed the war to personal motives in Pericles, and those not of the most dignified order. Aristophanes⁹ attributes it to an insult offered by the Megarians to two women who were upon intimate terms with Aspasia; Diodorus¹⁰ asserts that it originated in the embarrassment of Pericles when called upon to give an account of his administration of the public revenue; and Plutarch¹¹ says it was occasioned by the anxiety he felt for the fate of Pheidias, who had been impeached. It is impossible wholly to absolve Pericles from the imputation of having been guided by motives of a personal nature in the course he pursued; and the strenuous endeavours of modern writers to dissolve historical

⁹ Pac. 540, sqq. Aristophanes is outdone by the Schol. Thucyd. vol. v. 334. 2nd edit.: *οἱ δὲ φασὶν ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ψῆφον εἰσέγαγε διότι οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Ἀσπασίαν τὴν διδάσκαλον Περικλίου ὕβρισαν πόρνην αὐτὴν ἐγκαλοῦντες.* According to Duris of Samos, whose partiality it is easy to explain, and Theophrastus, who not unfrequently appears to have been deficient in critical acumen, Aspasia occasioned the Samian and Peloponnesian wars. Harpocr. Ἀσπασία.

¹⁰ Diod. 12. 38.

¹¹ Plut. Pericl. 32.

occurrences from all connection with personal considerations, and to represent the public acts of kingdoms and states as exclusively official, and as the results of purely political calculations, are as unsuccessful as they are useless. Is the patriot to be debarred from carrying into execution those plans which he may consider conducive to the prosperity of his country, because they may be fraught with advantage to himself? Meiners has successfully vindicated the character of Pericles¹².

The sentiments of the Greek states during this twenty-seven years' struggle were not uniform at every part of the period. The passion by which so many had been actuated at the commencement of the war became still more inflamed and acrimonious during its progress, and a very small number of them occasionally gave ear to the dictates of calm and sober reason. The immediate causes of the rupture, the struggle for the hegemony on the one side, and the lust of power and love of liberty on the other, lost none of their force with the continuance of the contest, whilst most of those who took part in it were fully conscious of the motives by which they were actuated. But they did not contend for a purely political principle; the struggle was not between despotism and liberty; the rancour of both parties was increased by their difference of nationality, and the war found constant aliment from the variety of the contending principles, the increasing exasperation, and the particular incitements of the combatants; they fought less for any common cause than for all

¹² Meiners, *Gesch. der Wissensch. in Griechenl.* und R. 1. 123, sqq.

sorts of separate interests arising out of their various characters and positions; that opposition which had at first been political, now became national, and thus the war struck at the very roots of political society in Greece.

The principal opposition laid down by Thucydides is that of tribes and constitutions; but this general principle, to which he gives so much prominence, was greatly modified and restricted by particular circumstances. What has been observed of the Greeks in general, applies with full force to Thucydides; their scientific mode of considering subjects, led them to seek a unity which did not exist in political life. The classification of the confederates on both sides, according to the two first principles of opposition, is merely approximative; individual circumstances prevailed to too great an extent to allow of so broad a distinction.

I. The opposition of tribes, or more strictly speaking, of Dorism and Ionism, of the inland and the maritime, the solid and fixed, as distinguished from the unsettled and the roving, which is so frequently noticed by Thucydides, and on which he dwells with such complacency¹³, especially applies to the two leading states, Sparta and Athens. There can be no doubt that the ties of kindred and extraction had considerable weight with the latter; and her exertions to obtain the hegemony were, doubtless, accompanied by the wish to uphold Doric usages and feelings, but Athens was

¹³ *Karà tò ξυγγενές*, Thucyd. 6. 6; 76. 77. 58, etc.; proclamation addressed by the Dorians to the Dorians, 6. 80; the pride of the Dorians on account of their community of extraction, 6. 77; in contradistinction to the Ionians, as Nesiotæ, 7. 5 (Gylippus); comp. 6. 82; 7. 57; 8. 25, etc.

obviously actuated by a more selfish policy, and her representation of the Ionic principle was wholly subordinate to the hegemony, which she asserted by means of her armies and fleets, and which, as the ruling state, it was essentially her interest to uphold. But in their declarations, indeed, the two leading powers studiously dwelt upon the bond of affinity, whilst every exertion was made to revive the half-forgotten tie between mother and daughter-towns, and to apply it to new political combinations¹⁴. But these two tribes or races by no means comprised the whole of the members of these conflicting confederacies. The Æolian and Achæan tribes were more or less involved in the contest, as well as various others, which had remained in their ancient state of separation, such as the mountain races around Thessaly. Most of the Æolic tribes, indeed, and especially Thebes, sided with the Dorians, but on the other hand, Sparta declared, in the remarkable proclamation to those who were desirous of joining the settlement at Heraclea in Trachin, that the Achæans were not amongst her friends¹⁵. Hence it results that what has been represented as a division of parties, based upon the difference of tribes, was in reality made in conformity to political interests, which must be explained from the peculiar reasons, external circumstances, and particular sentiments of the various states which composed it.

The force of external circumstances is eminently perceptible in the case of the Athenian Synteleia.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 6. 6; 6. 82.

¹⁵ Thucyd. 3. 92: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευον ἔπεισθαι, πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ἄλλων ἔθνων.

Whilst Athens possessed the sovereignty of the seas, the Ionians and Dorians were equally impatient of the yoke, and upon the downfall of the Athenian naval power, they both hastened to throw off their allegiance, and it is even affirmed that the Ionians set the example. When the Athenians first took possession of the shores of Asia Minor, they had respected the ties of consanguinity indeed¹⁶; but they afterwards openly declared that the right of the stronger was the only bond of their confederacy¹⁷. A striking contrast to this system of coercion and terror was presented by the proclamation of freedom which went forth from Sparta¹⁸, and which especially conduced to loosen the bands of the Athenian Synteleia. The credulity with which the Greeks ever listened to the delusive promise of the stranger, was proportioned to their own deficiency in the consistency and moderation requisite for the enjoyment of genuine freedom. Amongst the free allies of Athens, with the exception of Chios, which, however, only enjoyed a sort of half liberty, we scarcely find any Ionians at all. Those states which lay without the reach of the Athenian empire, were nearly all indifferent to the tie between them and their Greek kinsmen, such as the states on the Pontus, Massilia, etc. On the other hand, the Doric states, Argos and Naupactus, were, from particular reasons, staunch allies of Athens.

The key-stone of the Peloponnesian Symmachia was the hegemony of Sparta. This did not, however, comprise all the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, for Argos stood alone, and was even hostile to it; nor were all its members Dorians, as the Arcadians

¹⁶ Herod. 9. 106.

¹⁷ § 58. n. 40.

¹⁸ Thucyd. 2. 8. 72; 4. 85.

were of ancient Pelasgic and the Eleans of Cauconic-Ætolian extraction. Nevertheless, the intercourse of several centuries, and the influence of Doric manners and customs, had greatly conduced to remove the barriers by which these discordant races had been divided. The nearest ally of Sparta without the Peloponnesus was Megara, but not solely or especially on account of its attachment to Dorism; amongst those not of Doric extraction were Thebes and its Bœotian dependencies, Locris and Phocis. Thebes endeavoured to gain over the Æolian Lesbians to the league, by reminding them of their common descent from an Æolian tribe¹⁹. Sparta called upon the transmarine Dorians in Italy and Sicily to join her²⁰, but a long time elapsed before they took any active part in the war. Internal dissension prevailed amongst the states in Crete, some of which were of Doric origin; and even the attack of the Athenians upon Cydonia²¹ did not induce them to take up arms for the Peloponnesian cause.

II. The opposition of constitutions. This did not necessarily arise out of the peculiarity of extraction²², but only coincided to a certain extent with the difference of tribes, democracy with the Ionians, oligarchy with the Dorians; namely, so far as the two leading powers, Athens and Sparta, declared themselves the representatives of the rival principles. We shall afterwards see how little sincerity there was in their professions of interest for the causes themselves; the establishment of the constitution which they upheld was not an end but a

¹⁹ Thucyd. 3. 2; 6. 5. 100.²⁰ Thucyd. 2. 7. 86.²¹ Thucyd. 2. 85.²² See vol. i. 260, sqq.; comp. 66. 67.

means. Such is the character which Nicias gives of Sparta's zeal for oligarchy²³, and the self-interested motives of Athens were equally apparent. It cannot be denied that zeal for their respective constitutions had a considerable share in determining the various states as to which side they should espouse; but even this was not so much a result of the constitutions in themselves as of the ulterior advantages which they expected to reap from them. Most of the states were guided by the selfish but natural policy of endeavouring to obtain the right of ordering their own affairs, by joining one or the other of the leading combatants. But the majority of them were distracted by violent party animosities at home. There existed in very few any uniform or decided feeling for or against a particular constitution; hence, then, while nominally and ostensibly they belonged to the two confederacies, the oligarchs were in reality almost universally in favour of Sparta and the demus of Athens. It was upon these grounds that after the recovery of Mytilene, the Athenian Diodotus recommended the employment of clemency, lest they should estrange the affections of the popular party²⁴. For that reason the Athenians were so mortified by their discomfiture in Sicily, because, contrary to custom, the Syracusan demus had fought against them²⁵. Few of the states remained steadfast in their external relations with either confederacy, which, in consequence of domestic feuds, fluctuated according to the ascendant which either party happened to obtain in the interior, whilst through every

²³ Thucyd. 6. 11: πόλιν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.²⁴ Thucyd. 3. 47.²⁵ Thucyd. 7. 55.

vicissitude the demus remained devoted to the Athenian, and the oligarchs to the Spartan confederacy. Hence Thebes and Megara, whose constitutions were oligarchical, refused to enter into an alliance with democratic Argos²⁶. But whilst all the various moving principles of demagogy and oligarchism (some of which were of a personal nature) appear to resolve themselves into this opposition of constitutions, and to explain the policy which led particular states to side with the Athenians or Peloponnesians, other political interests, of almost infinite diversity, affected the position of the single states in the respective leagues. These, for the most part, dated from an earlier age, on which account their activity was most apparent at the beginning of the war. Hence, before we proceed, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the collective members of the two leagues, according to their tribes, constitutions, and other motives of action, as well as according to the variations in the state of parties during the war. In considering this last point, it will be necessary to divide the war into three periods, viz., from its commencement 2. till the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and, 3. till its conclusion.

I. TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS.

A. ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY.

a. *The Synteleia (including the Lesbians and Chians.)*

The states included under the Athenian Synteleia, and the feeling which prevailed in them re-

²⁶ Thucyd. 5. 31.

spectively, have already been described. Although the yoke of Athens pressed most heavily upon the nobles and the wealthier orders, it is probable that in various communities the struggle for freedom and independence was common to all classes. But during the first period of the war the curse of discord had not yet poisoned the sources of Grecian society, and nobility and commonalty were alike impatient of a foreign yoke, and eager for deliverance from the tyranny of the Athenians. This however in most cases proceeded from the preponderance of the upper classes. Those states which had been compelled to enter into the Athenian league, betrayed a spirit of disaffection from the very beginning of the war. The mission of Methymna to the Peloponnesians has been adverted to above. Potidæa was the first to revolt. The indignant Ægina had already sent clandestinely to Sparta²⁷, when Athens prevented the proposed defection by expelling the whole population²⁸. The defection of Mytilene followed in the fourth year of the war, and upon being once more reduced, it ceased to be a political community²⁹. As early as the year 430. B. C., intestine strife had broken out in Colophon, whereby the Persians obtained possession of the town and blockaded the citizens in the harbour of Notium; these dissensions still prevailed during the fourth year of the war, the bias of one party being towards the barbarians; but the Athenians took the place, and only suffered their own adherents to reside there under Athenian laws³⁰.

²⁷ Plut. Pericl. 29.

²⁸ Thuc. 2. 27; Diodor. 12. 44.

²⁹ Thuc. 3. 1, sqq.; Aristot. Pol. 5. 3. 3. assigns as the reason of its defection: ἐξ ἐπιπλήρων στάσεως γενομένης.

³⁰ Thuc. 3. 34, sqq.; comp. Arist. Pol. 5. 2. 12.

Chios having in the seventh year of the war built new walls, the jealousy of the Athenians took the alarm, and they caused them to be demolished; whereupon Chios gave pledges for its fidelity³¹. In the ninth year of the war the Athenians expelled the Delians, whom they suspected of carrying on a correspondence with Sparta³²; but their island was afterwards restored to them. When Brasidas proclaimed freedom to the Greek settlements in Chalcidice, they all with one accord threw off their allegiance to Athens; Acanthus, Stagira, Amphipolis, Torone, Scione, Mende, etc., received the Spartan liberator with open arms³³, whilst Scione crowned him with a golden wreath, as the deliverer of Greece³⁴. Amphipolis paid him the same honours after his death as it had previously done to Agnon, the founder of the city³⁵. But the demus soon after succeeded in placing Mende once more in the hands of the Athenians³⁶.

b. The independent confederates of Athens.

(ἀπὸ συμμάχων αὐτόνομοι, Thuc. 7. 57.)

Eminently distinguished for its zeal, fidelity, and fortitude in danger and distress was Plataeæ, whose aversion to the despotism of Thebes equalled its enthusiasm in the cause of popular liberty. But the oligarchical party which existed there at the beginning of the war entered into relations with Thebes³⁷, and thus brought ruin and desolation

³¹ Thuc. 4. 51. On the caution of the Chians, comp. 8. 24.

³² Thuc. 5. 1.

³⁴ Thuc. 4. 121.

³⁶ Thuc. 4. 131.

³³ Thuc. 4. 85, sqq.

³⁵ Thuc. 5. 11.

³⁷ — ἰδίᾳ ἕνεκα δυνάμεως, Thuc. 2. 2.

upon their native town. Such of the Plataeans as had fled before the destruction of their city became denizens in Athens, and were afterwards removed to Scione³⁸. The zeal and fidelity of Nau-pactus were not inferior to those of Plataeæ; its citizens, grateful to Athens for having rescued them from their perilous situation in Ithome, and established them in their new place of abode³⁹, nourished the most inveterate hatred against their hereditary enemies, the Spartans, who were descended from the same race with themselves. The conduct of Corcyra was influenced more by aversion to Corinth than attachment to Athens. Democratic feeling here degenerated into mob violence. Corcyra disclaimed all intention of breaking the ties of affinity which bound it to the Peloponnesians, with whom it wished to keep up relations of friendship⁴⁰, and declared that it only intended to co-operate with Athens according to the terms of the confederation. Accordingly, when the partisans of the Corinthian oligarchy were butchered with all the cruelty of fanatical hostility, Athens received but little assistance from Corcyra. The greater part of the Acarnanians had from the second year of the war been in the interest of Athens⁴¹. But they were still so backward in political culture that their proceedings could not be guided by much calculation or design⁴²; their chief inducement to take part in the war was the hope of spoil, and they joined the Athenians out of hatred to the Corinthian settlement, and possibly out of aversion to the Corinthian intercourse.

³⁸ Thuc. 5. 32.

⁴¹ Thuc. 2. 9; comp. 62.

³⁹ Thuc. 1. 103.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 3. 70.

⁴² Comp. vol. i. p. 93.

The half-Greek Argos Amphilocheum was especially hostile to the Ambraciots who were spread over the neighbouring coasts; the Ambraciots took the city, but the fugitives having, with the assistance of Athens, effected their return, drove out the Ambraciots, and from that time continued faithful allies of the Athenians⁴³. On the contrary, the town of Æniadæ⁴⁴ and the tyrant Euarchus in Astacus⁴⁵ were for the Peloponnesians. Mention occurs⁴⁶ of a federal council (κοινὸν) of the Acarnanians towards the end of the war, in Stratos, the largest town in the country⁴⁷; but it is uncertain whether that body, or individual communities only were in alliance with Athens. Cephallenia and Zacynthus fought in the Athenian ranks rather from compulsion than inclination⁴⁸. The Ozolian Locrians who for a short time espoused the cause of the Athenians, displayed the usual qualities of the barbarians, venality, rapacity, and faithlessness⁴⁹. Upon the approach of a Spartan army the Amphisæans declared for the Peloponnesians⁵⁰. In Thessaly the people were entirely on the side of Athens⁵¹; but the tyranny of the Dynasts prevented them from following the natural bias of their feelings. But in consequence of the distractions which prevailed there, the ranks of the Athenians were swelled by detachments from Larissa, Pharsalus, Crannon, Gyrton, Pheræ, etc.⁵², and especial mention occurs of Polymedes, Aristonus, and the Pharsalian chief Menon; the last of these

⁴³ Thuc. 3. 68.⁴⁴ Thuc. 2. 82.⁴⁵ Thuc. 2. 30. 33.⁴⁶ Xen. Hell. 4. 6. 4.⁴⁷ Thuc. 2. 80.⁴⁸ Thuc. 7. 57: αὐτόνομοι μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νησιωτικὸν μᾶλλον κατωργούμενοι, ὅτι θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν Ἀθηναῖοι. Comp. 2. 7. 66.⁴⁹ Thuc. 3. 95.⁵⁰ Thuc. 3. 101.⁵¹ Thuc. 4. 78.⁵² Thuc. 2. 22.

sent the Athenians during their attack upon the Mendean settlement, Eion near Amphipolis⁵³, twelve talents and two or three hundred horsemen of his own⁵⁴. Some of the mountain-tribes around Thessaly, consisting of Ænians or Ætæans⁵⁵, Dolopians, and Malians, were at enmity with the Dorian colony Heraclea⁵⁶, but took no active steps in favour of the Athenians⁵⁷. The subject of the Italiots and Siceliots will be treated in the second chapter.

B. THE PELOPONNESIAN CONFEDERACY.

a. *The Peloponnesian Symmachia properly so called.*

The most prominent state of the league after Sparta was at this time Corinth. Though its attachment to Sparta had dated from a very remote period, it had never been intemperate, or wholly incompatible with friendship for Athens and its youthful democracy⁵⁸. But now its hatred to Athens reached the highest pitch, in consequence of the protection which the latter afforded to Corcyra, its rivalry in maritime trade, and the irreparable injury it had done to the colonial system of Corinth. The Argolic towns, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermione, Halieis, and Phlius adhered to Sparta through the whole course of the war with their wonted zeal and fidelity, which

⁵³ Thuc. 4. 7.⁵⁴ ἱππεῦσι πενέσταις ἰδίοις; Ps. Demosth. de Syntax. 173. 4. 5. R; Dem. in Aristocr. 686. 29.⁵⁵ See vol. i. 46. n. 15.⁵⁶ See below.⁵⁷ According to Ps. Demosth. in Near. Sparta summoned the Malians, Ætæans and (!) the Ænians πανδημί to her assistance in besieging Plataea. It is not very surprising that they did not obey the summons.⁵⁸ Vol. i. p. 203.

derived additional force from their incessant, and by no means unfounded apprehensions of Argos. Tegea's neighbourly relation with Sparta had been revived, but Mantinea⁵⁹, which had for a long time leaned towards Argos, showed considerable lukewarmness in its alliance with Sparta. The remaining states of Arcadia, such as Orchomenus, etc., were for Sparta. However, even at that period the Arcadians evinced the readiness to serve for pay which afterwards became so conspicuous a feature in their character; and even Asiatic barbarians could purchase the services of Arcadian bands⁶⁰. Megara, still reckoning itself amongst the Peloponnesian Dorians, as before its separation from Corinth, groaned beneath the yoke of oligarchs, but even the lower orders were probably exasperated against their insolent neighbours, who, besides preventing them from disposing of their hardly-earned produce⁶¹, devastated their sterile lands twice every year⁶². Pellene in Achaia was induced to enter the Symmachia from jealousy and fear of its opposite neighbour Naupactus⁶³.

b. Other Members of the Confederacy without the Peloponnesus.

Amongst these the first place, judged by the standard of public opinion, must be assigned to the Delphic oracle and its Hierarchy. The Pythia openly declared that the Delphic god would employ his whole power in favour of Sparta⁶⁴. The

⁵⁹ Its troops are mentioned, Thucyd. 3. 107. 111.

⁶⁰ Thuc. 3. 34.

⁶¹ Aristoph. Acharn. 519, sqq.

⁶² See below, § 63. n. 4.

⁶³ Thuc. 2. 9.

⁶⁴ Thuc. 1. 118: καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ἐυλόγησθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος. Comp. 2. 54.

intimate connection which had subsisted from the earliest times between the oracle and its pious believer Sparta, and the fear which the oligarchs entertained of the Phocians, drew the bands of their union still closer than before. But an oligarchy upheld by Sparta appears to have maintained an opposition between the Phocians and Athenians, which was entirely at variance with the popular feeling⁶⁵. Their enmity to the Thessalian Dynasts, the effects of which had usually been, that the Phocians were found amongst the enemies of Thessaly, still existed, it is true⁶⁶; but it had lost the greater part of its force, as the whole of these were not opposed to Athens. But the first place, in point of strength, must be assigned to Thebes, which, though governed by oligarchs, was the sworn enemy of Athens in consequence of her cruelty to Plataeæ. The rest of the Bœotians⁶⁷ followed the example of the capital; some of them by compulsion, as was the case with Thespiæ, which, despite of its hereditary aristocracy, was disaffected to the Thebans, wherefore, being accused of an understanding with Athens, it was in the ninth year of the war deprived of its walls by the Thebans⁶⁸. At the same time there were also partisans of Athens and democracy in other Bœotian towns, and even in Orchomenus⁶⁹, which had at one time offered a retreat to oligarchical fugitives, and still was the stronghold of equestrian aristocracy. Amongst the Locrians of Opus, who were accustomed to follow the example of Thebes,

⁶⁵ Comp. above, § 61.

⁶⁶ Vol. i. § 27. n. 37.

⁶⁷ Thuc. 4. 93, mentions the Haliartians, Coronæans, Copæans, and others about the lake (περὶ τὴν λίμνην), Thespians, Tanagræans, and Orchomenians.

⁶⁸ Thuc. 4. 133.

⁶⁹ Thuc. 4. 76.

oligarchy likewise prevailed⁷⁰. The Thessalian Dynasts have already been alluded to, and notwithstanding their oligarchy, they rarely or never crossed their frontier to assist the Spartans. The inhabitants of the little district of Doris, being harassed by the irruptions of the Cætæans, sent to Sparta for assistance. This occasioned the foundation of the Peloponnesian colony Heraclea, in Trachin, in the sixth year of the war⁷¹, which was designed to become a powerful auxiliary in time of war; but the neighbouring mountaineers, the Ænians (Cætæans), Dolopians, and Malians, opposed it from the beginning⁷², and the narrow-minded Spartan oligarchy never suffered it to attain maturity within⁷³. The Ætolians first fought out of hatred to the Acarnanians⁷⁴ and Naupactus, and latterly to defend themselves against the army which invaded their territory under the command of Demosthenes the Athenian⁷⁵. In Acarnania we have seen that Ceniadæ and Astacus were for the Peloponnesians. Ambracia, Anactorion, and Leucas sided with Corinth out of hatred to the arrogant and importunate Corcyræans. Even the Epirot Chaones fought for the Peloponnesians⁷⁶, doubtless on account of their aversion to Corcyra. On the southern coast of Thrace, Chalcidice, and the barbarian Bottiæans adhered to the confederates. The collection of the inhabitants of the surrounding cities within Olynthus had very im-

⁷⁰ Thuc. 1. 108.⁷¹ Thuc. 3. 92; Diodor. 12. 77.⁷² Thuc. ubi sup. 5. 51. Afterwards Agis marched out from Decelea against the Cætæans, *κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐχθρὰν*. Thuc. 8. 3. On the subsequent oppression of the inhabitants of Heraclea by the Cætæans, see Xen. Hell. 1. 2. 18.⁷³ Thuc. 3. 93; 5. 12.⁷⁴ Vol. i. p. 137. n. 39.⁷⁵ Thuc. 3. 97, sqq.⁷⁶ Thuc. 2. 80.

portant results. It was first inhabited by Bottiæans, when the Persian general Artabazus caused some Chalcidians, under Critobulus to be removed thither from Torone⁷⁷; hereupon, in the year before the Peloponnesian war, the Macedonian king Perdiccas collected all the inhabitants of the adjacent Athenian colonies within the walls of Olynthus⁷⁸. From that time Olynthus constituted a general capital, much in the same manner as Megalopolis, which in a later age formed the focus and centre of the Arcadian townships; but it had destroyed the several cities whose inhabitants had been transferred to it⁷⁹. When the Chalcidians are afterwards mentioned, the Olynthians are frequently meant⁸⁰. In examining the character of these Græco-Thracian towns in general, we must especially bear in mind the mixed nature of their respective populations, which chiefly consisted of barbarians.

We have seen that, according to custom, the Achæans, with the exception of Pellene, did not take any active part in the contest. Patræ laid no restrictions upon the traffic of Athens, but at the same time allowed a Corinthian fleet the use of its harbour⁸¹. To the neutral states we may moreover add Melos and Thera, Crete, Cyrene, the Pontic states, Apollonia on the Ionian sea, the greater part of the Italiots, and Massilia.

Unfortunately both parties must be reproached with having drawn barbarians into their quarrel. The Macedonian Perdiccas, whose imbecile and

⁷⁷ Herod. 8. 127.⁷⁸ Thuc. 1. 58; Diod. 12. 34.⁷⁹ Thuc. ubi sup.⁸¹ Thuc. 2. 83. 84.⁸⁰ e. g. Thuc. 2. 58. 79. 101. 4. 7. 79.

wavering conduct places him on a par with Tisaphernes, fully deserves the name. Thrace was, with few exceptions, in favour of Athens; particular mention must be made of Sitalces, prince of the Odrysæ⁸², whose son Sadocus had become an Athenian citizen⁸³; both mercenaries and slaves went regularly to Athens. But Sparta incurred universal obloquy by sending a deputation to the Persian monarch⁸⁴, a measure which had been decided upon at the very beginning of the war⁸⁵; but this, though it commenced its journey, never reached its destination. Several succeeding embassies were equally unsuccessful⁸⁶, and a similar destiny attended one which set out from Athens, but retraced its steps upon being informed of the death of Artaxerxes⁸⁷. How distinctly may we here perceive the prelude to the peace of Antalcidas!

2. FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TILL THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY.

The revival of a friendly feeling between Sparta and Athens had been at last prevented by Brasidas and Cleon alone, the former remarkable for his military genius, the latter notorious for riot and debauchery⁸⁸. Their death was followed by the peace of Nicias, a crude and ineffective expedient, which only served to remove the temporary griev-

⁸² Thuc. 2. 29.

⁸³ Thuc. 2. 67; Aristoph. Acharn. 145. Compare, on the subject of the kingdom of the Odrysæ, Kortüm z. Gesch. hell. Staatsverf. 169, sqq.

⁸⁴ Thuc. 2. 7.

⁸⁵ Thuc. 2. 67.

⁸⁶ One of the king's answers, intercepted by the Athenians, contained the following words, which would almost appear to have been written in jest, Thuc. 4. 50: οὐ γινώσκουσιν (τὸν βασιλέα) ὅ, τι βούλονται· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐλθόντων πρεσβίων οὐδὲνα ταῦτα λέγειν.

⁸⁷ Thuc. ubi sup.

⁸⁸ Thuc. 5. 16.

ances which had borne most recently upon the contending parties, but brought with it no radical and lasting cure for the evils which existed, incapable of reconciling the combatants, and of inspiring them with any confidence in its duration. It stipulated, amongst other points, that all should have unimpeded access to the national sanctuary in Delphi, and that the Autonomia of that institution should be respected; that the Thracian towns Argilos, Stagira, Acanthus, Scolos, Olynthus, and Spartolus should be permitted to remain neutral, with the reservation of a right in Athens *to persuade them* to join her confederacy if she should think proper. Amphipolis, Scione, Torone, and Sermylus became dependent upon Athens⁸⁹, etc. Corinth, Megara, Thebes, and Elis violently opposed the ratification of the peace, but the majority of voices at the Peloponnesian congress decided in favour of it⁹⁰. Sparta entered into another treaty with Athens⁹¹. Hereupon violent distractions arose amongst the Peloponnesians, which may be compared to the political blindman's buff at the time of the league of Cambray, the holy alliance, and the quadruple treaty of Herrenhausen and Wusterhausen. The league which Sparta concluded with Athens without the concurrence of the Peloponnesians was foreign to the spirit, and incompatible with the provisions of the Peloponnesian confederacy; but the dissatisfaction which it excited was converted into consternation and rage when the final clause of that treaty became known. This declared that if Athens or Sparta thought

⁸⁹ Thuc. 5. 18.

⁹¹ Thuc. 5. 23.

⁹⁰ Thuc. 5. 17.

proper to take from or add to it, they should be at liberty to do so without any infraction of its provisions on either side. Sparta, who thus abandoned her allies, and even coalesced with their enemies in oppressing them, was assailed by a whole host of angry passions; suspicion, jealousy, terror, and indignation took possession of the minds of the allies. The frail bond which had united the Peloponnesian confederacy could not withstand this shock. Corinth invited Argos to enter into a coalition against Sparta⁹²; Argos, still indignant at the loss of Cynuria⁹³, was by no means averse to the proposal. Mantinea, whose differences with Tegea had, in the ninth year of the war, broken out into actual hostilities⁹⁴, and which, during the war against Athens, had conquered the land of the Arcadian Parrhasians, was particularly apprehensive of the resentment of Sparta⁹⁵; democracy became a means to promote an alliance between them. In a like predicament was Elis, which had reduced the Lepreatians, whereupon Sparta had despatched a body of Hoplitæ to their aid, and restored the independence of Lepreum⁹⁶. Lastly, the Thracian towns⁹⁷ were fearful lest they might again fall under the yoke of Athens. Corinth prosecuted the affair with the greatest ardour and alacrity, whilst Thebes and Megara limited their interference to words, out of repugnance to an alliance with the democratic Argos⁹⁸. Tegea, where, however, a hostile faction was not idle⁹⁹, as well as Orcho-

⁹² Thuc. 5. 27.⁹⁴ Thuc. 4. 134.⁹⁶ Thuc. 5. 31. 49.⁹⁸ Thuc. ubi sup.⁹³ Thuc. 5. 14. 41.⁹⁵ Thuc. 5. 29.⁹⁷ Thuc. 5. 31.⁹⁹ Thuc. 5. 62. 63.

menus¹⁰⁰, Epidaurus, etc., still adhered to Sparta. Corinth finding itself unable to effect a general league against Sparta, became greatly alarmed, and strange plots and counterplots now ensued. Corinth failed in its efforts to bring about an alliance between Thebes, Megara, and the Thracian towns, and afterwards with Argos, in order by that means to gain access to Sparta¹⁰¹. But the mutual suspicion of Athens and Sparta once more awoke. The restitution of those places which had been occupied during the war was deferred, and Athens retained possession of Pylos. The Spartans required Thebes to cede Panacton to the Athenians, with the hope of obtaining Pylos for themselves¹⁰². But the Thebans razed Panacton to the ground, and excited fresh disturbances. Argos, fearing that Athens might become a party to Sparta's negotiations with Thebes, endeavoured to become reconciled with Sparta¹⁰³; but Athens feeling indignant at the demolition of Panacton, Alcibiades complained of the intrigues of Sparta, and sent clandestinely to Argos¹⁰⁴. Argos hereupon again joined its ancient ally Athens, and relying upon its support, concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Elis and Mantinea, in the twelfth year of the war, Olymp. 90. 1; 420. B. C.; each state being precluded from entering into a separate league with Sparta¹⁰⁵. Thus Corinth once more declared for Sparta¹⁰⁶. The Eleans forbade the Spartans to attend the

¹⁰⁰ Thuc. 5. 61.¹⁰² Thuc. 5. 36.¹⁰⁴ Thuc. 5. 42, sqq.¹⁰⁶ Thuc. 5. 48.¹⁰¹ Thuc. 5. 37. 38.¹⁰³ Thuc. 5. 40. 41.¹⁰⁵ Thuc. 5. 44, sqq.

Olympic festival¹⁰⁷; Alcibiades conquered Patræ for Athens, and erected long walls there¹⁰⁸; and the Argives ravaged the territory of Epidaurus. Meanwhile a breach once more ensued between Sparta and Thebes, because the latter had thrown a garrison into Heraclea in Trachin, upon pretence of defending it against its hostile neighbours, but Sparta hesitated to commence hostilities¹⁰⁹. This wild disorder lasted for several years, until the battle of Mantinea, in the fourteenth year of the war, at length put an end to this shadow of a confederacy. The Eleans had retired before the engagement, because the allied army had refused to march against the Lepreatians at their request¹¹⁰. Sparta now restored peace in the Peloponnesus, and endeavoured to provide for its continuance by introducing oligarchy into some of the cities least to be depended upon, such as Argos¹¹¹, Sicyon¹¹², Achaia¹¹³, Pellene¹¹⁴, etc. In the meantime, through the victory of the demus over the oligarchs in Argos, the Athenians had soon recovered that city, and now advised the Argives to build long walls, the bulwark of democracy and the Athenian confederacy¹¹⁵. This, however, did not disturb the tranquillity of the Peloponnesus, for, notwithstanding the Argives fought amongst the

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. 5. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Thuc. 5. 53. A Patræan said, the Athenians will devour us; Alcibiades replied: "ἴσως—κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τοῦς πόδας, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀθρώως. Plut. Alcib. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Thuc. 5. 52.

¹¹¹ Thuc. 5. 76. 79.

¹¹² Thuc. ubi sup.

¹¹⁴ It is evident, from Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 17, compared with Diod. 15. 68, that Pellene alone is to be understood whenever Achaia is mentioned in Xenophon. Comp. my Disput. de Veterum Scriptorum Græcorum Levitate, etc. p. 8. 9. Lips. 1825.

¹¹⁵ Thuc. 5. 82.

Athenians in Sicily and in Asia¹¹⁶, and served against the oligarchists in Athens¹¹⁷. Sparta did not make any direct attack upon them. Moreover, although Athenians had fought at Mantinea, the peace continued to subsist between Athens and Sparta, in form at least, for some time afterwards, till Alcibiades at length set the conscience of the Spartans at rest, and provoked them to fortify Decelea. Meanwhile Athens committed an act of unparalleled outrage upon Melos, which, with a Dorian population, had preserved a strict neutrality. The Athenians commanded the inhabitants to join their maritime confederacy against the Spartans, and upon their refusal, they took the place, slaughtered the men, and reduced the women and children to slavery¹¹⁸.

The tide of war rolled towards Sicily. That confusion and absence of all steadfastness and consistency in alliance and counter-alliance which characterized the mother-country had, from the beginning of the war, prevailed here. The policy of the Italiots seemed to be chiefly directed to the object of maintaining tranquillity and consulting their own safety: none of the states of that island evincing any disposition to take part in the war which distracted the mother-country. Such was the preponderance of Syracuse, that every other calculation appeared to be absorbed in the apprehensions to which the grasping disposition of that state gave rise. But during the first stages of the war, the principle of relationship operated as an additional bond of alliance amongst the enemies of

¹¹⁶ Thuc. 7. 37; 8. 28.

¹¹⁸ Thuc. 5. 84, sqq.

¹¹⁷ Thuc. 8. 86.

Syracuse. Leontini, suffering from the oppression of Syracuse, had, in the fifth year of the war, sent the orators, Gorgias and Tisias, to ask assistance of the Athenians¹¹⁹; the Chalcidian settlements in alliance with it had made a similar application, upon the ground of their Ionic origin¹²⁰. But the Doric Camarina was also in league with them, whilst the majority of the inhabitants of Messana, though that city was not exempt from dissensions, were attached to the Athenian party till the seventh year of the war¹²¹. Syracuse was supported by all the other Siceliots, except Agrigentum, which kept aloof from both parties, as well as by the island of Lipara¹²² and Locri¹²³. On the other hand Rhegium, impelled by hatred to Locri, sided with Leontini and Athens¹²⁴. In the eighth year of the war, the noble Syracusan, Hermocrates, adjusted the differences of the contending parties¹²⁵. Dissensions having arisen in Leontini, the demus was expelled, after which the oligarchists being compelled to quit the town, united with Syracuse¹²⁶.

The recommencement of hostilities and the expedition of the great Athenian army to Sicily, were occasioned by the assault of the Selinuntians on Egesta, a city not of purely Grecian origin. Selinus was in relations of friendship with Syracuse, and Egesta sent to Athens for assistance, its ambassadors being accompanied by some of the expelled democrats of Leontini¹²⁷. In the seventeenth year of the war¹²⁸, Olymp. 91. $\frac{1}{2}$; 415. B. C., the

¹¹⁹ Thucyd. 3. 86; Diodor. 12. 53; comp. Plato Hipp. Maj. 282. A.; Paus. 6. 17. 4.

¹²⁰ Thucyd. 3. 86.

¹²¹ Thucyd. 4. 2. 24. 25; 5. 4.

¹²² Thucyd. 4. 2. 24. 25.

¹²³ Thucyd. 4. 59, sqq.

¹²⁴ Thucyd. 6. 6. 19.

¹²⁵ Thucyd. 3. 88.

¹²⁶ Thucyd. 3. 86; 4. 2. 24. 25.

¹²⁷ Thucyd. 5. 4.

¹²⁸ Thucyd. 7. 28.

Argives and Megarian fugitives, besides the Nesiotæ, joined the expedition of the Athenians against Syracuse, for it was against that city that their preparations were chiefly directed, whilst the Mantineans and Cretans served for pay¹²⁹. The towns of the Italiots, and even Rhegium amongst the number¹³⁰, now almost unanimously sought to remain neuter. Tarentum and Locri refused to allow the Athenians to land¹³¹, and Crotona afterwards forbade them to march through its territory¹³². It was not till the expulsion of the Peloponnesian party had been effected in the following year, that Thurii and Rhegium assisted the Athenians¹³³. Amongst the Siceliots, Naxos voluntarily espoused the cause of Athens; but Catana¹³⁴, which was surprised by Pericles, did so partly by compulsion. At first Gela alone declared for Syracuse, Camarina remaining neuter¹³⁵. But the ranks of both parties received gradual reinforcements. Troops from those states which respectively belonged to the Athenian and Peloponnesian leagues, arrived in the heat of the engagement before Syracuse. The muster-roll of Thucydides¹³⁶ is an extraordinary document, for in enumerating the combatants on both sides, he is reluctantly compelled to record several facts totally at variance with the division which he attempts to establish, viz., into Dorians and Ionians. The Athenians, among whom were counted the Lemnians, Imbrians, and the cleruchi of Ægina and Histiaea, were supported by warriors from Chalcis, Eretria, Styra and Carystus in

¹²⁹ Thucyd. 6. 43.

¹³⁰ Thucyd. ubi sup.

¹³¹ Thucyd. 7. 35.

¹³² Thucyd. 6. 67. 87.

¹³³ Thucyd. 6. 44.

¹³⁴ Thucyd. 7. 35.

¹³⁵ Thucyd. 6. 51.

¹³⁶ Thucyd. 7. 57. 58.

Eubœa; Ionians from the Cyclades Ceos, Andros, Tenos, and from Miletus, Samos, and Chios; Æolians from Methymna, Tenedos, and Ænos; Dorians from Rhodes, Cythera, Corcyra; Achæans from Cephallenia and Zacynthus—all islanders or inhabitants of maritime districts, and, with the exception of Corcyra, compelled to perform service. To these must be added Messenian Dorians from Naupactus and Pylos, democratic fugitives from Megara, Argives impelled by hatred to Sparta and the self-interested calculations of individuals¹³⁷, Mantineans and other Arcadians¹³⁸, Ætolians and Cretans for pay, Acarnanians on account of their friendship for Demosthenes, and perhaps allured by the hope of spoil, and lastly, a party from Thurii and Metapontum, Rhegium¹³⁹, Naxos, and Catana. The allies of Syracuse were Camarina, Gela, Selinus, and Himera; the only Spartan amongst them was Gylippus. The most ardent of the combatants were the Corinthians, Ambraciots, and Leucadians. The Arcadians, constrained by their oligarchs the Sicyonians, fought for hire, and the efforts of the Thebans were inspired by their inveterate hatred to Athens. Thespiæ had, in the first year of the war, endeavoured to cause an insurrection in Sicily¹⁴⁰. Lastly, Cyrene had sent two triremes and commanders¹⁴¹. The Sicilians fought first on the one side, then on the other¹⁴². Athens endeavoured to gain over to its cause the Etruscans and Carthaginians¹⁴³.

¹³⁷ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν οὐ τῆς συμμαχίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον, ἢ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς παραντίκα ἕκαστοι ἰδίας—ἡκολούθουν.

¹³⁸ ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰὶ πολέμοις σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους ἵεναι εἰωθότες.

¹³⁹ Comp. Thucyd. 7. 33. 35

¹⁴¹ Thucyd. 6. 58.

¹⁴³ Thucyd. 6. 88.

¹⁴⁰ Thucyd. 6. 95.

¹⁴² Thucyd. 7. 1.

III. FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY TILL THE END OF THE WAR.

All previous relations were now, with few exceptions, dissolved. Individuals eagerly sought opportunities to serve as mercenaries, while the communities were suffering from the effects of exhausted treasuries; this was aggravated by the dissensions which broke out in the interior of various states, and especially those which dread of the Athenian power had hitherto held in tranquillity and subjection. The demus was still generally in favour of Athens¹⁴⁴, but the oligarchs once more raising their heads, contracted engagements with the Peloponnesians, and prepared to throw off the Athenian supremacy. The Athenian party had been driven out from many states which had preserved their independence, and amongst others from Thurii, whereupon the banished Rhodian Dorieus took the command of a Thurian squadron against the Athenians¹⁴⁵. The Peloponnesians now conceived the hope of effecting the final destruction of their exhausted adversary, whilst the expectation of sharing in the spoil of their once haughty but now fallen mistress, allured to the war large detachments from the west; Syracuse, Selinus, Tarentum and Locri¹⁴⁶, sent ships to the assistance of the Peloponnesians. But still more pernicious than this state of agitation and excitement were the intrigues of Alcibiades, and afterwards of Lysander, and no previous feature in the war

¹⁴⁴ Thucyd. 8. 8.

¹⁴⁵ Ps. Plut. in vit. Lys. 9. 322; comp. Thucyd. 8. 35. 39; Xenoph. Hell. 1. 1; 1. 5. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Thucyd. 8. 27. 91.

had operated so injuriously to the character of the nation at large, as the disgraceful avarice which induced them to flock around the barbarians, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, who no longer feared the Greeks after the disasters of the Athenians in Sicily. Alcibiades set the example, but he was too proficient in political wiles and subtleties to be duped by the clumsy artifices of Tissaphernes, whom he very soon moulded to his own purposes; Sparta soon followed his example, and incurred just reprehension by her three treaties with Tissaphernes¹⁴⁷, in which she abandoned the Greeks of the west coast of Asia, in the same manner as she afterwards did at the peace of Antalcidas. But many of these maritime states gradually withdrew from the Athenian confederacy. Amongst these were Chios, (though not without violent opposition on the part of the demus, which it required all the severity and determination of the oligarchs to overcome¹⁴⁸), Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Lebedos, Methymna, and Mitylene, which had again raised itself from its ruins. To these must be added Ephesus and Miletus, which displayed great energy in their opposition to Athens, Rhodes, Abydos, Lampsacus, Byzantium, and Thasus, whence, however, the Lacedæmonian party were soon after expelled¹⁴⁹, Olymp. 92. 3, and at length, to the inexpressible dismay of the Athenians, Eu-

¹⁴⁷ Thucyd. 8. 18. 37. 58.

¹⁴⁸ Thucyd. 8. 15. 23. 38; Diodorus, 13. 65, narrates that the Lacedæmonian Cratesippidas brought back Chian exiles, Ol. 92. 4, who thereupon expelled six hundred of their adversaries. The Prostatæ of the demus appear to have been banished first; they propitiated the Lacedæmonian by means of bribes. Divisions amongst the oligarchs themselves had resulted in the expulsion of some of them.

¹⁴⁹ Xen. Hell. 1. 1. 32. Comp. respecting the recovery of Thasus, Olymp. 93. 1, by Thrasybulus, 1. 4. 9; Diodor. 13. 72.

bœa¹⁵⁰, which endeavoured, like Athens, to connect its dependent towns with the sea by means of long walls, and unite itself to the continent by throwing a bridge over the Euripus. By the seasonable establishment of an unqualified democracy, Samos was preserved to Athens¹⁵¹, and its main bulwark in the war, Methymna, was reconquered¹⁵². After Alcibiades returned to the Athenian fleet, treachery and force effected various changes in the constitution of the league, though none of the maritime states were any longer capable of passing independent and unanimous decrees. Samos and Naupactus remained faithful to Athens till the last. For some time Syracuse took part in the naval war against Athens in the west; but the Carthaginians like the eastern barbarians, emboldened by the overthrow of the Athenian maritime power, soon fitted out formidable armaments against the Siceliots, when the arms of Syracuse had ample occupation at home.

III. THE CHARACTER OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE GREEK STATES IN GENERAL.

§ 63. The relentless destiny of the Greeks in this unhallowed war, seemed to reveal itself in the natural phenomena of the time; earthquakes were felt almost every year during its continuance; Ætna cast forth fire; eclipses terrified the people; drought, famine, and the plague¹, swept away mul-

¹⁵⁰ Thucyd. 8—15. 21. 23. 44. 60. 80. 95.

¹⁵¹ Thucyd. 8. 21. 73. See below, § 65. n. 173.

¹⁵² Thucyd. 8. 23; Xenoph. Hell. 1. 6. 13.

¹ See Thucyd. 1. 23; 2. 8; 28. 48, sqq.; 3. 89. 116; 4. 52; 5. 50; 6. 95; Diod. 12. 59.

titudes of the best and bravest of the citizens. But the terrors of nature were less dreadful than the passions of men; covetousness and revenge, hatred and rage, sordid avarice and bloodstained cruelty, vied with each other in the working havoc and destruction; towns were levelled with the ground, the vanquished and defenceless were remorselessly butchered, and all that the nation had been used to regard with veneration was abandoned to profanation and insult. The inviolability of heralds and sanctuaries, and the custom of granting quarter to, and exchanging prisoners², which had hitherto been observed amidst all their political vicissitudes, were now utterly disregarded in the rage and exasperation that prevailed.

It cannot be denied that the Peloponnesians commenced this system of outrage and atrocity. The Megarians with a revolting violation of international law slew the Athenian herald Anthemocritus³, just before the commencement of the war. The decree which the Athenians passed in consequence breathed the most implacable hostility; they proclaimed a war of extermination against Megara, and death to every Megarian who should set foot upon Athenian ground; whilst an obligation was appended to the oath of the generals to invade the Megarian territory twice every year⁴. Allowing that the latter possibly committed this outrage under the influence of blind passion, what can be said in extenuation of the calm and deliberate treachery of the

² Vol. i. p. 197. 198.

³ Plut. Peric. 30; Harpocrat. Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

⁴ Plut. ubi sup.; comp. Thuc. 2. 31; 4. 66.

Peloponnesians at the beginning of the war, and their profanation of that which religion had sanctified. I allude to the attempt of the Thebans to possess themselves of Plataeæ in spite of its independence, which had long been recognised, and the inviolability secured to it in consequence of its connection with the temple and festival of Zeus Eleutherios⁵. It is true that hereupon Plataeæ showed no quarter to the Theban prisoners⁶. In a short time it became the general usage of warfare to kill the prisoners on both sides; it was a rare occurrence that a free passage was granted to the garrison of a reduced fortress, as in the instance of Potidæa⁷; the men were generally put to death, and the women and children reduced to slavery. This was the fate which Plataeæ⁸ experienced at the hands of the Spartans, whose conscience afterwards tormented them⁹. The Athenians imbrued their hands in the blood of the Æginetans who were expelled¹⁰ from their island¹¹ at the beginning of the war, and afterwards led away from their habitation in Thyrea and put to death¹²; a similar fate befel the Scionæans¹³ and Melians¹⁴. The massacre of the Mytilenæans, which had been resolved upon at the instigation of the sanguinary Cleon, was confined

⁵ Plut. Aristid. 21, on the festival Eleutheria. It is there stated consistently with the accounts in Thucyd. 2. 71, that the Greeks had determined after the battle of Plataeæ: Πλαταιεῖς δ' ἀσύλους καὶ ἱεροὺς ἀφεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ, θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

⁶ Thucyd. 2. 5; comp. Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1378.

⁷ Thucyd. 2. 70:—Ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν θυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριον τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον.

⁸ Thucyd. 3. 68.

⁹ Thucyd. 7. 18.

¹⁰ Cic. de Offic. 3. 11. Is it true that they were deprived of their thumbs, and if so did it take place then, or had it already occurred in 456?

¹¹ Thucyd. 2. 27; Diod. 12. 44.

¹² Thucyd. 4. 57.

¹³ Thucyd. 5. 32.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 5. 116.

to the thousand prisoners in Athens¹⁵. Amongst the very rare instances of humanity it is recorded of Conon that he pardoned and liberated¹⁶ the noble Rhodian Dorieus whom he had taken prisoner, Olymp. 93. 2. whilst commanding a squadron from Thurii, whither he had fled upon being driven from Rhodes by the Athenians. The Syracusans condemned the Athenians and their allies whom they took prisoners to die a lingering death in their stone-quarries¹⁷, or reduced them to the condition of slaves. Lysander completed this long series of atrocities, by executing the three thousand Athenians who had been made prisoners at Ægos Potamos¹⁸. This act of vengeance against enemies who had borne arms against them is less revolting than the gratuitous cruelty of the Spartans, in murdering the traders of neutral towns whom they found on board the vessels they captured¹⁹. Some ambassadors from the Peloponnesians to the Persian king who were seized in Thrace and delivered up to the Athenians, were by them put to death as spies are at the present day²⁰. No promises were considered binding; and men, in other respects brave and honest, did not scruple to employ artifice to get their victims into their power, in corroboration of which may be adduced the conduct of Paches, who used insidious and equivocal words in treating with an Arcadian commander²¹.

¹⁵ Thucyd. 3. 50.¹⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 5. 19.¹⁷ Thucyd. 7. 86; comp. Diodor. 13. 19, sqq.; Plut. Nic. 28.¹⁸ Plut. Lysand. 13; Xenoph. Hell. 2. 1. 32, who as usual states too few, and Pausan. 9. 31. 6, where the number appears to be somewhat exaggerated.¹⁹ Thucyd. 2. 67; comp. 3. 32.²⁰ Thucyd. 2. 67.²¹ Thucyd. 3. 34; comp. Polyæn. 3. 2.

The exasperation of the combatants, as it caused them to disregard every motive to mercy and reconciliation, founded in the remembrance of their common nationality, so it even urged them impiously to assail that on which religion had conferred sanctity and immunity. As the altar of Jove the Deliverer had been desecrated by the destruction of Plataeæ, so the Spartans, impelled by hatred of the Eleans, violated the sanctity of the Olympic territory²², and the Athenians drove the Delians from their island²³. Those appointed to preside over and to tend the supreme national sanctuaries, the ministers of the Delphic god and the Olympic Zeus, are chargeable with the grossest partizanship; the Peloponnesians obtained supplies of money from them²⁴, and sent them in return spoil taken in war. The Amphictyonic council, which, soon after the Persian war, had displayed its patriotism by offering a reward for the head of the traitor Ephialtes, by the inscription on the heroes of Thermopylæ, and the decree for the expulsion of the Dolopian pirates from Scyros²⁵, had dwindled into a mere shadow, and through the whole course of the war no example is recorded of its efficiency, either in word or deed. The nationality of the Greeks being thus deprived of its noblest attributes, they became the more liable to fall into the snares of the barbarians, and no longer possessed fortitude enough to withstand the seductions of Persian gold.

²² Thucyd. 5. 49; where the Eleans appear to enjoy the immunity in their own right.²³ Thucyd. 5. 7. On the Delians, see 5. 32.²⁴ Thucyd. 1. 121; 4. 134; Plut. Lysand. 1; comp. vol. i. p. 166. n. 77.²⁵ Vol. i. p. 179. See some very pertinent remarks on the subject, Plut. de Orac. Pyth. 7. 579, 581. R.

But this gloomy picture is drawn into full and terrible distinctness by the baneful flames of civil discord, which raged with the most devastating fury. The evils caused by these intestine convulsions were still greater than those which resulted from the attempts of the belligerents to injure one another, though they were aggravated by the combination between the internal faction and the enemy without. The civil feuds which sprang up at the beginning of the war, attained strength and maturity with its further progress. All were occupied with traitorous designs in endeavouring to secure assistance from without, in order to overpower the adverse faction at home²⁶, whilst the suspicion and calumny excited by these proceedings, at length sowed the seeds of treason, in minds which had hitherto been uncorrupted²⁷.

Now, in examining the opposite constitutions which the two leading powers were bent upon establishing and maintaining, we must, as before observed, be especially careful to distinguish between the real and substantive representation of democracy or oligarchy, and the mere employment of their names as a means to advance other objects. Each of the two leading states, in declaring its resolution to support certain political principles, was actuated by the design of strengthening, securing, and extending its own hegemony²⁸. Moreover, in so doing, they everywhere established their own customs and usages, which were afterwards transplanted to other states, where, frail and

²⁶ As Agesilaus afterwards scattered the seeds of discord, Polyæn. 1. 1. 33.

²⁷ See the admirable description of Thucydides, 3. 82.

²⁸ See the judgment which Aristotle pronounces on the well-known facts, Pol. 5. 6. 9.

insecure in themselves, and deprived of the nurturing and fostering influence of custom and congenial feeling, they could not strike firm roots and bid defiance to the shocks by which they were assailed. Nor was it possible, from the prevalence of party feeling and the consequent necessity of external aid and support, to establish any fixed constitutional forms which should be recognised by all. One party eagerly grasped what foreign power offered, whilst the other indignantly rejected it; the former refused to admit the other to a participation in its newly-acquired power, whilst the latter was unwilling to submit to the authority of its rivals. Selfishness destroyed all public spirit, and political antagonists no longer recognised a higher and purer aim. On the one side stood the demagogues with their fanatical partisans; on the other the dynasts with their armed bands, whilst there was no third element to appease and to reconcile them²⁹, the ordinance of Solon forbidding any citizen to remain neuter in civil dissensions, now weighed like a curse upon Greece. The law no longer had sanction and efficacy, the dynasts endeavouring to render their own power paramount to its authority; whilst the demagogues and their mob-partisans recognised no other law than that contained in the last of their own crude and unsettled decrees.

The two parties not only refused every offer of accommodation, and obstinately adhered to what they considered to be their rights and prerogatives, but committed the most wanton and

²⁹ Aristot. Pol. 4. 9. 11: ὁ ποτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον συμβῇ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ καθιστάσι κοινὴν πολιτείαν οὐδ' ἴσην, ἀλλὰ τῆς νίκης ἄθλον τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσι.

frightful excesses, and pursued each other with a ferocity which nothing short of actual extermination could assuage. Hence, then, proceeded such decrees as that of the Samian demus, which, with a sort of retributive justice, forbade its members to intermarry with those of the wealthier order³⁰, as well as that of the same class in Corcyra, which, like the Florentine citizens of the fourteenth century after Christ, excluded the dynasts from all honours and dignities³¹; the proposal of the demus of Leontini to make a distribution of the lands³²; and, finally, the climax of party-hatred, in the fearful oath of the oligarchs of a Grecian state, to work the demus all the mischief in their power³³. In many instances more citizens had fled or been expelled by their opponents, than had remained at home. If the chief constituents of the state are not its lands and houses, but its moral elements, its living members, where was it, under such circumstances, to be sought? The murderous ferocity of the populace broke out in such fearful excesses on Corcyra³⁴, as were scarcely paralleled even during the bloody scenes of the French revolution. But the conquerors at length fell out amongst themselves; party-animosities began to break the ties by which they had once been associated; and we subsequently behold enrolled amongst the opponents of the demus those who had at first co-operated with it in repressing the aggressions of the oligarchs³⁵.

³⁰ Thucyd. 8. 20.³¹ Thucyd. 3. 70.³² Thucyd. 5. 4.³³ Arist. Pol. 5. 7. 19: καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακόνου ἐσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι ἂν ἔχω κακόν. A sentiment for which the Grecian oligarchy will be held up to everlasting reprobation.³⁴ Thuc. 3. 81.³⁵ See § 65. n. 173.

IV. THE INTERIOR OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATES DURING THE WAR.

a. ATHENS.

aa. *The Athenian Democracy in general.*

§ 64. The plague, which broke out in the second year of the war, and continued to rage with unabated fury during the whole of the third, formed a crisis in the history of the Athenian demus: from that moment it began to decline. Some idea may be formed of the ravages which it committed on human life from the fate of the besiegers before Potidæa, where, out of four thousand heavy-armed, one thousand and fifty perished within fifty days¹. But it was not human life alone that it destroyed; it likewise extinguished civil virtue. "For," says Thucydides², "a person now more easily ventured to partake of those pleasures which he had tasted secretly before, as people beheld the rapid changes which occurred, the rich dying suddenly, and those who were formerly indigent quickly succeeding to their wealth. Therefore they hastened to seize the opportunity of enjoyment, deeming that their properties and their lives were theirs only for the day. No one was inclined to suffer hardships for that which was considered virtuous, as he knew not that he might not perish before he could attain his object; but whatever a man found grateful to his taste, or conducive to his interest, he judged to be honourable and profitable. The fear of the gods and the

¹ Thucyd. 2. 58.² Thucyd. 2. 53.

laws of man did not restrain them; they thought it indifferent whether they were devout or not, as they beheld all involved in the same destruction; none expected to live till they should be brought to justice and punished for their crimes, for a much heavier doom already decreed impended over their heads, and they thought it proper that they should snatch some enjoyment before it should descend upon them." Great, indeed, was the degeneracy of the Athenian citizens from their former dignity and worth. As the plague had committed greater havoc from the circumstance of all the inhabitants of the country having thronged to the town to escape from the Peloponnesian invaders, so a boundless corruption of manners ensued after the citizens³ relinquished rustic pursuits, and thus ceased to reap the fruits of those laborious and primitive occupations, whilst the town-populace thereby sustained a most disproportionate increase. It may easily be supposed that these evils extended to the public education of the Athenians, and that its most important branch, the gymnastic art, together with the stricter moral habits it engendered, were henceforward neglected⁴, which ultimately had the most detrimental influence upon the whole temper and tone of public feeling. Meanwhile the citizens had become reduced in number, and their ranks were still further thinned by the continued drafts upon them occasioned by the war. This led to the employment of extraordinary measures to supply the

³ Thucyd. 2. 14. 16. Comp. Aristoph. Equit. 805, sqq. concerning the benefits which were expected to result from a revival of a rural life.

⁴ Aristoph. Eq. 1070, where, however, the desertion of the gymnastic schools is attributed to the *λαλιὰ* and *στωμυλία*.

deficiency; but though these replenished the numbers of the citizens, they were very far from adding to their moral weight and dignity.

Pericles, bowed down by the loss of his legitimate sons, obtained a decree declaring it lawful for the sons born of a foreign woman (*νόθοι*), to be inscribed in the Phratrias, like those of the full blood⁵. Whether the operation of this decree was confined to his own son by Aspasia, cannot be determined. Even though, like the Athenians⁶, we should not judge too harshly of the conduct of that great man, whose heart was broken, it is evident that the ancient order of things could no longer continue. The statement, that after the plague a decree was passed rendering it lawful to have children by several wives, at the same time that monogamy alone was legally recognised, is enigmatic and suspicious. It is possible that concubines (*παλλακαί*) may have been meant here, as they were subsequently protected by the laws, and an adulterer detected in the act might be killed⁷; nevertheless it is very doubtful whether they were allowed during the lifetime of the real wife. The naturalization of individuals appears to have been attended with less difficulty than before; whilst the surreptitious entrance into the citizenship, as may be presumed from the allusions of the comic poets⁸, also became more common. An honour-

⁵ Plut. Pericl. 37. Comp. Meier de Bon. Damn. 7. 70.

⁶ Plut. ubi sup.:—*ἡ παρούσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεῖ περὶ τὸν οἶκον ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλυνίας ἐκείνης ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.*

⁷ Diog. Laert. 2. 26. Comp. Athen. 13. 556, A. Hieronymus the Rhodian is the authority in Athenæus for the popular decree.

⁸ Lysias de cæd. Eratosth. 35. 36.

⁹ Compare the following section, n. 159.

able feature in the character of the Athenians was the naturalization *en masse* of their faithful allies from Plataeæ in return for their attachment and sacrifices¹⁰. By a decree passed Ol. 88. 1; 427. B. C.¹¹, they were declared Athenians, divided into phylæ and demi, and made partakers of all the privileges of Athenian citizens, except that of being admitted to the family sacrifices and to the archonship, for which the law required pure citizenship for three generations (*ἐκ τριγονίας*); this had already been preceded by the *jus connubii*¹², and perhaps even by Isopolity¹³. This decree was engraved upon a stone column in the citadel¹⁴. The Plataeans were afterwards removed to the depopulated Scione¹⁵, where they were placed upon the footing of cleruchi. Most pernicious were the consequences of arming the Metœci and the slaves¹⁶, at the end of the war, before the battle off the Arginusæ, with the promise of liberty and civil rights. The confusion which it introduced into the ranks of the citizens, seems to have extended to the accounts of it; according to Diodorus, none but Metœci and slaves obeyed the summons¹⁷; according to a scholion on Aristophanes¹⁸, the slaves were enfranchised, and other passages state that

¹⁰ See generally Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* 1. 282.

¹¹ See the decree itself, *Ps. Demosth.* in *Nær.* 1377. 1380.

¹² To this Isocrat. refers, *Plat.* 531: *διὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας τὰς δοθείσας ἐκ πολιτῶν ὑμετέρων γεγονάμεν.*

¹³ On that account, perhaps, in *Thuc.* 3. 63, in the speech of the Theban, they are called the *πολίται* of Athens after their first alliance with that state. *Comp. Meier, de Bon.* 52 n.

¹⁴ *Ps. Demosth.* *ubi sup.* 1381.

¹⁵ *Thucyd.* 5. 32. *Comp.* § 62. n. 38. They are described amongst the Athenian troops as *ψιλοί*, *Thuc.* 4. 67.

¹⁶ *Xenoph.* *Hell.* 1. 6. 24.

¹⁷ *Diod.* 13. 97.

¹⁸ *Aristoph.* *Ran.* 33: *οὓς ἠλευθέρωσαν.*

they became citizens¹⁹ with Plataean rights²⁰. From a comparison of these statements with a proposition of Hyperides²¹ after the battle of Chæronea, we may assume that the slaves were enfranchised and made Metœci, the Metœci being created citizens.

The regulation of the classes upon the whole remained unchanged, but in the course of the war some Thetes were levied for Hoplitæ, and equipped at the public expense²²; services of a superior character called forth higher pretensions, and self-esteem soon generated insolence. The knights comprised the flower of the Athenian youth, but were, at the same time, a nursery of youthful presumption; the name no longer, as heretofore, designates the second class alone, but includes the younger members of the upper orders indiscriminately, who served as cavalry, to the number of a thousand²³, and therefore denotes their age and the nature of their service²⁴. Their character may be collected from the drama of Aristophanes. The upper classes in general no longer appear to have been separated by such broad lines of distinction as before. The family nobility still maintained itself to a certain extent, viz., in those houses to which a high-priesthood was annexed. They still retained their elevated position in the opinion of the people, but were not invested with special prerogatives, except in connection with priestly functions.

¹⁹ See below, § 71. n. 40.

²⁰ *Aristoph.* *Ran.* 694: *καὶ Πλαταιᾶς εὐθὺς εἶναι κἀντὶ δούλων δεσπότας.* *Comp. Hellanicus ap. Schol.* 706.

²¹ *Lycurg.* c. *Leocr.* 170. R. ed.: *—τοὺς ἦν δούλους, ἠλευθέρους τοὺς δὲ ξένους, Ἀθηναίους.*

²² *Thucyd.* 6. 43; *comp. Harpocr.* *Θῆτες.*

²³ *Aristoph.* *Equit.* 225.

²⁴ *Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ.* 1. 283, sqq.

In fact, the ancient nobility exerted themselves but little to impart the moral lustre of dignity and virtue to their rank. The brilliant qualities which Alcibiades possessed could not blind people to his wilfulness and profligacy. The wealth and profusion of Megacles, Callias, etc., served rather to bring them into disrepute than to render them popular; they all plunged too deeply into the excesses of the mob to escape infection. An insignificant remnant of the former Optimates still survived, but they were scattered, dispirited, and powerless, and scarcely important enough to furnish incentives to party divisions. Aristophanes has left us a somewhat similar picture of the knights, in his play of that name. The Laconistæ, as they were called, were chiefly fops, who aped the dress and manners of the Spartans; swaggering bullies, with coats, sticks, and mustachios²⁵. Still the upright and patriotic citizens, Kalokagathoi, were not even yet wholly extinct.

THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY AND THE DEMAGOGY.

If the plague had a detrimental effect on the citizenship generally, the death of Pericles was signally injurious to the political agency of the people. Pericles had released the demus from various restrictions, in order to inspire it with the full consciousness of its own strength, and made increased demands upon its powers in return for benefits which he alone had been able to impart to it; at

²⁵ Aristoph. Av. 1281, sqq.

Ἐλακωμάνουν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
ἰκόμων, ἐπείνων, ἐρρύπων, ἐσωκράτουν,
στυτάλι' ἐφόρου.

Compare the Scholia. See also Vesp. 475, sqq., and below, § 71. n. 75.

the same time, he individually had engrossed much that had before been contained in the laws, whilst by adapting the machinery of state to his own vast powers, and by rendering his own authority paramount to the letter of the law, he had availed himself of passing events with increased energy and effect, and made compensation for a departure from established forms by the extraordinary success which crowned his exertions. But after his death the law was unable to resume its ancient authority. The people, whose manifold energies he had roused into activity, though their particular direction had still depended upon his will, continued to evince the same restlessness and impatience of repose, when his wisdom and circumspection no longer acted as a check on their proceedings. Hence the passion for frequenting the Agora²⁶ became a prominent characteristic of the Athenians; combined with this was the reliance which the demus placed upon its own sagacity, and the reckless temerity with which it obeyed the impulses of the moment; whilst its suspicion took instant alarm at any attempt to control its despotic proceedings, and its contempt for existing institutions was only equalled by its rash and insane love of innovation²⁷. The turbulence²⁸ and impudence of the Athe-

²⁶ Ἀγοραῖος (Aristoph. Ran. 1015; Eq. 218.) doubtless derived its invidious signification from the public system of Athens. Compare Heindorf ad Plut. Protag. § 91. In the speech of Andocides (1) against Alcibiades, (p. 132.) the latter is reproached with having corrupted the Athenian youth by his example, as they were now always loitering about the market-place instead of visiting the gymnasia.

²⁷ It was observed by Plato, the comic poet, that so changeable were the Athenian institutions, that a person would be unable to recognise them after a three months' absence, Sext. Empir. adv. Math. 70. E. Compare the speech of Cleon, Thucyd. 3. 37.

²⁸ Plato describes this very forcibly, de Repub. 6. 492. A. B., though without expressly mentioning the Athenians: "Ὅταν ξυγκαθεζόμενοι ἄθροοι πολλοὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ εἰς δικαστήρια ἢ θέατρα ἢ στρατόπεδα ἢ τινα ἄλ-

nians²⁹ rose to such a pitch, that the Attic glance (Ἀττικὸν βλέπος) at length became the symbol of effrontery. This undignified frivolity was accompanied by intrigue, covetousness, and the thirst of blood³⁰. In spite of this immoderate desire of the people to govern themselves, they nevertheless continued as before to submit to the guidance of some person who chanced to be the object of their favour; this only served still more to deprave their character, and to pave the way for the rise of the demagogues, whose encroachments became bolder after the death of Pericles. The ease with which fair words won their way to the Athenian mind, powerfully contributed to increase the growing corruption³¹. Eloquence began to be cultivated in the age of Pericles, when the sophists exerted themselves to disseminate a taste for rhetoric; statesmanship and rhetoric henceforward, in the language of democracy, became synonymous terms³². The latter art was the more practised by persons of inferior condition and by younger men, in proportion as the more highly gifted and older citizens lost the respect with which they had been habitually regarded³³; moreover, it became usual to compose

λον κοινὸν πλήθος ἐύλογον ἔν πολλῇ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγῃσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπαινῶσιν, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐκάτερα καὶ ἐκβοῶντες καὶ κροτοῦντες πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ τε πέτραι καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὦσιν ἐπηχοῦντες, διπλάσιον θόρυβον παρέχῃσι τοῦ ψόγου τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦ.
²⁹ Aristoph. Nub. 1174, sqq.; Thucyd. 3. 83: καὶ τὸ εὐηθες, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη.

³⁰ Diogen. Prov. 3. 12: Ἀττικὸς ὑπέχει τὴν χεῖρα ἀποθνήσκων.

³¹ See at large Valckenaer, Diatribe in Eurip. perditior. Dramat. reliq. Cap. 23; compare Rochefort, sur l'Utilité des Orat. dans la Rép. d'Athén. in the Mém de l'Acad. des Insc. t. 43.

³² Hence Pollux, 4. 16: Ῥητορικὴ ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ ῥητορεύειν πολιτικὸν εἶναι.

³³ Compare the beautiful dialogue, Xenoph. Memorabil. Socrat. 3. 6. The law of Solon, enacting that those who were above fifty years of age should be called first, had fallen into disuse, see Schömann de Comit. Ath. 105. Concerning the λαλιά, see Aristoph. Ran. 1069, sqq.; conf. Eq. 1375, sqq.

speeches for money as early as in the time of Antiphon, in the latter part of the Peloponnesian war³⁴. This was perfectly in accordance with the feelings of the people, who loved to judge according to the impression produced by a speech; incapable of weighing over a matter with calmness and deliberation, they required it to be arrayed in a rhetorical garb, and their political perceptions were dull and obtuse until they had been whetted by the tongue of an orator³⁵. At the same time, an almost naïve confession of their dependence upon the orators is contained in the law expressly directed against those who cajoled the people³⁶; whilst the malediction pronounced against the corrupt orator, in addition to the legal penalty he incurred³⁷, strongly illustrates the necessity that existed for vigorous checks on their dishonesty.

But now the demagoguery lost all its former dignity³⁸. The successors of Pericles, though more equal in their pretensions, struggled amongst themselves for the pre-eminence, and left the direction of state affairs to the caprice of the people³⁹. They moreover sought to ingratiate themselves with the multitude by ministering to their love of gain in the capacity of Poristæ⁴⁰, in which they seldom omitted to provide for themselves. But their servile flat-

³⁴ Ps. Plut. Antiph. 9. 308. After that time, such as wrote speeches for money were denominated λογογράφοι, Plato, Phædr. 257. C.; compare Heindorf, ad loc.

³⁵ Their loquacity, curiosity, foppiness, and folly, are all expressed in the word χείνην, Aristoph. Eq. 1264: τῇ Κεχηναίων πόλει; comp. κέχηνη, Av. 754, and χαννοπολίτας, Acharn. 635. On the other hand, the orators were even at this period denominated δημοκῶποι, πολιτοκῶποι, βουλοχοπίται, Bekk. Anecd. 221.

³⁶ Demosth. c. Aristocrat. 659.

³⁷ Demarch. in Aristog. 89.

³⁸ See the bad qualities of the demagogues enumerated in Pollux, 4. 35; 6. 129, sqq.

³⁹ Thucyd. 2. 65.

⁴⁰ Aristoph. Ran. 1505; comp. the example, Equit. 644, sqq.

tery of the people, which caused the appellation of Colaces⁴¹ to be applied to them, was mixed with praises of themselves and calumnies against others. The earlier and more distinguished leaders, such as Pericles⁴², had been frequently obliged to expatiate on their own services in repelling the attacks of calumny; this was imitated by the degenerate demagogues; and the people, so much accustomed to hear men vindicate their own conduct, were unable to distinguish between a noble self-esteem and downright effrontery. The flattery and self-praise employed by the demagogues were combined with backbiting and slander⁴³, and such is the force of envy in petty souls⁴⁴, that these base devices have ever been the main-springs of republican governments, and the same artifices have been employed by those who have deluded the people from Pisistratus down to Robespierre⁴⁵. Suspicion and rage were excited against the friends of legality and order, and the popular mind was kept in constant alarm by allusions to conspiracies and machinations against the stability of their sovereignty⁴⁶. Their credulity was beguiled by the most palpable falsehoods⁴⁷,

⁴¹ Aristoph. Vesp. 1033. This is the title of a piece by Eupolis, Athen. 5. 218. B.

⁴² Thucyd. 2. 60, sqq.; comp. Plutarch de laude sui. 8. 137.

⁴³ See Thucyd. 3. 43, where Cleon plays the part of Mephistopheles. Sext. Empir. (cit. Valckenaer Diatr. 254 e): says very justly, ὁ δημαγωγὸς κακοδιόσκει τοὺς πολλοὺς τὰ κεχαρισμένα λέγων καὶ διαβολαῖς αὐτοὺς ἐξαλλοῖσι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους. See also Eurip. Supplic. 412, sqq.

⁴⁴ Elian. V. H. 2. 13: — φύσει φθονεροὺς ὄντας καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις βασκαίνειν προαιρουμένους.

⁴⁵ See the delineation of the Syracusan Athegnoras in Thucyd. 6. 36, sqq.

⁴⁶ Aristophanes represents this as the chief vice attendant upon demagoguery; Equit. 236, Cleon: — ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυνώμνυτον πάλιν. Comp. 475. 476. 862. 863; Vesp. 483. 488: ὡς ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν τυραννίς ἐστι καὶ ξυνωμόται, κ. τ. λ. Comp. 953.

⁴⁷ Thuc. 3. 82: — καὶ ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων, πιστὸς αἰεὶ, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ, ὑποπτός.

and they lived in constant dread of the destruction of their power; the words "dissolution of the demus" (κατάλυσις τοῦ δήμου) struck consternation into their souls. Those who suffered most from the aspersions of the demagogues and the jealousy of the people, were the legally elected officers of state, and especially the Strategi. The most exaggerated expectations were formed of the abilities and success of a person who undertook an office, and when these were not justified by the event of an enterprise, all the blame was laid upon the conductors of it⁴⁸, who were accordingly persecuted with implacable animosity.

Thus we behold the demagogues and the demus mutually conducing to each other's depravation. The former no longer confined themselves to their legitimate office, which was to preside over the demus according to the spirit of the constitution, but descended from their elevation, and troubled the waters that they might fish in them the more securely⁴⁹. The more degraded the character of the mass, the more remote from elevation and dignity must they have been who mixed with it, and became voluntary partakers of its excesses. They moreover found a wider field for their pernicious exertions, the more the demus appropriated to itself the direct administrative power, thereby removing the legal barrier between the governing and the governed. On the other hand, in moments of reflection, when goaded by want and remorse, the people could

⁴⁸ Thucyd. 3. 43; 4. 65; 7. 14. 48; 8. 1.

⁴⁹ Aristoph. Eq. 866. 867:

ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν.
ἐὰν δ' ἄνωγε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν,
αἰροῦσι.

not but be sensible that their counsellors were no less destitute of a respect for the laws, of civil virtue, and of fortitude, than themselves, and that they were, in fact, the servile instruments of their own caprice; but, insensible to the beauty of virtue, and accustomed to have a leader who guided them according to their own turbulent will, they sought the gratification of their caprice in the obsequious society of their flatterers and betrayers⁵⁰; it was too great a humiliation for their vanity to behold others who were more estimable than themselves, whilst they were unwilling to be arrested in their riotous career by any dread of the austere reproaches of truth. Hence, the struggle between the Kalokagathoi and the demagogues was a very unequal one; those who plunged deepest into the mire incurred least risk, whereas, those who were too proud to stoop were most exposed to danger. The caustic humour of the people led them to encourage him who had most effrontery, and Impudence became the *Patroness* of the demagogues⁵². The decrees of the people are monuments of their Dysbulia⁵³, though a few of them still evince the better feeling of the ancient times and bespeak remorse and indignation against their evil counsellors; as, for instance, that which they passed after condemning the commanders who had conquered at the Arginusæ⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ Compare the portrait of the Athenians, Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 190: οἷον ὁ Ἀθηναίων (δῆμος) ἐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάθετος πρὸς ἔλεον, μᾶλλον ὀξέως ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκεισθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενος. ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς βοηθεῖν προθυμότερος, οὕτως τῶν λόγων τοῖς παιγνιώδεϊς καὶ γελοίοις ἀσπάζεταιται καὶ προτιμᾷ· τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκώπτουσιν ἥκιστα δυσχεραίνει.

⁵¹ Aristoph. Pac. 607: — τὸν αὐτοδᾶξ τρόπον.

⁵² Aristoph. Eq. 323: — ἀναίδειαν, ἥπερ μόνη προστατεῖ τῶν ῥητόρων.

⁵³ Aristoph. Nub. 588; comp. the Schol. on Eupolis.

⁵⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. 1. 7. 39.

THE COURTS OF LAW AND SYCOPHANCY.

These, if possible, still more than the popular assembly, tended to complete the corruption of the national character, and the disorganization of the social system in general; the operation of demagoguery is likewise perceptible here; Cleon raised the salary of the judges⁵⁵; but a most fruitful source of evil was the union of avarice and the love of litigation with the tendency to calumny and intrigue in the Athenian character⁵⁶. The immoderate predilection of the Athenians⁵⁷ for the exercise of judicial functions found constant aliment in the disputes of their citizens and their allies⁵⁸, notwithstanding which their minds still remained impervious to the light of truth and lacked all stability of legal judgment. The character of the Athenian demus, and the fact of its sitting in judgment daily, sufficiently explain why law was never reduced to a science in Athens. Unbounded credulity, an almost total incapacity to distinguish between fact, probability, and possibility, and constant vehemence and irascibility⁵⁹, were the most prominent features of the Athenian character⁶⁰. But as the desire to sit in judgment was the mere love of governing in intense operation, the Ecclesiasts in

⁵⁵ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 252.

⁵⁶ This is glanced at by Aristoph. Ran. 1016: μήτ' ἀγοραίους, μήτε κοβάλους, ὥσπερ νῦν, μηδὲ πανούργους. Herewith comp. Vesp. 1424. πραγματοδίφης, and 1468 the στρεψοδικοπανουργία.

⁵⁷ Περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς, Aristoph. Vesp. 191; Xenophon (?) de Repub. Ath. 3. 2. 6. 7; comp. Suidas, ὑπὲρ ὄνου and ὄνου.

⁵⁸ Xenoph. de Repub. Ath. 1. 16. 17.

⁵⁹ Isocrat. de Permutatione 545: — τῇ πόλει πολλάκις οὕτως ἤδη μετεμέλησε τῶν κρίσεων τῶν μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐλέγχου γενομένων. ibid. Adv. Callimach. 651: — πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀποβαίνει καὶ ὅτι τύχη μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δίκαιῳ κρίνεται τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν.

⁶⁰ Antiph. de cæde. Herod. 740, says by way of caution, μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ διαβολῆς. Concerning the ὀργή, see below, § 77.

gratifying the latter lost sight of the true welfare of the state, as much as the Heliasts disregarded the sanctity of personal liberty; they acknowledged no higher principle of action than the gratification of their own humour. Hence, the sycophants⁶¹ exercised a no less injurious influence upon the administration of justice, than the demagogues did upon the proceedings of the popular assembly. The ancients seem to have regarded the sycophantic tribe as an evil necessarily incident to democracy; Simonides says, that as every lark has its crest, so every democracy must have its sycophants⁶². Their pernicious agency went hand in hand with that of the demagogues, both not unfrequently being united in the same person, as, for instance, when the tribunals had to decide upon public accusations which concerned the constitution in general, such as the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

When the popular assembly and the tribunals were thus corrupted, it may easily be supposed that the higher sanction and gage of law and justice in the divine protection had long lost all influence over the minds of the people. Religion had degenerated into a mere instrument of sensual enjoyment, in which the feeling of devotion had been supplanted by the passion for statues, choral processions and dramas, nay, even by the desire of gratifying still grosser appetites in the distributions of meat which took place at the sacrifices. Hence, the above-mentioned atrocities against the

⁶¹ See Athen. 3. 74. E. sqq.; Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 31; Etym. M. *συκοφαντία*, etc.

⁶² Simonid. ap. Plut. Timol. 37. The names of Phrynondas and Eurybatus are mentioned in Harpocrat. and Suidas as having been proverbial for ring-leaders.

Lesbians, Scionæans, Toronæans, and Melians, were unrestrained by any dread of the divine vengeance. Again, the demagogues and sycophants made use of religion in its combination with politics to inflame the impure passions of the multitude. The prosecution for impiety (*γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*) afforded ample scope for their intrigues and machinations, a revolting example of which is the prosecution of the Hermocopidæ⁶³. But the superstition of the Athenians is eminently conspicuous in their fears, lest the return of Alcibiades should happen to fall together with the Plynteria⁶⁴, as well as in the numerous allusions to their belief in soothsayers and astrologers⁶⁵; in this respect the character of Nicias⁶⁶ presented a direct contrast to that of Pericles.

THE OLD COMEDY⁶⁷.

In the midst of this deep-rooted and wide-spread corruption, when the legal authorities had become powerless, the Sophronistæ and the Areopagus lost all weight and influence, when public opinion had grown contaminated, and the licentious multitude only followed the dictates of their own headstrong will, there arose, in the domain of art, a frank and vigorous censorship, which, in unsparingly castigating the vices and follies of the age, joined poig-

⁶³ See the next section.

⁶⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 4. 12.

⁶⁵ Thuc. 2. 8. 8. 1.

⁶⁶ With what has been advanced in the text compare at large, Xenoph. Repub. Athen., a description it must be owned closely bordering on caricature. Amongst the moderns, see Heyne *Libertatis et Æqualitatis Civilis in Atheniensium Rep. delineatio ex Aristophane*, Opusc. Acad. 4. 392.

⁶⁷ Compare generally: Kanngiesser, *The Ancient Comic Stage in Athens*, 1817, especially first and twelfth chapters: comedy attains its zenith during the Peloponnesian war, etc., p. 114, sqq., and sixth: the destination of the comic drama.

nant ridicule and wit to the deep earnestness of high-minded patriotism.

After Athens had attained the meridian of her power, tragedy and comedy had nearly to an equal extent become the objects of public care and encouragement. But the effects which they respectively exercised upon the public system differed very widely. In tragedy the Athenian beheld the old heroic monarchy in its dependence upon Fate, the nothingness of human pride, and earthly presumption crushed by the wrath of the gods. The Greek tragedy was copiously interspersed with political reflections; these, it is true, in consequence of the vast difference between the present order of things and the ancient regal system, could only be applied⁶⁸ to the Athenian democracy as figurative allusions, or in a larger extent as moral maxims; still the poets occasionally transposed sentiments of the democratic period into the heroic age, as Æschylus has done in the Danaïdes⁶⁹; or, at least, the unlimited power of the monarchy was called into question, as in the incomparable dialogue between Hæmon and Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles⁷⁰. Yet, in spite of this, tragedy and real life were separated by a wide gulf, and we may perceive how far it was from the intention of the

⁶⁸ See the collection of passages of this description which occur in Euripides in Valckenaer Diatr. 255. C. sqq., and especially on the subject of demagogy, 259. A. sqq.

⁶⁹ e. g. the king, 519:

Πείσω τὸ κοινόν, ὡς ἂν εὐμενὲς τιθῶ.

Comp. 607:

Πανδημία γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνόμοις

Ἐφριζεν αἰθήρ, τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον.

939:

Τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία

Ψῆφος κέκρανται, κ. τ. λ.

⁷⁰ Antig. 726, sqq. Especially:

Πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἀνδρὸς ἐσθ' ἐνός.

Athenians to allow the former to allude to real misfortunes by their infliction of a fine on Phrynichus, because he had represented the destruction of Miletus by the Persians, and thereby painfully affected the Athenians as though the calamity in question had happened to themselves⁷¹.

On the other hand, the *old* comedy sprung from the wantonness and arrogance of the democracy of Megara, whence it was transferred to its lively neighbour, Athens⁷², the public appointing comic poets, who were not only permitted, but expressly enjoined to level their satire against the wealthier classes⁷³; thus comedy became raised into a great political engine—a genial tribunal of public morals—which had grown out of real life, and, mingled with the hues of fancy, was the reflected image of its scenes; or rather, a mirror, in which reality and its image were beheld in rapid alternation and succession, and which, either borrowed the objects it exhibited from the real world, or directed its rays on the world, and so explained the true meaning of what was going forward on the stage. The dim warnings of the mysterious power of Fate in tragedy, were little adapted to produce any deep impression on the popular mind, as none of the spectators found in the crimes or sorrows of the kings and heroes any thing applicable to his own position; but the aim of comedy, as explained by Aristophanes, was to make men better in the state⁷⁴,

⁷¹ Herod. 6. 21.

⁷² See Meineke, Quæst. Scenic. Spec. Prim. p. 4. Berol. 1826.

⁷³ See the Schol. Aristoph. ed. Küster, p. 12.

⁷⁴ Aristoph. Ran. 1009. 1010:

— ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

to admonish and instruct adults⁷⁵, and, in so doing, it was at liberty to take the boldest flights, not restricted to lampooning individuals⁷⁶. However, the ancient comedy never lost sight of its original destination, which was to ridicule passing occurrences (*ἐξ ἀμάξης σκώμματα*), and this is the real root of the connection between the actors and the spectators.

In order duly to estimate the political importance, as well as the æsthetic character of the old comedy, it must especially be borne in mind, that the plot of the piece by no means formed such an entire and connected whole, as completely to withdraw the attention of the spectators from the real world around, and confine it exclusively to the poetical world upon the stage, as the piece made constant allusions to the real transactions of civil life, to actual personages, events, dangers, virtues and vices, and by gathering its motley groups within some poetical frame, even though a mere piece of buffoonery, it imparted to them dramatic keeping and consistence; hence disturbing the illusion, by mixing up the spectators with the actors, which with us is justly considered a fault, was customary and admired amongst the Athenians. This was effected in three ways:

1. By allusions to, and glosses upon, objects of real life woven into the poetical dialogue.
2. By imitating the personal appearance of living

⁷⁵ Aristoph. Ran. 1054:

— τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος, ὅστις φράζει· τοῖς δ' ἡβώσιν γε ποιηταί.

⁷⁶ Aristoph. Pac. 751. 752:

οὐκ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμῶδων, οὐδὲ γυναῖκας
ἀλλ' Ἡρακλέους ὀργὴν τιν' ἔχων τοῖσι μεγίστοις ἐπιχειρεῖ.
Comp. Vesp. 1030.

characters, and sometimes by introducing them into pieces under their real names.

3. And most effectually by the parabasis, an address from the chorus to the spectators, in which the connection with the drama was only kept up by means of the mask, and the poetical character assigned to the chorus in the piece, whilst the latter discoursed on some object of political life⁷⁷, in reference to which it instructed, admonished, or censured the citizens, and thereby endeavoured to perform its vocation, viz., to inculcate principles beneficial to the state⁷⁸. The masterpiece amongst all the parabases extant, is that in the Frogs of Aristophanes⁷⁹, and it is, perhaps, partly owing to this that that piece was represented twice successively⁸⁰.

The preceding characteristics are exhibited in eminent perfection in the old comedy alone, which began before the Peloponnesian war, and continued to flourish some time after it had terminated. The most renowned poets of this period were Cratinus, Eupolis, Plato, Pherecrates, and Aristophanes; Crates, Hermippus, Phrynichus, etc.⁸¹, belonged to the second rank. In consequence of the very scanty fragments of the works of the others which

⁷⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 733: ὁπότε ἐβούλετο ὁ ποιητὴς διαλεχθῆναι τι ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀνευ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. The parabasis was likewise attempted in tragedy; Euripides made the chorus in the Danaides speak of himself, and introduced parabases in other pieces, Pollux. 4. 111. On the arrangements of the stage, etc., consult Hermann, Elem. Doctr. Metr. 720, sqq.

⁷⁸ Χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει ξυμπαραινεῖν, Aristoph. Ran. 685; compare in particular Acharn. 656, sqq.

⁷⁹ Aristoph. Ran. 686, sqq.

⁸⁰ Οὕτω δὲ ἐθανμάσθη διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παράβασιν—ὥστε καὶ ἀνεδιδάχθη, Dicæarch. in Argum. Ran.

⁸¹ On Cratinus, Crates, Hermippus, Teleclides, Eupolis, see Meineke, Quæstionum Scenicarum Spec. Primum.

have reached us, Aristophanes is almost our only authority. His poetical career began a short time after the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and lasted till about ten years after its conclusion⁸². His pieces exhibit a just and striking picture of the Athenian people, and the copious scholia amply illustrate particular points.

Our enquiries being particularly directed to the manner in which the comic censorship was exercised, it is not consistent with our object to enter into a consideration of the criticisms on bad poets as such, with which the pieces of Aristophanes abound⁸³; still it may be observed, that as there was an indissoluble connection between the poetical and the political life of the Greeks, so the decline of poetry, viz., the corruption of the lyric poetry by the dithyrambic poets⁸⁴, and of tragedy by Euripides⁸⁵, which Aristophanes so frequently deplores, acted on, and was itself affected by, the moral and political depravation of the age.

When the comic muse levelled her shafts at those whose dress or air was ridiculous, or whose way of life was characterized by profligacy or folly, she did not, it is true, inculcate a direct political

⁸² The first piece, the <i>Δαιταλις</i>	Ol. 88. 1. 427. B. C.
— The Babylonians	- 88. 2. 426. "
— The Acharnians	- 88. 3. 425. "
— The Knights	- 88. 4. 424. "
— The Clouds (first)	- 89. 1. 423. "
— The Wasps and (second) Clouds	- 89. 2. 422. "
— The Peace	- 89. 3. 421. "
— The Birds	- 91. 2. 414. "
— Lysistrata and Thesmophorizusæ	- 92. 1. 411. "
— The Frogs	- 93. 3. 405. "
— Plutus	- 96. 3. 394. "
— Ecclesiazusæ	- 97. 1. 392. "

⁸³ See Pac. 803, on the tragedian Morsimus, Vesp. 402; Philocles, Thesmoph. 169; Xenocles, 170; Theognis, etc.

⁸⁴ Nub. 332: *κεκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοκάμπτας*.

⁸⁵ Ran. Archarn. Thesmoph.

lesson, the censure in question not being directed against the omission of a public duty or obligation. Still these topics were sometimes touched upon incidentally, as the vices of the persons satirised were seldom found alone. Thus Aristophanes ridicules Epicrates, who prided himself upon his comely beard, and was therefore called the shield-bearer (*σακεσφόρος*)⁸⁶; Amyntas the dicer⁸⁷; the dissipated Æschines⁸⁸ and Proxenides⁸⁹; Pisander the coward with the daring aspect⁹⁰; Callias the prodigal⁹¹, whose courage was very suspicious, notwithstanding the lion's-skin which he wore⁹², and who had previously been attacked by Eupolis in the Flatterers⁹³; the impoverished spendthrift Megacles the descendant of the proud Coisyra⁹⁴, and a host of infamous drunkards⁹⁵ and debauchees besides⁹⁶. Still more unsparing is the castigation which he inflicts upon the voluptuous and the unchaste. Such were Cleonymus, who, though of heroic presence⁹⁷, had disgraced himself by throwing away his shield⁹⁸, had committed perjury⁹⁹, and cajoled the people¹⁰⁰; the beardless and inconti-

⁸⁶ Eccles. 71. Compare the Scholion. He was a demagogue after the domination of the Thirty. See, concerning him, below, § 71.

⁸⁷ Vesp. 75; comp. 1267. 1278.

⁸⁸ Vesp. 338. 457. 1220.

⁸⁹ Vesp. 338.

⁹⁰ Pac. 395; Av. 1559.

⁹¹ Av. 284. He moults away his goods and chattels like a bird does its feathers, *πτερορρνεῖ*.

⁹² Ran. 428.

⁹³ Schol. Av. 286.

⁹⁴ Acharn. 614. Comp. Nub. 46. 70. 124.

⁹⁵ Vesp. 1301. 1302.

⁹⁶ Acharn. 839, sqq. Amongst others, the *ἐὐρυπρωκτος* Prepis, the *περιπόνηρος* Artemon, the *παμπόνηρος* Pauson, and *Lysistratus Χολαργίων* etc.

⁹⁷ Vesp. 822, *χαλεπὸς ἰδεῖν*.

⁹⁸ Vesp. 19. Conf. Aves, 1481. 1482; Pac. 446. 673; Acharn. 88; Nub. 680.

⁹⁹ Nub. 398.

¹⁰⁰ Vesp. 592, he is called *κολακώνυμος*.

nent Clisthenes¹⁰¹; the grossly lustful Ariphrades¹⁰²; Hieronymus¹⁰³, Philoxenus¹⁰⁴, Amyntas¹⁰⁵, Sebinus¹⁰⁶, and a number of other cinædi, whose names may be recognised in the Clouds by their feminine terminations¹⁰⁷. To these may be added the obscene, such as Cinesias¹⁰⁸, at the mention of whose name the people were probably reminded of the lime-plank which, in consequence of his excessive thinness, he was obliged to wear within his girdle to support himself¹⁰⁹; and, lastly, Agyrrius¹¹⁰, who was moreover effeminate¹¹¹ and malignant.

If the comic muse animadverts upon enormities such as these, in accents which sometimes appear to be deficient in modesty and dignity, we must reflect that subjects, the bare mention of which shocks every feeling of delicacy and shame in our nature, were not conceived by the Athenian seriously or in a moral point of view, but merely addressed themselves to his perception of the ridiculous. The same may be urged in vindicating Aristophanes from the charge of cruelty when he

¹⁰¹ Eq. 1374; Acharn. 122; Nub. 354; Ran. 48. 423; Lysis. 1092. He is introduced in the Thesmophoriazusæ, 573, as ambassador to the women; in the Birds, 831, he carries a weaver's shuttle. He and Cleonymus are, as it were, the representatives of effeminacy.

¹⁰² Equit. 1281, sqq. :—

ἔστι δ' οὐ μόνον πονηρός, οὐ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἡσθόμεν
οὐδὲ παμπόνηρος· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξέμνηκε τι·
τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλῶτταν αἰσχροῖς ἡδοναῖς λυμαίνεται
ἐν κασαυρίοις λείχων τὴν ἀπόπτυστον δρόσον, κ. τ. λ.

No less depraved was the character of Smolus, Eccles. 848 :—τὰ τῶν γυναι-
κῶν διακαθαίρει τρυβλία.

¹⁰³ Nub. 348.

¹⁰⁴ Vesp. 84.

¹⁰⁵ Nub. 689, sqq.

¹⁰⁶ Ran. 430.

¹⁰⁷ Nub. 685 : Δύσιλλα, Φίλινα, Κλειταγόρα, Δημητρία.

¹⁰⁸ Ran. 367 :—κατατιλᾷ τῶν Ἑκαταίων. Comp. the Schol. Ran. 53.
1437; Eccles. 330; Lysis. 856.

¹⁰⁹ Athen. 12. 551, E.

¹¹⁰ Plut. 176 :—Ἀγύρριος—πέρδετα.

¹¹¹ Eccles. 102. 184.

taunts persons with their bodily infirmities; as, for instance, when he ridicules Archdemus¹¹² and Neocles¹¹³ for being blear-eyed; calls Melanthius a leper¹¹⁴; jeers Ctesiphon about his fat belly¹¹⁵; laughs at Cleigenes for his diminutive monkey figure¹¹⁶; and introduces a great number of Athenians under the names of various birds, in the comedy of that name, classed according to their personal peculiarities and deformities¹¹⁷. In the same manner Horace reproached Crispinus with being blear-eyed¹¹⁸. This did not shock the feelings of the ancients. Moreover, those whom Aristophanes ridiculed on account of their personal infirmities were, in most instances, likewise conspicuous for moral defects—as, for instance, Melanthius, who was notorious for effeminacy, gluttony, and unnatural lust, on which account he was attacked by Eupolis in the Flatterers¹¹⁹—or had rendered themselves obnoxious to censure by pernicious demagoguery or spurious citizenship, like Cleigenes¹²⁰, so that by holding up their personal blemishes to the laughter of the people, he at the same time reminded them of their moral and political taints. Thus, for instance, a certain Teleas is brought forward in the Birds, whose name was sufficient to call up an idea of every thing that was depraved¹²¹. So perfect was the understanding be-

¹¹² Ran. 588.

¹¹³ Eccles. 254.

¹¹⁴ Av. 151.

¹¹⁵ Acharn. 1001.

¹¹⁶ Ran. 709, sqq.

¹¹⁷ Av. 1292, sqq. Charephon the owl, etc.

¹¹⁸ Sat. i. l. 120, at which Bentley is so indignant that he changes *lippi* into *lippum*, and makes Horace call himself blear-eyed, which indeed he sometimes was. But this is the moral feeling of modern times.

¹¹⁹ Schol. Pac. 800.

¹²⁰ Schol. Ran. 709.

¹²¹ Schol. Av. 167 :—πρὸς γὰρ τῇ κυναϊδίᾳ καὶ διελίᾳ καὶ ὀψοφαγίᾳ καὶ νοσησιμῶ καὶ πονηρίᾳ ὀνειδίζουσι τὸν Τελέαν.

tween the poet and the spectators, that a single word frequently sufficed to propose a comic riddle, and at the same time to furnish its solution.

His allusions to men who had obtained the franchise surreptitiously, and who demeaned themselves as though they had been rightful citizens, are still more severe, and bear the character of serious reprehension; such are his animadversions upon Archedemus, who, though he had held the citizenship seven years, was unable to bring forward a single phrator¹²², the *parvenu* Diitrephes¹²³, Execestides the Carian¹²⁴, Spintharus the Phrygian and Philemon¹²⁵, but especially Cleophon, the son of a Thracian woman, a great talker, who was always prating about war¹²⁶. Moreover, his allusion to sycophants and men of faithless character, such as the smooth-tongued informer Cephisodemus and the false Euathlos¹²⁷, Theorus¹²⁸ the forsworn flatterer of the people, the perjured and rapacious Simon¹²⁹, Euphemius¹³⁰ and Thrasybulus, who, having been bribed, pretended to have a sore throat upon being called upon to speak at a public negociation with the Laconians¹³¹. Nor did perfidious soothsayers like Lampon, Diopithes, Hierocles, etc.¹³², escape the poet's censure.

¹²² Ran. 418.

¹²³ Av. 798:—

ὥς Διitreφῆς γε πνιναῖα μόνον ἔχων πτερὰ,
ὑρέθη φύλαρχος, εἰθ' ἱππάρχος, εἰθ' ἐξ οὐδενός
μεγάλα πράττει.

¹²⁴ Av. 765 and Schol. Comp. 11 and 1530.

¹²⁵ Av. 762. 763.

¹²⁶ Ran. 678, sqq. *Θρηκία* χειλιδών. According to the Scholion, the subject of a piece named after him by the comic poet Plato. See concerning him the following section.

¹²⁷ Acharn. 705. 710. According to the Schol. Vesp. 592, he had also been attacked by Cratinus and Plato.

¹²⁸ Nub. 399; Vesp. 42. 418; Acharn. 134.

¹²⁹ Nub. 351. 399.

¹³⁰ Vesp. 599.

¹³¹ Ecclesias. 203. 356. and Schol.

¹³² Av. 988; Pac. 1044. and Schol. Even the answers of Bacis are mentioned in derision. Eq. 1003.

Persons like these were more or less public characters; but comedy took a bolder range when she assailed the demagogues who guided the helm of state, and sometime held public offices. The comic poets had already attacked Pericles, and with the greater impunity, as he was too conscious of the proud height upon which he stood to grudge the demus a vent for any ill-will it might occasionally bear him. Several satirical allusions to his omnipotence, by Cratinus, one of the eulogists of Cimon¹³³, Teleclides, Hermippus, and Eupolis, are extant; he is apostrophized as Zeus¹³⁴, Aspasia as Here, Omphale, or Deianira, but at the same time as a courtesan¹³⁵; his sons are addressed as simpletons¹³⁶, in addition to which the one by Aspasia is called a bastard¹³⁷; his friends are named Pisis-tratids¹³⁸; the slowness with which the construction of the walls and the Odeum proceeded was also the object of their ridicule¹³⁹; and lastly, the policy of Pericles in avoiding a battle upon the

¹³³ Plut. Cim. 10.

¹³⁴ Cratinus: *Μόλ' ὦ Ζεῦ ξένε καὶ μακάριε*. Alluding to the large head of Pericles, he calls him *τύραννον*, ὃν δὴ κεφαλῆγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι. See Plut. Pericl. 3. *ibid.* ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς, Plut. 14. The same thought once more recurs in Aristoph. Acharn. 530: — *Περικλῆς οὐλύμπιος*. See also Schol. and Diodor. 12. 40. Eupolis' confession of the irresistible nature of Pericles' eloquence; from the *Δήμοις* after the death of Pericles. Comp. Meineke, *Quæstionum Scenicarum*, p. 48. Teleclides (the contemporary of Aristophanes, Schol. Ran. 1126; Athen. 6. 267. E. sqq.) enumerated to the Athenians in succession the constituents of that power which they had conceded to Pericles:

πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτὰς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν δαῖν, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
λαῖνα τεῖχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πάλιν καταβάλλειν
σπονδὰς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτόν τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.
Plut. Pericl. 16. Comp. on the subject of Teleclides, Meineke, *Quæst. Scenic.* p. 29, sqq.

¹³⁵ Cratinus apud Plut. Pericl. 24:

— *Ἦσαν τε οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει*

καὶ καταπυγούνην παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα.

Comp. Schol. Platon. Menex. 139. Ruhnk.

¹³⁶ *Βλιτομάμας*. Schol. Plat. Ruhnk. 73.

¹³⁷ Eupolis ap. Plut. Per. 24; conf. Harpocrat. *Ἀσπασία*.

¹³⁸ Plut. Per. 16.

¹³⁹ Cratinus ap. Plut. Per. 13.

first irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica, was bitterly derided¹⁴⁰.

Aristophanes arose at the commencement of the wild demagogy, which immediately followed the death of Pericles; its excesses never ceased to draw down his indignant reprobation, nor did he shrink from entering the lists with the most powerful of its representatives or supporters. He describes with the convincing energy of truth, especially in the Knights, the destructive nature of demagogy in general, the facilities it offered to bad men to rise to power and eminence¹⁴¹, its duplicity and adulation¹⁴², the intrigues and cabals it employed to deceive the people¹⁴³, and above all, its peculations and embezzlements¹⁴⁴. All this he¹⁴⁵ contrasts with the time of Myronides, when he asserts that such disgraceful avarice did not exist. Amongst the single demagogues who writhed under the lash of the Aristophanic satire, must, according to their succession in order of time, be now enumerated Eucrates, the vender of flax and tow, and the cattle-dealer Lysicles, neither of whose trades escaped ridicule¹⁴⁶, but above all, the worthless Cleon.

¹⁴⁰ See Hermipp. Anapæst. ap. Plut. Per. 33. On Hermippus, conf. Meineke, ubi sup. p. 30.

¹⁴¹ Eq. 180, 181:

δὲ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοι τοῦτο καὶ γίγνεται μέγας,
ὅτι πονηρός, καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἰ, καὶ θρασύς.

v. 218:—

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σοὶ πρόσσεστι δημαγωγικά,
φωνὴ μιὰ, γέγονας κακός, ἀγοραῖος εἰ.

¹⁴² Ran. 1085: the town is full of βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων ἑξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον αἰ. Moreover the expressive word δημίζω, to cajole the people, Vesp. 697. The subject of the κόλακες of Eupolis were Callias and the parasites about him. See Meineke, ubi sup. 59, sqq.

¹⁴³ Equit. 865.

¹⁴⁴ Vesp. 665:—

Βέλκελ.: — καὶ ποῖ τρέπεται δὴ πεῖτα τὰ χρήματα τᾶλλα;
Φιλοκλ.: ἐς τοῦτους τοὺς — Οὐχὶ προδώσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων καλοσυρτόν,
ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αἰ.

¹⁴⁵ Eccles. 303.

¹⁴⁶ Concerning the former, see Equit. 129. with the Schol. and 254; on the latter Equit. 132.

The more conscious this man was of his own baseness, the more impatient he was of censure; nevertheless, he was obliged to endure the most humiliating flagellation from the comic muse in the Babylonians¹⁴⁷, and afterwards in the Knights, his dog-like effrontery, his sycophantic snarling and barking¹⁴⁸, and his greediness for a bribe¹⁴⁹, are held up to the laughter of the people, who are at the same time compelled to witness a mortifying picture of their own folly, in resigning themselves to the guidance of so abandoned a wretch. Even after the representation of the Knights Aristophanes repeats his attacks; in the Clouds he again brings the god-detested tanner¹⁵⁰ upon the stage; in the Wasps he is made to play the part of an all-devouring sea-monster¹⁵¹; after his death his vices are once more chronicled in the Peace¹⁵²; and lastly in the Frogs he and his worthy compeer, Hyperbolus, are introduced together in Hades¹⁵³. Aristophanes well knew the peril he encountered in entering the arena with this malicious, covetous, and sanguinary idol of the populace, and accordingly speaks of his own services with that absence of reserve which was peculiar to the Greeks in enumerating their own merits¹⁵⁴, and it must be con-

¹⁴⁷ Schol. Acharn. 386.

¹⁴⁸ Equit. 1022. Cleon says to the demus:

ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμ' ὁ κύων· πρὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀπύω.

Comp. Vesp. 596: ὁ Κλέων ὁ κεκραξιδάμας.

¹⁴⁹ Eq. 831, sqq., allusion is made to forty minæ which are said to have been received from Mitylene, but this is mere satire (see Meier, de Bon. Damnat. p. 115); Cleon had received money from the islanders, that he might reduce their tributes.

¹⁵⁰ Nub. 557.

¹⁵¹ Vesp. 35: φάλαινα πανδοκεύτρια. Conf. 1080, sqq.

¹⁵² Pac. 648, sqq.: πανοῦργος, λάλος, συκοφάντης, κύκηθρον, τάρακτρον.

¹⁵³ Ran. 569, 570.

¹⁵⁴ Nub. 545: δε μέγιστον ὄντα Κλέων' ἔπαισ' εἰς τὴν γαστέρα. Vesp. 1031: θρασέως ξυστάς εὐθύς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ τῷ καρχαρόδοντι, κ. τ. λ.

fessed that comedy owed to him the proud height it thus attained as the vehicle of political censure.

In sketching the portrait of Hyperbolus the lampmaker, Aristophanes has employed less force of comic humour, as well as less moral earnestness, and patriotic feeling; still we have a clear notion of the iniquity of his character. In the *Knights* he declares that he deserves hanging¹⁵⁵; in the *Peace* which was represented about the time when Hyperbolus contested the demagogy with Alcibiades, Phæax, and Nicias, and had a party in his favour, he is called a flagitious leader¹⁵⁶, who deserved to be expelled¹⁵⁷, etc. Other comic poets had also attacked Hyperbolus, and Eupolis had written his *Maricas* against him and his drunken mother¹⁵⁸; but Aristophanes speaks in terms of contempt of these attacks, which were for the most part made after Hyperbolus had lost the favour of the people and began to be hunted like a flying beast. A specimen of the sycophantic dialectics of his contemporary and rival Phæax is given in the *Knights*¹⁵⁹. Special mention was made of Nicias in a piece which has perished, called the *Husbandmen*¹⁶⁰, and in the *Birds* his dilatory character is glanced at¹⁶¹.

Alcibiades was more violent than Cleon, and his authority resembled a tyranny still more than that

Comp. Pac. 739, sqq. On the merits of Aristophanes, compare Kanngiesser *komische Bühne*, 499, sqq.

¹⁵⁵ Equit. 1373.

¹⁵⁶ Pac. 684.

¹⁵⁷ Pac. 1319.

¹⁵⁸ Nub. 549 and Schol.; comp. Schol. on 587, and the *Plutus*, 1308; Meineke, ubi sup. 56, sqq.

¹⁵⁹ Eq. 1377, sqq.:

ξυνεργητικὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ, καὶ περαντικὸς,
καὶ γνωμοτυπικὸς, καὶ σαφής, καὶ κρουστικὸς,
καταληπτικὸς τ' ἀρίστα τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ.

¹⁶⁰ See Citat. Fabric. Bib. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 369.

¹⁶¹ Av. 639, μελλονικίαν.

of Pericles, and yet Aristophanes did not attack him. Alcibiades is rarely mentioned, and in the *Frogs* the poet appears to speak of him in terms of respect, as a man, a general, and a statesman. We may look upon the words of Æschylus in the *Frogs*¹⁶²:

'Twere better not to nourish in the state
A lion's whelp—yet should one so be nourish'd
His disposition must be yielded to—

as proceeding from Aristophanes' inmost soul. At that time he well knew that no one could protect the state against the designs of the crafty Lysander so effectually as Alcibiades; though twenty years earlier he had in the *Dætales*¹⁶³ stigmatized with becoming severity his incontinence, pernicious sophistry, youthful wilfulness and turbulence, aristocratic pride, and passion for horses, whilst the same original may be clearly recognized in the prodigal Phidippides in the *Clouds*¹⁶⁴.

Nor was the poet idle during the last years of the war, when the cabals of a party had subverted the democracy for a time, and when even after its re-establishment, the stormy passions of the people forbade all hopes of the return of tranquillity and order; to this period belong the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and the *Frogs*. The *Thesmophoriazusæ* was represented during the Oligarchy¹⁶⁵,

¹⁶² Ran. 1431. 1432.

¹⁶³ See the *Fragm.* in Seidler, *Brevis Disputatio de Aristophanis Fragmentis*. Hal. 1818; comp. Süvern on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, Berl. 1826, p. 26, sqq., and *ibid.* on the allusions to the lasciviousness and sexual vigour of Alcibiades ubi sup. 63, sqq.

¹⁶⁴ See Süvern on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, Berl. 1826, p. 33, sqq. Neither is he spoken of in creditable terms in the *Acharn.* 716:

ὅπως ἂν ᾗ

τοῖς νέοις δ' εὐρύπρωκτος, καὶ λάλος, καὶ Κλεινίου.

¹⁶⁵ Under the archon Callias (*Argum. Lysistr. et Schol.* 173); the oli-

and at the very time that the partisans of the democracy were judicially murdered and privately assassinated, Aristophanes ceased not to stigmatize the authors of these calamities; thus he reproaches the Buleutæ before the Oligarchy with having suffered the last to supplant them¹⁶⁶. In the Frogs allusion is made to the equivocal and time-serving character of Theramenes¹⁶⁷, and he wishes that the half-citizen Cleophon, alluded to above with his interminable prate about war¹⁶⁸, was in Hades¹⁶⁹; whilst the admiral Adimantus, who soon afterwards acted a very suspicious part in the disastrous battle of Ægos Potamoi, is described as a man whose death every one was bound to pray for¹⁷⁰.

Whilst condemning the destructive proceedings of the demagogues generally, he is especially loud in his complaints of their corruptness and frequent peculations; that is to say, he either openly and expressly accused the demagogues or corrupt officers, or brought characters upon the stage in such situations as sufficiently explained to the Athenians what and whom he meant; concerning these the Scholia contain ample information¹⁷¹. In fact, the effrontery with which these men plundered the public treasure was only equalled by the flagrant violation of all morality and decency exhibited in

garchy was overthrown under his successor Theopompus (Ps. Plut. Vit. Decem Orator. Antiph. 9. 313).

¹⁶⁶ Thesmoph. 808. The address to Pallas, Thesmoph. 1143, is also evidently levelled at the oligarchs:

φάνηθ' ὡς τυράννον
στυγούσ', ὥσπερ εἰκός.

¹⁶⁸ See n. 126.

¹⁶⁷ Ran. 539. 540.

¹⁶⁹ Ran. 1504, sqq.

¹⁷⁰ Ran. 1513. We are informed in the Scholia, that Adimantus likewise suffered from the satire of Eupolis and Plato.

¹⁷¹ Eccles. 205:

τὰ δημόσια γὰρ μισθοφοροῦντες χρήματα
ἰδίᾳ σκοπεῖθ' ἕκαστος, ὃ τί τις κερδανεῖ.

their lives. To the delinquents already enumerated, we may add Pisander¹⁷², Pamphilus¹⁷³, Neoclides¹⁷⁴; the Eicostologus Thorycion, who furnished stores for the enemy's ships¹⁷⁵; Prytanæ who accepted bribes for bringing forward public matters¹⁷⁶, etc.

That the superior officers were not exempt from his censure, is evident from the example of Lamachus, whose love of war when Strategus Aristophanes represents as one of the main obstacles to the restoration of peace¹⁷⁷; he at the same time directs public attention to the amount of his debts¹⁷⁸. However, we must not interpret his satirical attacks upon Lamachus too literally, as the poet undoubtedly esteemed him as a brave soldier¹⁷⁹. He likewise speaks in terms of commendation of the valiant admiral Phormio¹⁸⁰.

But most remarkable, and, at the same time, most important in their results, were the boldness and freedom with which Aristophanes proclaimed the perverseness and corruption of the omnipotent demus. In this spirit he proposed to purify and strengthen the citizenship, by expelling from it all worthless characters, and supplying their places with the more deserving amongst the new citizens¹⁸¹. During the eventful period which immediately preceded the disaster of Ægos Potamoi, he complains of the undue preference shown to the after-comers¹⁸², to the prejudice of the Kalokaga-

¹⁷² Lysistr. 490.

¹⁷³ Plut. 174; conf. Schol.

¹⁷⁴ Plut. 665, with the Schol.

¹⁷⁵ Ran. 363; conf. Schol.

¹⁷⁶ Pac. 907; conf. Thesmoph. 937.

¹⁷⁷ Acharn. 269. 572, sqq.; Pac. 472.

¹⁷⁸ Acharn. 614.

¹⁷⁹ Acharn. 1188: Ran. 1039.

¹⁸⁰ Equit. 562; Lysistr. 804. He is classed with Myronides as a μελάμ-
πυγος.

¹⁸¹ Lysistr. 574, sqq.

¹⁸² Ran. 718, sqq.

thoi, and proposes that those persons should be reinstated in their full rights who had been deprived of them because they had taken part in the Oligarchy¹⁸³. On the other hand, he extols the virtue of the men of Marathon¹⁸⁴, who, he says, were no talkers, and at the same time censures the ready volubility of the subsequent demagogues, and the easy credulity of the demus¹⁸⁵. All this was chiefly confined to the character and sentiments of the multitude; but now the collective people, the popular assembly, as the depository of the supreme power, became the butt of his satire; he deprecates the frequency of its meetings¹⁸⁶, which was a consequence of the measure of Agyrrhius for raising the salary of the ecclesiasts from one to three obols, the foolish manner in which they demeaned themselves¹⁸⁷, and their indulgence in invective and abuse¹⁸⁸. Eupolis had previously ridiculed the Athenian Dysbulia¹⁸⁹, and Aristophanes¹⁹⁰ declares that, according to an ancient saying, the assembly was accustomed to see all its foolish decrees turn out well; at the same time, he blames its love of innovation¹⁹¹, its subservience to the demagogues¹⁹², its avidity for their flattery¹⁹³, and the favour it showed to bad men¹⁹⁴. This is sometimes coupled with the advice, that the peo-

¹⁸³ Ran. 685.

¹⁸⁴ Acharn. 180, 181; Equit. 565, sqq.; Vesp. 1071, sqq.

¹⁸⁵ Vesp. 1094.

¹⁸⁶ See above, n. 36; also, Equit. 651;

οἱ δ' ἀνεκρότησαν καὶ πρὸς ἑμ' ἐκεχήμεσαν.

¹⁸⁷ Eccles. 142;

καὶ λοιδοροῦνται γ' ὥσπερ ἐμπεπωκότες.

¹⁸⁸ See above, n. 46.

¹⁸⁹ Eccles. 473, sqq.

¹⁹⁰ Eccles. 456, 580;

μισοῦσι γάρ, ἦν τὰ παλαιὰ πολλάκις θεῶνται.

Conf. 586, 587, and Acharn. 630—ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις.

¹⁹² See in particular, Equit. 1097, sqq.

¹⁹³ Acharn. 635.

¹⁹⁴ Ran. 1454, sqq.

ple should choose fresh leaders¹⁹⁵. Athens is reproached by the Acharnians with having occasioned the Peloponnesian war by her brickerings with Megara¹⁹⁶. Innumerable complaints of the military profession and the plan of operations are contained in the Peace, whilst advice as to the best mode of carrying on the war and administering the public revenue, is given in the Frogs¹⁹⁷, and put in satirical contrast with the measures actually adopted. However, he speaks of the Spartans in by no means favourable terms¹⁹⁸; but on the other hand, in one of the wildest flights of comic ridicule, he gives utterance to the exalting thought of a common Grecian nationality¹⁹⁹.

Nor are his strictures less severe on the manner in which the people discharged their judicial duties as Heliasts. This is especially beheld in the Wasps, the object of which was to depict their inordinate love of acting as judges, promoted, as it was, by the covetousness and chicanery of the litigants²⁰⁰, the angry violence of the judges which is admirably represented in the mask of the Wasps²⁰¹; while the Clouds displays a picture of the mischievous power of the sycophants and brawlers, which is embodied in the speech of Adicæologus²⁰², etc.

With these evidences of moral and political

¹⁹⁵ Ran. 1446—1448.

¹⁹⁶ Acharn. 509, sqq.; comp. Pac. 603, sqq.

¹⁹⁷ Pac. 1463—1465.

¹⁹⁸ Pac. 623, αἰσχροκερδεῖς καὶ διειρωνόξενοι; Acharn. 308, οἷσιν οὔτε βωμός, οὔτε πίστις, οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει; Lysistr. 629, οἷσιν οὐδὲν πιστόν, εἰ μή περ λύκῳ κεχηγότι.

¹⁹⁹ Lysistr. 1128, sqq.

²⁰⁰ Equit. 41, κυανοτρώξ Δημός; An. 40,

— Ἀθηναῖοι δ' αἰεὶ

ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν ἔδουσι πάντα τὸν βίον.

²⁰¹ Vesp. 1105, sqq.

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ζῶον ἡρεθισμένον

μᾶλλον ἐξύθνημόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ δυσκολώτερον, &c. &c.

²⁰² Nub. 1034, sqq. Compare the comprehensive dissertation of Süvern alluded to above.

earnestness of purpose and fearless sincerity before us, can we for a moment question the vast importance of the ancient comedy, as the voluntary auxiliary of the state, in the task of watching over the laws and the public morals, and as a candid and rigorous censorship, which dealt out with an even hand their just measure of censure to high and low. But in considering the extensive power of such an engine, we are naturally led to make the following enquiries:

1. When the comic poet attacked an individual, by falsely accusing him of contravening the laws, were not the people and the authorities provoked to bring the offender to justice?
2. Did not the powerful demagogues endeavour to revenge themselves on the poets; or did not the parties whom they had accused, and who hoped to be able to vindicate their conduct, call them to account as calumniators?
3. Did not the state restrain or abridge the comic license, when it witnessed individuals and the community at large grossly maligned, and even saw that the gods themselves were not exempt from their presumptuous attacks? or was not the audacious comic poet reprimanded, when the tragedian Phrynichus had been fined for too deeply affecting the feelings of the Athenians?

The collection of facts for enabling us to answer these questions is very limited, and the statements of some of the ancients have given rise to misapprehension on the subject.

That the denunciations of the comedy were not without effect, would appear to result from the

accounts that the knights compelled Cleon to pay a fine of five talents²⁰³, probably shortly after the representation of the Babylonians. But we are not accurately informed what official body instituted proceedings upon the occasion. In forming an estimate of the effects calculated to arise from the accusations of the comic poets, we must reflect, that as there were very few cases in which the Athenian state was entitled to commence legal proceedings against an offender itself, it was necessary to find a citizen who should appear as public prosecutor, but that no immediate steps could be taken by the tribunals, in consequence of any thing that might have fallen from the poet²⁰⁴. Moreover, to many of the persons whom he denounced, punishment had already been awarded in due course of law, to which the flagellation in the comedy was a sort of supplemental process, whilst a number of the charges enumerated above, such as those connected with demagogy—except that, perhaps, termed “betraying the demus²⁰⁵,” did not fall under those classes of offences for which the laws had made determinate provision, as the prosecutor was required to ground his accusation on some distinct and substantive fact. Now it may, indeed, be urged, that such was the alarming height

²⁰³ Aristoph. Acharn. 6. 7, and Schol. This circumstance is also alluded to in the speech of the demus, Equit. 1145;

τηρῷ γὰρ ἐκάστορ' ἀ-
τούς, οὐδὲ δοκῶν ὄραν,
κλέπτοντας· ἔπειτ' ἀναγ-
κάζω πάλιν ἐξεμείν
ἄττ' ἂν ἐκδόφωσί μου
κημὸν καταμηλῶν.

²⁰⁴ The statement in Plut. Pericl. 32; Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφηνγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἐρμίππον τοῦ κωμωδοποιῶν δῶκοντος, refers to a regular prosecution.

²⁰⁵ Γραφή ἀπατησεως τοῦ δήμου, related to the ἀδικία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

which sycophancy had reached in the time of Aristophanes, that a word was sufficient to supply materials for its rancour and malevolence; but so far was the comedy from affording any support to this hateful system, that it uniformly pursued it with the most relentless severity. However, the fine imposed upon Cleon, compared with what Callias and others were condemned to pay, would appear to have been inflicted by the people more in jest than in earnest.

With regard to the vengeance of those powerful demagogues, whom the comic poets ventured to attack, Cleon is asserted to have insinuated that Aristophanes had spoken disparagingly of the *demus*²⁰⁶; but there is no evidence that he ever formally accused him of the offence; in the *Acharnians*, Aristophanes vindicates himself from the calumnious insinuations of Cleon, by declaring, that he had never failed in the respect he owed the *demus*²⁰⁷. The slanderous aspersion or accusation in question, must have followed close upon the representation of the *Babylonians*²⁰⁸; for Cleon seems to have remained quiet after the performance of the *Knights*. It is likewise asserted, that Eupolis was drowned by Alcibiades²⁰⁹, whom he had ridiculed in the *Baptæ*. Eratosthenes,

²⁰⁶ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 379.

εἰσελκύνσας γὰρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον
διέβαλλε, καὶ ψευδῇ κατεγλώττιζέ μου κ. τ. λ.

Conf. 502, in which *ξίνων παρόντων* are the emphatic words.

οὐ γὰρ με καὶ νῦν διαβαλεῖ Κλέων, ὅτι
ξίνων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.

Conf. *Acharn.* 631,

ὥς κωμῶδεϊ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει.

²⁰⁷ Arist. *Acharn.* 632, sqq.; 655, sqq.

²⁰⁸ Schol. *Acharn.* 386.

²⁰⁹ See the Citat. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Harl. 2. 407; Meineke, ubi sup. p. 37; Buttmann on the *Colyttia* and the *Baptæ* in *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1822, 1823, *Histor. Philol.* Kl. 218.

even in his time, raised doubts as to the credibility of this story²¹⁰; but whether true or false, no general rule can be drawn from the conduct of Alcibiades. Upon the whole, it may be assumed, that as the Athenian was insensible to delicacy and shame in word and mien, so he was deficient in a refined sense of honour; the latter was seldom affected by verbal insults, and the abuses flowing from the right of public prosecution and the ever-watchful malice of the sycophants, had so accustomed the Athenian to accusations of all kinds, that his peace of mind was not likely to be ruffled by the cursory animadversions of comedy.

As to the restraint imposed upon the comic humour by the state in general, we are informed in a Scholium, that it was forbidden to attack the dead²¹¹; but the very passage of Aristophanes, to which this remark is annexed, presents an example of the contrary²¹². Again, Aristophanes accuses Pericles after his death²¹³, and ridicules Euripides in the *Frogs*. Examples to the same effect might easily be multiplied, and this Scholium²¹⁴, like so many others, is evidently nothing but a corruption of the text itself. A second says that it was forbidden to attack the Archon. But in the *Babylonians*, Aristophanes had not scrupled to satirize magistrates, as well elective as those appointed by lot²¹⁵. Is it therefore probable that the Archon formed the sole exception? Ameinias is also ridiculed in the *Wasps*, which was performed during his archonship²¹⁶. If such a law, indeed,

²¹⁰ Cicero, *Epist. ad. Att.* 6. 1.

²¹² Compare above, n. 146, 147.

²¹⁴ *Ad. Nub.* 31.

²¹⁶ *Vesp.* 64. 1267. See Hermann's doubts as to the law in the note on the *Schol. Nub.* 31.

²¹¹ Schol. *Pac.* 649.

²¹³ See above, n. 189.

²¹⁵ Schol. *Acharn.* 386.

existed, it cannot have been very strictly observed. The Areopagus, however, appears to have enjoyed exemption from the comic satire, and upon the same principle the Areopagites were forbidden to write comedies²¹⁷. Finally, it is stated that the exhibition of comedies was prohibited as early as the archonship of Merychides, Ol. 85. 1; 440. B. C., but this law having been repealed soon afterwards, Ol. 85. 4, it was once more forbidden to render individuals the objects of ridicule by name or personal imitation²¹⁸. Antimachus, the rival of Aristophanes, is said to have been the author of this statute, but its date is uncertain. It was remarked above²¹⁹, that Aristophanes did not desist from his attacks, even during the oligarchy; but under the domination of the Thirty, the comic poets were probably held in check through fear, though perhaps unrestrained by any positive law; they subsequently resumed their wonted freedom of speech, of which they do not appear to have been deprived by any express enactment, till at length the parabasis, the soul of the old comedy, was suppressed, and the chorus omitted, in consequence of the poverty which began to pervade all ranks of the community²²⁰. It was not till Athens was occupied by Macedonian garrisons that a final stop was put to the practice of attacking individuals in the dialogue, and exhibiting likenesses of them on the masks²²¹.

In conclusion, it may be observed of the free-

²¹⁷ Plut. de Gloriâ Athen. 348. B. Frankfort.

²¹⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67 and 1149.

²²⁰ See Platon. Præf. Aristoph. ed. Küster, p. xi.

²²¹ Ibid. See below, append. IV., where all the accounts on the subject are collected.

²¹⁹ See note 158.

dom of comedy upon the whole, that it produced no serious impression whatever upon the minds of the spectators, that it had from its earliest origin enjoyed a sort of privilege and licence to attack individuals under cover of the mask, and that the predilection of the Athenians for this sort of harsh and cutting satire continued undiminished as long as they retained their prosperity and independence; but, as on the one side no serious evils were supposed to result from it, so on the other it could seldom become the effective medium of sound advice or salutary reproof²²². This is the only manner in which it is possible to account for the levity with which the gods are spoken of in the Frogs²²³; but it was a very different case with tragedy—when Euripides was prosecuted because he had spoken of the oath with seeming irreverence²²⁴. Still the Athenians were unwilling to experience real emotion by witnessing the representation of recent calamities or the sorrows of Greeks with whom they were upon terms of friendship.

bb. The Demagogues, and the changes which the Athenian Democracy underwent during the Peloponnesian War.

§ 65. To complete the foregoing picture, it is necessary to subjoin a sketch of the character and proceedings of the several popular leaders, who amidst the vicissitudes of peace and war, influ-

²²² I cannot concur in the opinion of Kannegiesser as to the benefits which resulted from the censure of the comic poets, (kom. Bühne, 471, sqq.)

²²³ Comp. Böttiger Aristophan. Deor. Gentil. Impun. Irrisor.

²²⁴ The verse was—

Ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμῶμοχ', ἣ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.
See Aristoph. Rhet. 3. 15.

enced the destinies of Athens. Most of the persons who attained distinction a short time before, as well as during and after the war, are known to us from the portraits of them transmitted by the comic poets; some are not of sufficient importance to require special attention, and history is unacquainted with others beyond the particulars respecting them which occur in comedy and its commentators. But before we revert to those who demand a second mention, a few words must be premised concerning those patriotic heroes who, regardless of the machinations of domestic factions, dedicated themselves to the performance of their official duties, as Strategi, and overlooking the unworthiness of those for whom they fought, exposed their lives in defence of their country with the devotedness and intrepidity of martyrs. Their deeds recal the conduct of the high-minded Myronides¹. Such were the brave, skilful, and fortunate naval hero Phormio², who fully deserves the place assigned to him by Aristophanes³ at the side of Myronides; Lamachus, who, notwithstanding the loud and boisterous words in which his martial feeling expressed itself, and his military pomp of armour and crest⁴, was a brave man, and disdained to pervert his office to the object of enriching himself⁵; the enterprising Paches⁶, who, upon being caught in the snares of sycophants upon his return from Mitylene and the neighbouring coast, drew his sword and killed himself in

¹ See § 57. n. 92, sqq.

² See Thucyd. 1. 64, sqq., especially 2. 80, sqq.

³ Aristoph. Pac. 801, sqq.

⁴ Aristoph. Acharn. 566.

⁵ He was so poor that his coat and shoes formed items in the accounts of his disbursements. Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 272.

⁶ Thucyd. 3. 16.

the presence of his judges⁷; Demosthenes, capable of vast enterprises⁸, formed to gain the hearts of nations⁹, and who, though not formally invested with the command, performed great actions¹⁰; Hippocrates and Eurymedon, his companions in arms, the former commander of the fleet in the expedition to Bœotia¹¹, which ended in the disaster of Delium, and the latter admiral upon several occasions in the Ionian and Sicilian seas¹², and at length commander of the auxiliary fleet to Sicily, and involved in the same destruction with Demosthenes, through the impolitic operations of Nicias¹³; and, lastly, at the conclusion of the war, Conon, whose fidelity and caution presented an honourable contrast to the imbecility or treachery of his fellow-commanders at Ægos Potamoi, whilst his activity after the war was no less conspicuous in his efforts to restore the shattered power of his country.

The history of the demagogues who arose after the death of Pericles¹⁴, exhibits a political division and opposition of parties (*ἀντιπολιτεία*) indeed, but without the substantial difference which once prevailed between aristocrats and democrats; in lieu of this we behold arrayed against each other the friends of legality and order on the one side, and the base flatterers of the populace, the brawlers and disturbers of the public peace, on the other.

⁷ Plut. Nic. 6.

⁸ Thucyd. 3. 91, sqq.

⁹ Concerning the Acharnians see Thucyd. 7. 57.

¹⁰ Thucyd. 4. 2, sqq., the fortification of Pylos.

¹¹ Thucyd. 4. 76, sqq.

¹² Thucyd. 4. 2.

¹³ Thucyd. 7. 42, sqq.

¹⁴ Comp. Ruhnken, Hist. Orat. Græcorum, prefixed to his Rutilius Lupus, and published in Reiske, Orat. Gr. vol. 8; which, however, only contains ample information concerning the period after the Peloponnesian war. See some particulars on the subject in Kortüm, Gesch. d. Hellen. Staatsv. 176—187.

Again, the wealthy class¹⁵, and the luxurious and inquisitive mob, with its rapacious leaders. To these we may add, a newly-constituted oligarchical faction, which arose towards the end of the war and had nothing in common with the partisans of the ancient aristocracy, opposed to the bulk of the people, who were passionate adherents of the democracy;—among the last there were many true and upright patriots.

CLEON AND NICIAS.

After the death of Pericles, Lysicles, the dealer in sheep, who had married Aspasia, and Eucrates the flax-seller¹⁶, became rival candidates for the popular favour; but their short career was not marked by any event of moment. Hereupon Cleon the leather-seller¹⁷, and the wealthy Nicias, became for several years the most prominent characters on the political stage.

Cleon¹⁸ had already exerted himself to stir up the multitude against Pericles in the latter part of that great man's life¹⁹; but after his death he employed all his clamour, turbulence, and audacity²⁰, to inflame the evil passions of the populace, and pursued his rival Nicias and the moderate party with undaunted effrontery²¹, and implacable fero-

¹⁵ Aristoph. Equit. 224. 225.

¹⁶ See the preceding section, n. 140.

¹⁷ Βυρσοδέψης, Aristoph. Equit. 44; Nub. 581. Βυρσοπώλης, Equit. 136. 737. 848.

¹⁸ See Kortüm in the Philologisch. Beiträgen aus der Schweiz. 1819, Passow in Wachler's Philomathie, v. 1.

¹⁹ Plut. Pericl. 33, where see Hermippus' Anapæsts. Comp. Himerius, p. 318, Wernsd. ed.

²⁰ Βορβοροτάραξις, Aristoph. Equit. 309.

²¹ Βδελυρία and τόλμη, Plut. Nic. 2.

city. Less an orator²² than a brawler, he ran backwards and forwards and made the most violent gesticulations during his harangues²³; he was a boaster, a sycophant, and an egotist, and by dint of impetuosity and noise easily drowned the voices of the few judicious persons who attempted to make themselves heard, and obtained such an ascendant over the congenial rabble, that they did homage to the idol they laughed at and despised. All the ancients are unanimous in their accounts of Cleon's baseness and impudence, and in addition to the poetical portrait of Aristophanes, we have the masterly historical sketch of Thucydides. The latter gives an accurate description of the two most important events of Cleon's life, viz., the debate on the punishment of the Mitylenæans²⁴, and his acceptance of the command of the expedition against Sphacteria²⁵. In Thucydides, who has faithfully reported the speeches made upon the occasion²⁶, we perceive the insidious malevolence of Cleon's eloquence, who after having on the preceding day caused a decree to be passed for putting all the males amongst the Mitylenæans to death, and for reducing the women and children to slavery, dared to urge the necessity of imparting stability to the laws, and raising the more ignorant members of the community whom he declared to

²² Cic. Brut. 7, describes him as "turbulentum illum quidem civem, sed tamen eloquentem;" but in Aristophanes, Equit. 36, he is said to have φάλαινα ἔχουσα φωνήν ἱμπερημένης ὁδός. He is also announced as a Paphlagonian, which word contains an allusion to παφλάζειν, to bubble like boiling water. See Schol. Equit. 2.

²³ Plut. Nic. 8:—πρώτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγῶν καὶ περισπᾶσας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἅμα χρησάμενος, κ. τ. λ. Conf. Schol. Æsch. c. Timarch. 726.

²⁴ Thucyd. 3. 36, sqq.

²⁵ Thucyd. 4. 28.

²⁶ Thucyd. 1. 22.

be better citizens, above those who possessed intelligence and judgment. This time, however, the impression produced by his sanguinary advice was counteracted by the speech of the brave Diodotus, and mercy prevailed in the breasts of the Athenians after the silence of the night had restored them to reason and recollection. Cleon, whose thirst of blood could not be slaked, once more proposed a decree for the extermination of the refractory Scionæans²⁷, which, however, was not carried into effect till after his death²⁸. In the debates on the command of the expedition against Sphacteria, he poured forth all the sycophantic malevolence of his nature. Our chief attention must be directed to the conduct of his rival Nicias, and the disposition of the Athenian demus towards Cleon. Nicias endeavours to shield himself against slander and persecution by resigning the command; Cleon first brags and then fears to be taken at his word, whereupon the people begin to grow merry²⁹. Cleon is laughed at, but such is their levity, that the step, which every one knows to be ridiculous³⁰, is seriously resolved upon, and he is entrusted with the command of the expedition. It must be confessed, that upon this occasion the more judicious had good reason to second the folly of the multitude, as they expected that the demagogue would be unable to perform his promise of bringing the Lacedæmonians, who

²⁷ Thucyd. 4. 122.²⁸ Thucyd. 4. 28: οἱ δὲ (οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν), ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων ὑπέφευγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐξανέχωρει τὰ εἰρημμένα, τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῇ Νικίᾳ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβόων πλεῖν.³⁰ Thucyd. ubi sup.: τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐνέπεσι μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος τῷ κουφολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.²⁹ Thucyd. 5. 32.

were besieged in Sphacteria, within twenty days dead or alive to Athens, by which means they hoped to effect his final destruction. The gross levity of this proceeding, and the interchange of low familiarity between Cleon and the Athenian demus probably have no example in history. The people were assembled and awaited the coming of Cleon, who was expected to bring forward a proposition. After a long delay he appeared, with a garland round his head, and requested the assembly to adjourn till the next day, as he had guests in his house, and had sacrificed to the gods. The people laughed³¹, and showed no signs of anger. Until the expedition against Sphacteria, Cleon had remained at home and strenuously advocated the prosecution of the war, because he thought that it afforded him the best opportunity of concealing his own baseness³²; when, however, his prediction had been verified, as though Fate had specially interposed to justify the capricious choice of the Athenians, he began to think himself an able general, and undertook the chief command against Brasidas and the rebellious Chalcidians; but after incurring the contempt and aversion of his soldiers³³, he was at length defeated and killed at Amphipolis. Though poor at the commencement of his career, he left a fortune of fifty talents³⁴.

Nicias, the opponent of Cleon, who had attained eminence during the lifetime of Pericles, with whom he had been associated in the command³⁵, was selected by the upper orders and the more re-

³¹ Plut. Nic. 7.³² Thucyd. 5. 7.³³ Plut. Nic. 2.³⁴ Plut. Nic. 9.³⁵ Ælian. V. H. 10. 17.

spectable members of the community in general, as the man whose authority and influence would prove the most effectual counterpoise to the overgrown power of Cleon. Like his predecessor Cimon, his policy inclined him towards Sparta³⁶, though this by no means diminished the advantages which his country derived from his courage and military talents. But the confidence which the people reposed in him by so frequently appointing him to the command of their armies, was little calculated to enhance his power as a demagogue. The strategia, unless wielded with the genius and vigour of a Themistocles or a Pericles, did not secure to its holder any considerable influence over the constitution in general; it rather served to withdraw him from public affairs, and to expose him to dangers and difficulties abroad, whilst the demagogue securely swayed the popular mind according to his will and pleasure at home. Now, though Nicias never failed, during his residence in Athens, to use all his efforts to ingratiate himself with the people, he was not possessed of those natural advantages by which he could hope to outstrip his rival Cleon. The main prop of his demagoguery was his wealth³⁷, and whether from genuine liberality or from calculation, instead of drawing on the public money to gratify the love of show and amusement in the people, he defrayed the expenses of spectacles, etc., from his own private fortune³⁸; but his largesses were not supported by brilliant personal endowments—the people looked more to

³⁶ On the subject of his vanity in endeavouring to perpetuate his name by means of a treaty of peace with Sparta, consult Thucyd. 5. 16.

³⁷ Plut. Nic. 3:—οὐσία—προέχων ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐδημαγώγει.

³⁸ Plut. ubi sup.

the gift than the giver. The talents of Nicias were hardly above mediocrity, and he was signally deficient in activity and self-confidence. Want of natural genius made him slow; he laboured with difficulty in transacting the public business; he endeavoured to atone, by industry and circumspection, for his want of that quickness of conception requisite for devising proper expedients in sudden emergencies³⁹; his friends commended his laborious assiduity, but the people usually judge according to the promptness and decision with which a plan is executed, and they look—and justly too—less to the will than the act. But this want of self-confidence was signally calamitous to Nicias; he asked the advice of soothsayers, in whom he implicitly believed⁴⁰. This crippled his efforts in the field, and eventually involved him and thousands more in one common destruction⁴¹. By passing so much of his time in the retirement of his house or tent, in superstitiously trying to interpret prognostics and signs, he became wholly unfitted for the duties of active life, and lost that decision and reliance upon his own powers, which alone can ensure success. Besides his hesitation and delay, he was remarkable for reserve and a dread of publicity⁴². Pericles, too, had rarely shown himself to the people; but that which had borne the character of greatness and dignity in him, was mere weakness in Nicias; hence Nicias feared the people as much as they feared

³⁹ Plut. Nic. 5.

⁴⁰ Thucyd. 7. 50:—θειασμῶ—προσκέιμενος. Comp. Plut. Nic. 4.

⁴¹ Thucyd. 7. 50, sqq.

⁴² Plut. Nic. 11:—τῆς διαίτης τὸ μὴ φιλόνητον μηδὲ δημοτικόν, ἀλλ' ἄμικτον καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν. Comp. 5.

Pericles. Nicias made himself dependent upon the meanest of the multitude, and lavished his treasures upon sycophants in order to purchase exemption from their attacks⁴³. This rendered him irresolute and timorous when he should have evinced most boldness and determination, and induced him to retreat at the very moment he ought to have advanced. He dreaded the impetuosity of the rabble more than the enemy in the field. But unmitigated indignation and contempt are excited by the pusillanimity and hesitation which he displayed when, by a bold and decisive step, he might have brought back to Athens the still considerable remains of the army and fleet from Syracuse. Why, even admitting that he would have been made answerable for the failure⁴⁴, did he not rather sacrifice himself *for* the Athenians than *with* them⁴⁵? This man was no safeguard or protection to his adherents—an evil the more serious in its consequences at a time when parties, instead of strengthening their leaders, looked to them for countenance and support.

ALCIBIADES WITH HIS FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS.

Nicias having obtained a wider scope for his operations through the death of Cleon, was for some years enabled to assert the first place in the state; and though the people did not uniformly adhere to him, and he was not without competitors and opponents through all the variations of popular feeling, no one succeeded in permanently supplant-

⁴³ Plut. Nic. 4.

⁴⁴ See his anxiety on this head, Thucyd. 7. 14.

⁴⁵ Plut. Nic. 22, reminds us of the memorable words of the Byzantine Leon: Βούλομαι μάλλον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

ing him. This is less to be attributed to any increase of his personal influence, than to the utter baseness of the first man who rose up against him.

This was no other than the lamp-maker Hyperbolus⁴⁶, an acknowledged knave, reprobated as an alien⁴⁷, descended from a father who had been branded, and had laboured as a public slave in the mines⁴⁸, and an abandoned mother, whom the comic poets pursued with the most unsparing ridicule⁴⁹; and lastly, convicted of unfair dealings, by mixing up lead with the metal he used for his lamps, etc.⁵⁰. Such was the man who, upon the death of Cleon, in the general dearth of honesty and principle, thrust himself forward, and by dint of effrontery and clamour⁵¹ succeeded for a time in engrossing a large share of public attention⁵². Although perhaps still more depraved than Cleon, he had neither strength of mind nor subtlety enough to be equally mischievous. His cabals against Nicias and Alcibiades or Phæax had nearly secured him the chief authority in the state, when his two opponents combined, and caused him to be expelled by ostracism⁵³. But so flagrant was the iniquity of his character, that the Athenians repented of having expelled him in so honourable a manner, and soon afterwards a decree was passed to the effect that ostracism having been disgraced

⁴⁶ See concerning him the Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 680, and Vesp. 1001.

⁴⁷ This was even indicated by the Barbarian word *marikas*, which formed the title of the comedy of Eupolis. Comp. Meineke, Quæst. Scen. 56.

⁴⁸ Sch. Vesp. ubi sup.

⁴⁹ Aristoph. Nub. 552, sqq., with the Scholia.

⁵⁰ Aristoph. Nub. 1065.

⁵¹ Plut. Alcib. 13.

⁵² Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῳ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔμπορε τιμῆς, supplied by Plut. Nic. 11.

⁵³ Plut. Nic. 11.

by its application to Hyperbolus should from that time forth be abolished ⁵⁴.

Somewhat similar to the relation of Hyperbolus to Cleon, was that of Callias, the son of Hipponicus, to Nicias. Of ample fortune, sprung from a noble family ⁵⁵, but wholly destitute of useful accomplishments, he was notorious for low debauchery; surrounded by parasites whom the extravagance with which he wasted his patrimony had drawn together, he was regarded with contempt by all good men ⁵⁶, without even being respected by the multitude.

To the wealthy class and the party opposed to Hyperbolus belonged Phæax; his birth was noble, and though rather remarkable for loquacity than rhetorical art ⁵⁷, he nevertheless had address enough to extricate himself from several dangerous contests ⁵⁸. His career was short ⁵⁹.

But the man who far outstripped all competitors was Alcibiades, the son of Clinias. In him were united two remarkable characteristics of the times, the arts of the sophists, and the doctrines of Socrates. Alcibiades is the representative of that age in which wisdom strove for the last time to obtain the direction of political affairs, but being worsted in the conflict with a generation nurtured in the artifices of the sophists, withdrew from pub-

⁵⁴ Plut. ubi sup.; Aristid. 7. Conf. Thucyd. 8. 75, where his death during the Samian tumults is related.

⁵⁵ Palmer exercitatt. 754; Clavier, sur la Famille de Callias, in the Mém. de l'Institut. class. d'hist. t. 3; Heindorf, ad Plat. Protag. 409; Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 14, sqq., etc.

⁵⁶ See very copious references in Meineke, Quæst. Scen. 51, sqq.

⁵⁷ λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν. Eupolis ap. Plut. Nic. 13; comp. Arist. Eq. 1377, sqq.

⁵⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1388.

⁵⁹ Comp. also on the subject of the relations between Phæax and Andocides, Ruhnken Hist. Orat. Græc. (ante Rut. Lup.) XLVII. seq.

lic life, and retired into the halls of the schools. Socrates, decidedly hostile to that superficial instruction which the sophists communicated to the Athenian youth in lieu of solid knowledge, was, notwithstanding the repeated victories he had gained over them by means of his superiority in their own arts, unable to counteract that influence which they exercised over the minds of the youthful Athenians, who pursued with avidity those outward and specious accomplishments which were calculated to secure them an ascendant over the multitude. By applying their arts to the objects of political life, they gained vast numbers of adherents, and rendered their opinions and principles generally prevalent. Alcibiades and Critias both shook off the irksome discipline of Socrates, the former proving recreant to his master's lessons, and the latter becoming his personal enemy.

Deinomache the mother of Alcibiades was descended from the house of Clisthenes and Megacles the Alcmaeonids ⁶⁰; his father Clinias had sent a trireme and two hundred men at his own expense to the battle of Salamis ⁶¹; he was killed at Coronea, Ol. 83. 2; 447. B. C ⁶². Alcibiades and Clinias were both very young at the time of his death ⁶³. Alcibiades' first appearance in public life cannot exactly be determined; he seems to have given indications of luxury and perverseness when still a youth, and a portrait of his character is supposed to be given in the Dædaleis of Ari-

⁶⁰ See the investigation in Böckh, explic. Pindar. 302, sqq.

⁶¹ Herod. 8. 17.

⁶² Plato, Alcib. 1. 112. B.
⁶³ Plato, Protag. 320. A. where see Heindorf. Compare on the year of Alcibiades' birth, Meier v. d. Greifswald. Lect. Catal. Summer, 1820.

stophanes⁶⁴; still even at that early period he had distinguished himself at the side of Socrates in the battle of Potidæa⁶⁵; when a young man he is enumerated amongst the *εὐρύπρωκτοι* and praters in the Acharnians of Aristophanes, Ol. 88. 3; 426. B. C⁶⁶; he fought with distinction in the battle of Delium, Ol. 89. 1, and preserved the life of Socrates, who had previously saved his at the battle of Potidæa⁶⁷; the first occasion upon which he influenced a popular decree was when the tributes of the allies were raised, a short time before Ol. 89. 3⁶⁸; but we behold him with the full power and influence of a demagogue, Olymp. 90. 1; 420. B. C., in the twelfth year of the war, when he employed all his efforts to bring about an alliance between Athens and Argos, and to annul the peace which Nicias had effected with Sparta⁶⁹.

The relation in which Alcibiades stood to the people, as well as the formation of his political character, must be referred to his boyhood. Even in infancy he attracted universal attention, as the descendant of one of the oldest and most illustrious houses, whose ancient aristocratic qualities the demus still regarded with a sort of veneration⁷⁰, as the heir to immense wealth⁷¹, and, what was not his least distinction in the eyes of the Athenians, as a faultless model of beauty⁷²; Peri-

⁶⁴ Süvern on the Clouds of Aristophanes, 38.

⁶⁵ Plut. Alcibiad. 7; Isocrat. de Bigis, 615.

⁶⁶ Aristoph. Acharn. 716.

⁶⁷ Plut. Alcib. 7; Plat. Sympos. 219. E. sqq.

⁶⁸ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 431.

⁶⁹ Thucyd. ubi sup.

⁷⁰ Ælian. V. H. 3. 28; Plut. Alcib. 11; comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 17, sqq.

⁷² Plut. Alcib. 1.

cles his guardian⁷³, and Socrates, strove in vain to eradicate from his mind the baneful germ of evil passions whose growth was but too vigorously promoted by the blind love of the demus⁷⁴; he soon discovered his sensual propensities and his tendency to sophistical subtility. The latter quality is attested by the discourse which he held, with Pericles on the laws⁷⁵, before he was twenty years of age, and the advice which he is reputed to have given that statesman as to passing his accounts⁷⁶. Conscious of possessing distinguished qualities both of body and mind, immense wealth and unbounded popularity, he felt unlimited confidence in his own powers, and in expressing this feeling without any reserve⁷⁷, he merely acted in conformity to the common practice of the Greeks in general, in enumerating their own merits without blushing, but he exhibited a haughtiness of bearing and a love of outrage such as Athens had never before beheld. Though he was pliant and cringing to the people at large, he treated individuals of all ranks of society with unheard of insolence⁷⁸; those whom he insulted seldom ventured to seek redress, lest they should suffer still more from the effects of his vengeance; he is a complete personification of the arrogance and love of outrage which characterized

⁷³ Plato, Protag. 320. A.

⁷⁴ See an admirable delineation of a youth like Alcibiades, though without express mention of his name as well as of the associates who divert his attention from philosophy, Plato, Repub. 6. 494.

⁷⁵ Xenoph. Mem. 1. 2. 40, sqq.

⁷⁶ Plut. Alcib. 7; Pericl. 23; Diod. 12. 38.

⁷⁷ Thucyd. 6. 16, sqq. Amongst other things: οὐδέ γε ἄδικον, ἢ ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονούντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι. Plato, Alcib. 1. 104. A: οὐδένος φῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐνδεὲς εἶναι εἰς οὐδέν.

⁷⁸ Ps. Andoc. adv. Alcib. 119: ἀθρόους μὲν ὑμᾶς κολακεύων, ἕνα δ' ἕκαστον προπηλακίζων. Plato, Symp. 216: αἰσχύνησθαι ὄντινα οὐκ, κ. τ. λ. Comp. Thucyd. 6. 115, and examples, Plut. Alcib. 8. 12. 16, etc.

his native city, and in falling in with the tastes and feelings of the multitude, his object was to gain the chief power in the state, not with a view to develop and augment its resources, but that he might break the laws with the greater impunity. Pericles feared shame alone, Alcibiades blushed at nothing; the former endeavoured to render his authority an emblem of the wisdom and strength of the law, the conduct of the latter was one tissue of illegal acts; the aspect of the one expressed the gravity and serenity of the law, the other marked his real profligacy beneath the bland smiles of the demagogue; the one displayed the dignity, confidence, and kindness of a king, the other the intrigue, craft, and cruelty of a tyrant⁷⁹. His largesses were designed to impart lustre to his demagogy; the whole of Greece gazed with admiration at the seven chariots which he sent to the Olympic games⁸⁰, and loudly applauded the munificence of the victor, who feasted all the spectators at his own expense⁸¹. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to indulge without restraint the amorous propensities of his nature, and in drinking and wrestling he found few competitors⁸².

The feelings of the people towards him at the commencement of his career, may be collected from their endeavours to catch a quail which had escaped from him—a proceeding that reminds us of the dissolution of the assembly, on account of the

⁷⁹ Ps. Andoc. adv. Alcib. 126: — τοὺς μὲν λόγους δημαγωγῶν, τὰ δ' ἔργα τυράννου παρέχων.

⁸⁰ Thucyd. 6. 16; Plut. Alcib. 11.

⁸¹ Athen. 1. 3. E.; ibid. 12. 534. B. on the extravagance of Alcibiades upon other occasions.

⁸² Cornel. Nep. Alcib. 11.

⁸³ Plut. Alcib. 10; ibid. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 191.

feast in Cleon's house; their feelings towards the man are very felicitously expressed by Aristophanes⁸⁴.

The wanton excesses of Alcibiades were for a long time looked upon as juvenile errors and human weaknesses⁸⁵; but the number of those whom he had insulted, and who longed for vengeance, increasing daily, the more frequently the people witnessed the injuries it was in his power to commit, the more disposed they became to listen to those who insinuated that he aspired to the tyranny. His authority was solely and exclusively founded in the favour of the people, and the party by which he was supported was by no means equal in numbers to that by which he was opposed; he was the leader of a Hetaireia, it is true⁸⁶, but this consisted more of the companions of his pleasures, than of men bound to him by a community of political feeling; and upon the whole he was more formed to gain friends than to keep them⁸⁷; hence, a change in the popular feeling would of necessity leave him deserted and alone. His opponents did not so much consist of those who held opposite political opinions, as of the vast numbers he had mortified and thrown into the background, and whose envy and malignity he had excited; to these must likewise be added many true friends to their country. This is evident from the prosecution of the Hermocopidæ, in conse-

⁸⁴ Ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ' ἔχειν. Ran. 1425.

⁸⁵ Plut. Alcib. 16.

⁸⁶ Isocrat. de Big. 605. Lange; conf. Krüger, Dionys. Halicarn. Historiographica, 363. n. 5; Süvern on the Clouds of Aristophanes, 33. See below, n. 134.

⁸⁷ Justin. 5. 2: in conciliandis amicitiarum studiis melior, quam in retinendis.

quence of which Alcibiades was obliged to quit the country; but this proceeding, which is almost without parallel in the annals of civilization, at the same time exhibits such a tissue of sycophancy, party-spirit, and personal animosity, aggravated by the clamour of political alarmists, and the blindness and fanaticism of the mob, that we indignantly exclaim against this abandoned people, and plainly perceive that they could not long escape the punishment due to their crimes.

The confusion which took possession of the minds of those engaged in the transaction itself, has extended to the accounts of it, some of which are imperfect and others discordant⁸⁸; still, it may not be altogether without advantage to examine them more minutely⁸⁹.

When the Athenian fleet was about to set sail for Sicily, all the Hermæ in the public streets were one morning found mutilated⁹⁰. The superstitious regarded this circumstance as an omen of evil to the armament then about to sail, whilst the suspicious construed it into an indication of a plot against the democracy; it was currently reported that it had been devised by the Syracusans or Corinthians, with the view of deterring the Athenians from the contemplated expedition⁹¹; and the infatuation of the multitude whose weak side had thus been assailed, easily brought this circumstance into connection with treason and conspiracy⁹².

The council met and the people assembled several

⁸⁸ These are, Thucyd. 6. 27: Andocid. de Myster. p. 6, sqq.; Plut. Alcib. 18, sqq.; Diodor. 13. 2; Isocrat. de Big., etc. See Append. v.

⁸⁹ Compare Sluiter, Lektion. Andocidæ, Lugd. Bat. 1804. cap. 3; Schömann de Comit. Athen. 190.

⁹⁰ Thucyd. 6. 27; Plut. Alcib. 18.

⁹¹ Plut. ubi sup.

⁹² Thucyd. 6. 27: καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζονος ἐλάβανον, κ. τ. λ.

times within a few days⁹³, and a reward was offered to him who would denounce the offender⁹⁴. The enemies of Alcibiades now began their operations. Without strictly confining themselves to the affair of the Hermæ, they resolved to accuse him of two grave crimes—high treason and profanation of the mysteries; their hopes of success were chiefly founded in the notorious excitability of the people, and the ease with which one prosecution could in Athens be mixed up with another, and rendered more dangerous. They, moreover, probably anticipated that Alcibiades would be deprived of the command, and that upon the departure of the army, his main support, they would find less difficulty in crushing him. Meanwhile, the preparations being completed, an assembly was convened by the three generals, Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades⁹⁵, in which Pythonicus arose and made an Eisangelia against Alcibiades, charging him with impiety, as he, with his friends and associates, had given mock-celebrations of the mysteries⁹⁶, in confirmation of which he appealed to the testimony of Andromachus, the slave of Alcibiades. The demagogue Androcles⁹⁷, his most inveterate enemy, was especially active in bringing forward witnesses⁹⁸. But nothing respecting the mutilation of the Hermæ was elicited⁹⁹. Alcibiades denied the charge, and offered to abide the event of a trial¹⁰⁰. At this

⁹³ Plut. ubi sup.

⁹⁴ Andoc. 6.

⁹⁵ Thucyd. ubi sup.

⁹⁶ —τὰ μυστήρια ποιῶντα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεθ' ἑτέρων. Besides this, Thucyd. 6. 28, εἰς ὅσον.

⁹⁷ Concerning him, see Ruhnken, Hist. or. Gr. 43.

⁹⁸ Plut. Alcib. 19. According to Andocides, Pythonicus was the only accuser upon that occasion; but besides Plutarch, Thucydides also says, 6. 28, μνηστέται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τῶν καὶ ἀκολούθων.

⁹⁹ Thucyd. 6. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Andoc. ubi sup.

juncture tumults broke out amongst the soldiers; the auxiliary troops from Argos and Mantinea refused to leave Alcibiades; and his enemies perceiving that their design of separating him from the army was not practicable at this moment, resolved upon prosecuting the matter no further for the present, and hastened the departure of the armament¹⁰¹. Hereupon the council was authorized to investigate the affair further¹⁰², and a series of fresh accusations was soon brought forward. Cimon's son, Thessalus, laid an *Eisangelia*¹⁰³ against Alcibiades and his companions before the council, and Androcles produced witnesses. The demagogues now exclaimed more loudly than before¹⁰⁴, that the desecration of the mysteries was only a preliminary to the overthrow of the democracy. The infuriated multitude were incapable of perceiving the connection between cause and effect; the accusers were believed before any thing was done to test the credibility of their allegations, and one of the persons accused, Polystratus, was immediately put to death, whilst several others, who had effected their escape, were condemned in their absence¹⁰⁵. Hereupon a Metoecus, called Teucer, who had taken refuge in Megara, offered to point out the guilty parties; and upon receiving an assurance of his personal safety, he gave in the names of eighteen citizens whom he accused of having mutilated the Hermaic statues and profaned the mysteries. Some of them fled, whilst others

¹⁰¹ Thucyd. 6. 29; Plut. Alc. 19.¹⁰³ Plut. Alcib. 19.¹⁰⁴ Isocrat. de Big. 605: οἱ δὲ (the enemies of Alcibiades) τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι πάλιν ἤγειρον τὸ πρᾶγμα.¹⁰⁵ Andoc. 7.¹⁰² Andoc. 8.¹⁰⁶ Andoc. 7. 8.

were put to death¹⁰⁶. Pisander and Charicles once more exclaimed that the state was in danger, and demanded that the investigation should be continued¹⁰⁷. Cleonymus moved that a thousand drachmas should be given to the informers, but Pisander proposed ten thousand for Andromachus and a thousand for Teucer¹⁰⁸. The information now given by a woman called Agariste, and Lydus a slave, seems to have had no immediate consequences, but in a short time still more citizens sought safety in flight¹⁰⁹. The information of Diocles was as flagitious in principle as it was pernicious in its results. This man declared that he knew those who had perpetrated the outrage, and that they were three hundred in number; fifty-two of them, whose names he mentioned, were immediately imprisoned. Such was the infatuation of the people, that they did not even perceive the gross delusion which was practised upon them, when one of the accusers asserted that he had seen the conspirators by moonlight, though it was just at the time of new moon¹¹¹. The council now assembled, and Pisander made the illegal proposal of putting the accused to the rack¹¹². This was not carried into execution, but the public infatuation now reached the highest pitch. Diocles was crowned, and drawn in a car to the Prytaneum, where he was hailed as the saviour of the people¹¹³; all the citizens were in arms, and the council passed the night in the citadel¹¹⁴. No one now ventured to the market-place, for such was the fanaticism of

¹⁰⁷ Andoc. 18.¹⁰⁹ Andoc. 8.¹¹¹ Plut. 20; Diodor. 13. 2.¹¹³ Andoc. 19.¹⁰⁸ Andoc. 14.¹¹⁰ Andoc. 19, sqq.¹¹² Andoc. 22.¹¹⁴ Andoc. 23.

the multitude, that they could no longer distinguish between friends and foes; they assailed those who belonged to their own body and the noblest in the state¹¹⁵ indiscriminately; the dungeons every day received fresh victims, who looked forward to certain death; the preceding murders had excited a thirst for blood in the populace, and they cared not who fell as long as they had victims in plenty¹¹⁶.

Amongst the prisoners was Andocides, the son of Leogoras¹¹⁷, of the family of the Ceryces¹¹⁸, who was as eminent for his qualities as for his rank, and had once been entrusted with the command of twenty triremes, which had been sent to Corcyra¹¹⁹. He was strongly suspected¹²⁰ of being one of the accomplices of Alcibiades. One of those who had been imprisoned with him, Charmides¹²¹ or Timæus¹²², advised him, in case he knew the offenders, to denounce them and save the lives of those who were unjustly accused. Hereupon Andocides confessed that Teucer had disclosed the truth, and he completed his information by naming four other persons who had been concerned in the outrage¹²³. Diocles being summoned to appear, confessed that he had been suborned by the

¹¹⁵ Thucyd. 6. 60; Plut. 20.

¹¹⁶ Thucyd. 6. 60: καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδίδουσαν μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀγριώτερόν τε καὶ πλείονος ἐν ἑλλάδι βάνειν.

¹¹⁷ Concerning him, see Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 110.

¹¹⁸ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orator. 9. 316.

¹¹⁹ Ps. Plut. ubi sup.

¹²⁰ Thucydides does not mention him, but says, εἰς τῶν δεδεμένων, ὅσπερ ἰδὼκει αἰτιώτατος εἶναι, 6. 60.

¹²¹ Thus called by Andoc. 25.

¹²² Plut. Alcib. 21.

¹²³ Andoc. 25; conf. Plut. Alcib. 21; Thucyd. 6. 60. According to Ps. Plut. Andoc. 317, Andocides denounced, amongst others, his own father Leogoras; but at the same time declared, that should his life be spared, he could render important service to the state, whereupon Leogoras made all sorts of false statements. But according to the speech of Andoc. de Myster. 33. and 78, this cannot have been the case.

Phegusian Alcibiades and by Amias¹²⁴. The two last fled; Diocles was killed, and those whom he had accused were set at liberty—Andocides, his father, and several of his relations being amongst the number¹²⁵; but Andocides was punished with Atimia¹²⁶, and the remainder of his life was wandering and unsettled¹²⁷.

As many of the persons denounced by Andocides as had not sought safety in flight were killed¹²⁸; but Alcibiades was destined to feel the whole weight of popular indignation, which was increased in consequence of the alarm which the people had experienced. An army of Lacedæmonians happening to march across the Isthmus to Bœotia, just when the consternation occasioned by the informations and the general suspicion had reached the highest pitch, the Athenians expected an attack and passed a whole night under arms. Suspicions were set afloat that the Argives, who were connected by treaties of hospitality with Alcibiades, were preparing the subversion of democracy in Argos, on which account the Athenians surrendered to the demus of that city the hostages of the oligarchical party, who had been delivered over to their custody, and whom they had detained upon the islands, whereupon Argos shared the guilt of Athens by slaughtering them¹²⁹. The Salaminia now put to sea to fetch back Alcibiades, in order that he might

¹²⁴ Andoc. 32. Alcibiades, the cousin of the renowned Alcibiades, and the partner of his flight, Ol. 92. 3. was seized on board a Syracusan ship by Thrasyllus, Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 13.

¹²⁵ Thucyd. 6. 60; Plut. Alcib. 21; Andoc. 33; compare Andoc. de Redit. suo, 78.

¹²⁶ Andoc. ubi sup. 80; conf. Meier, de Bon. Damn. 118.

¹²⁷ See further particulars in Ps. Plut. and compare Sluiter, Lect. Andoc. 70, sqq.

¹²⁸ Thucyd. 6. 60; Plut. Alcib. 21.

¹²⁹ Thucyd. 6. 61. Compare the uncritical account in Diodor. 13. 5.

be prosecuted for high treason and blasphemy; but he, having effected his escape, sentence of death was passed against him in his absence¹³⁰, whilst the priests and priestesses, according to ancient custom, pronounced the public malediction against him¹³¹.

But it remains to be asked whether he really was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, or whether he fell a sacrifice to the sycophancy of his enemies? Plutarch says that the testimony of Andocides was altogether false, and solely occasioned by the advice of his fellow-prisoner, who represented to him that that was the only course by which he could save himself and many others from the destruction by which they were threatened¹³². Though the real facts of the case might not have been precisely as stated by Andocides, there is no doubt that his disclosures preserved the lives of many innocent persons¹³³. Moreover, all the other informations seem to have contained the name of Alcibiades¹³⁴. That such a crime was by no means foreign from his character there can be little doubt; nor is at all improbable that he was in the habit of committing acts of this nature in moments of intoxication¹³⁵; but there is every reason to believe that, upon this occasion, the malice of his enemies

¹³⁰ Thucyd. 6. 62.

¹³¹ Plut. Alcib. 22. Concerning this custom, Lysias, c. Andoc. 252: ἱερεῖαι καὶ ἱερεῖς σπάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ φοινικίδα ἀνέσεισαν κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον. On the part taken in it by the Eumolpids and Ceryces, see Thucyd. 8. 53.

¹³² Plut. Alcib. 21.

¹³³ This is hinted at by Thucydides, 6. 60: οἱ μὲν παθόντες ἄδηλον ἦν εἰ ἀδίκως ἐτετιμώρητο· ἡ μὲντοι ἄλλη πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι περιφανῶς ὠφέλητο.

¹³⁴ Thucyd. 6. 61: πανταχόθεν τε περιεστήκει ὑποψία ἐς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

¹³⁵ This was the purport of some of the first informations, Thucyd. 6. 28: Μηνύεται—περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων περικοπαί τινες ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἶνον γεγεννημένοι.

greatly transcended the measure of his guilt, and that, at this period at least, he had not yet formed the project of subverting the democracy. However, whilst we abandon in despair the attempt to clear up a mystery, which even his contemporary Thucydides pronounced impenetrable¹³⁶, we cannot but deplore the infatuation of a people, whose falsehood and treachery thus infallibly accelerated their own destruction.

THE CABALS OF THE OLIGARCHS DURING THE
THIRD AND LAST DIVISION OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

*The Four Hundred and the Five Thousand*¹³⁷.

The disastrous issue of the expedition to Sicily, and the restless hostility of Alcibiades having brought about the dissolution of the Synteleia of Athens, the number of her enemies increased through the defection of her allies, whilst the discouragement of the people emboldened the evil-disposed, and designing amongst her own citizens to plot against the constitution. The expedient adopted by Rome in seasons of difficulty and danger—viz. the nomination of a dictator, was incompatible with the jealous fears of the Athenians; though the democracy had grown powerless and dispirited, no Æsymnete was appointed lest that species of authority should degenerate into tyranny; hence, oligarchy was twice established through foreign force and domestic treason. In the inter-

¹³⁶ Thucyd. 6. 60: τὸ δὲ σαφές οὐθεὶς οὔτε τότε οὔτε ὕστερον ἐχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν δρασάντων τὸ ἔργον.

¹³⁷ Comp. Taylor, Vita Lys. 114, sqq. R. ed.; Ruhnken (van Spæn) de Antiphonte, opusc. 244, sqq.; Meier, de Bon. Damn. 3—9; 170, sqq.; Krüger, Dionysinii Halic. Historiographica, Commentatt. cap. 7. The dissertation of Hinrichs: de Theramenis, Critiæ et Thrasybuli rebus et ingenio, Hamb. 1820.

val between the destruction of the fleet and army in Sicily, and the domination of the Thirty, (Ol. 91. 4 — 93. 4; 413 — 404. B. C.), the oligarchs systematically conspired to overthrow the democracy, and the events of that period must be viewed in connection with their intrigues.

Immediately after the dreadful calamity became known, extraordinary measures were adopted by the people; a number of citizens of advanced age were formed into a deliberative and executive body under the name of Probuli, and empowered to fit out a fleet¹³⁸. Whether this laid the foundation for oligarchical machinations or not, those aged men were unable to bring back men's minds to their former course; the prosecution of the Hermocopidæ had been most mischievous in its results; various secret associations¹³⁹ had sprung up and conspired to reap advantage to themselves from the distress and embarrassment of the state; the indignation caused by the infuriated excesses of the people during that trial, possibly here, as frequently happened in other Grecian states, determined the more respectable members of the community to guard against the recurrence of similar scenes in future, by the establishment of an aristocracy. Lastly, the watchful malice of Alcibiades, who was the implacable enemy of that populace, to whose blind fury he had been sacrificed, baffled all

¹³⁸ Thucyd. 8. 1: ἀρχὴν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν, — οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ, προβουλεύωσι, referred the Πρόβουλος, Aristoph. Lysistr. 421; conf. 609: τοῖς προβούλοις.

¹³⁹ Thucyd. 8. 54: — τὰς τε ξυνωμοσίας, αἵπερ ἐτύγγανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὖσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς, κ. τ. λ. Ἐταῖροι, τὸ ἐταιρικόν in Thucyd. 8. 48. 65, means nothing more or less than the conspirators, and it is not necessary to seek after allusions to Alcibiades or any other demagogue. Conf. Lysias adv. Eratosth. 412: ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἐταίρων.

attempts to restore confidence and tranquillity, and there is no doubt that whilst he kept up a correspondence with his partisans at home, he did every thing in his power to increase the perplexity and distress of his native city from without, in order that he might be recalled to provide for its safety and defence. A favourable opportunity for the execution of his plans presented itself in the fifth year of his exile, Ol. 92. 1; 411. B. C.; as he had incurred the suspicion of the Spartans, and stood high in the favour of Tissaphernes, the Athenians thought that his intercession might enable them to obtain assistance from the Persian king. The people in Athens were headed by one of his most inveterate enemies, Androcles¹⁴⁰; and he well knew that all attempts to effect his return would be fruitless, until this man and the other demagogues were removed. Hence Alcibiades entered into negotiations with the commanders of the Athenian fleet at Samos, respecting the establishment of an oligarchical constitution, not from any attachment to that form of government in itself, but solely with the view of promoting his own ends¹⁴¹. Phrynichus and Pisander were equally insincere in their co-operation with Alcibiades. The characters of both these men are branded in history; the former, who had once been a shepherd, afterwards became a sycophant¹⁴²; the

¹⁴⁰ Thucyd. 8. 65; compare above, n. 93.

¹⁴¹ Thucyd. 8. 48: the calculations of Alcibiades were: ὅτι τρόπῳ, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων παρακληθεὶς, κάτεισι. Taylor's view of the subject is sufficiently accurate, (Vita Lys. 114): — Alcibiades arbitratur fore, id quod postea accidit, ut, discordia inter ordines civitatis facta, ab altera parte in auxilium vocaretur.

¹⁴² Lysias pro Polystr. 674: — ἐποίμανεν — ἐσυκοφάντει. His cabals at this period are indicated by the words Φρυνίχου παλαίσμασιν, Aristoph. Ran. 689; Suidas, Φρ. παλ.; conf. Polyæn. 3. 6.

latter was stigmatized as a coward¹⁴³. In the mind of Phrynichus hatred to Alcibiades, and the dread of his vengeance whenever he should effect his return, outweighed the prospect of any advantages he might expect to derive from the introduction of oligarchy, on which account he perfidiously endeavoured to ruin him in the estimation of the Spartans¹⁴⁴. Nor was the conduct of Pisander and others marked by less duplicity; the former had long been hostile to Alcibiades, as his conduct in the affair of the Hermocopidæ sufficiently proves. Their plan was that the latter should reconcile the people to the change in the constitution which he wished to effect, by promising to obtain them the assistance of the great king; but they alone resolved to reap the benefit of his exertions. Pisander took upon himself to manage the Athenian populace¹⁴⁵. It was in truth no slight undertaking to attempt to overthrow a democracy of a hundred and twenty years' standing, and of intense development, but most of the able-bodied citizens were absent with the fleet, whilst such as were still in the city were confounded by the imminence of the danger from without; on the other hand, the prospect of succour from the Persian king doubtless had some weight with them, and they possibly felt some symptoms of returning affection for their former favourite Alcibiades. Nevertheless, Pisander and his accomplices employed craft and perfidy to accomplish their de-

¹⁴³ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 749. 1563; Pac. 397; Suidas employs δειλότερος Πεισάνδρον. Conf. above, § 64. n. 81.

¹⁴⁴ Thucyd. 8. 50.

¹⁴⁵ Thucyd. 8. 53. 54.

signs; the people were not persuaded or convinced, but entrapped into compliance with their measures. Pisander gained over to his purpose the above-named clubs, and induced the people to send him with ten plenipotentiaries to the navy at Samos¹⁴⁶. In the mean time the rest of the conspirators prosecuted the work of remodelling the constitution. The chief of these were:

Antiphon, the Rhamnusian, and son of Sophilus¹⁴⁷, the most eminent amongst them for ability, character, and political energy—he was the Sieyes of his time. Of advanced age¹⁴⁸ he was respected as the founder of a school of oratory¹⁴⁹, which had powerfully contributed to the development of that art; Thucydides had been one of its pupils¹⁵⁰; he moreover was well known as the composer of judicial harangues for others¹⁵¹, and inspired the multitude with respect and awe by the commanding powers of his mind (δεινότης)¹⁵².

Theramenes the son of Agnon¹⁵³, and the pupil of Prodicus¹⁵⁴, was desirous of being the first man in the state, but being too weak to effect his own elevation, he was obliged to resort to the aid of a party which he was incapable of securing¹⁵⁵; the perfidious betrayer of his associates¹⁵⁶, his notori-

¹⁴⁶ Thucyd. 8. 54.

¹⁴⁷ He must not be confounded with Antiphon, the son of Lysidonides: Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 310; conf. Ruhnken on Antiphon, 225. 242. sqq.

¹⁴⁸ He was born, Ol. 75. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Ps. Plut. ubi sup.; Plat. Menex. 236. A.

¹⁵⁰ Marcell. Vit. Thucyd. XII. Bipont.

¹⁵¹ Ps. Plut. 308; conf. Ruhnken, 229.

¹⁵² Thucyd. 8. 63: ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος.

¹⁵³ Thucyd. 6. 68. ¹⁵⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 360.

¹⁵⁵ See in particular, Thucyd. 8. 89.

¹⁵⁶ The picture which Critias draws of him, Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 30. 31, is by no means overcharged; with this must be coupled the grave charges brought against him, Lysias adv. Eratosth. 426.

ous want of faith and his versatility¹⁵⁷, obtained him the *sobriquet* of Cothurnus¹⁵⁸, the shoe that may be worn on either foot; none but the ignorant and undiscerning respected him, and injudicious historians alone have mentioned him in terms of commendation¹⁵⁹.

To these may be added as prominent characters Aristocrates¹⁶⁰, the son of Scellias, Phrynichus, who had now joined the conspirators and was accounted one of their chiefs¹⁶¹, Aristarchus¹⁶², Callaischrus, and his son Critias¹⁶³.

The proceedings of the conspirators now began to assume a more dangerous complexion; Androcles, the boldest of the demagogues, was removed¹⁶⁴, such orators as ventured to speak frankly and openly were thrust aside, and the whole city being filled with terror and consternation by the murder of all who ventured to oppose their designs, the people were compelled to pass a decree empowering ten Syngrapheis or Catalogeis to draw up a new constitution¹⁶⁶. This was chiefly effected

¹⁵⁷ ὁ κομψός, Aristoph. Ran. 967. His character is portrayed in the following verses; conf. 536, sqq.

¹⁵⁸ Plut. Nic. 2; Schol. Aristoph. Nuh. 360; Ran. 47. 546; Pollux, 7. 190, etc.; compare Photius, εὐμεταβολώτερος κοθόρνου.

¹⁵⁹ Conf. Diod. 13. 38: ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ βίῳ κόσμιος καὶ τῇ φρονήσει δοκῶν διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων. Compare his foolish description of Theramenes' refusal to participate in the authority of the Thirty, 14. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Thucyd. 8. 89. Aristophanes alludes to him in his play upon the word ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι, Ran. 125. 126; conf. Schol.

¹⁶¹ Lysias adv. Agor. 495; Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 4. ¹⁶² Thucyd. 8. 89.

¹⁶³ Lysias adv. Agor. 427; Demosth. adv. Theocrin. 1343.

¹⁶⁴ Thucyd. 8. 65. ¹⁶⁵ Thucyd. 8. 66.

¹⁶⁶ Thucyd. 8. 67; Harpocr. συγγραφ., Photius συγγρ., from Androtion and Philochorus, Etym. M. and Suidas, Bekker, Anecd. 301, etc. Polystatus was one of them. See Lysias pro Polystr. 675. The duty of the Συγγραφεὺς was to frame the laws, that of the Καταλογεὺς to draw up a list of those citizens destined to participate in the supreme power. Both afterwards existed during the domination of the Thirty, on which account Harpocratio has thirty instead of ten. Suidas (in v. Καταλογεὺς) has carried the confusion still further; when the Athenians were desirous of giving up the state to seven thousand citizens. Here the four hundred and the three thousand of the assembly, under the constitution of the Thirty, appear to be taken together.

by Antiphon¹⁶⁷. Having first provided for their security by destroying that palladium of the Solonic constitution¹⁶⁸, the right of bringing actions against the authors of illegal measures (γραφὴ παρανόμων); the oligarchists brought forward a proposition to the effect, that the magistrates and paid officers, including the Heliasts, should henceforward be appointed according to a new regulation, and that all salaries should be abolished, the effect of which was, that the poorer citizens were excluded from the administration. The supreme power was vested in Four Hundred citizens, whilst the number of those admitted to a share in the proceedings of government was limited to five thousand, who were compelled to assemble at the discretion of the Four Hundred¹⁶⁹. This proposal was carried without one dissentient voice; the Four Hundred, whose election had been effected under the superintendence of five Proedri¹⁷⁰, repaired to the council-house with a body of armed youths¹⁷¹, and ordered the council of five hundred to dissolve upon receiving their salaries. This, which met with no opposition, took place, Ol. 92. 1; 411. B. C., in the archonship of Callias; the oligarchy subsisted four months in all, the last month falling under the archonship of Theopompus¹⁷². There is no doubt that the

It is not evident whether Lysias adv. Eratosth. 426. by Probuli means those ten Syngrapheis, or the Probuli appointed in 413, (see n. 133); there appears greater probability in the latter assumption, which would confirm what was conjectured above, viz., that that body had been oligarchical.

¹⁶⁷ Thucyd. 8. 68.

¹⁶⁸ Thucyd. ubi sup.

¹⁶⁹ Thucyd. 8. 67.

¹⁷⁰ The five Proedri chose a hundred Buleutæ, and each of the hundred chose three more, which was consequently, in some measure, like the Samnite custom in forming an army, 'ut vir virum legeret,' Liv. 9. 39.

¹⁷¹ Thucyd. 8. 69: Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι; the first word is wanting in some of the MS.; but Wasse correctly remarks that it is inserted lest they should be confounded with the Scythians, public servants.

¹⁷² Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 321 and 313; Diod. 13. 34. 38.

majority of the former offices were retained, as were those of the Archons and the Strategi; Theramenes was one of the last ¹⁷³. The Four Hundred probably appointed to them secretly. Nor did any of the other citizens know who belonged to the Five Thousand; the Four Hundred governed without a popular assembly, and even without making known the names of those who were qualified to be members of the Five Thousand, so that friends and foes being alike undistinguishable, the minds of all might continually fluctuate between hope and fear ¹⁷⁴. The exiles were not recalled through fear of Alcibiades: the obnoxious and disaffected were punished with death or imprisonment ¹⁷⁵; emissaries were sent to Agis in Decelea and to Sparta to request peace, in order that the co-operation of the latter might strengthen the oligarchy ¹⁷⁶. During these proceedings of the Four Hundred in Athens, affairs took a very different turn with the fleet and army at Samos.

Samos retained in full vigour, till the twentieth year of the war, the democracy established by Pericles. But after Athens had been humbled, the powerful Geomori here too appear to have formed the project of asserting their independence, and establishing an oligarchy. But the demus, with no less ferocity than was displayed by that of Athens during the trial of the Hermacopidæ, rose

¹⁷³ Thucyd. 8. 92.

¹⁷⁴ Thucyd. 8. 92. ad fin. To this it is necessary to add an observation of Plut. Alcib. 26: — οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι λεγόμενοι, τετρακόσιοι δὲ ὄντες; the Four Hundred is their usual designation in the ancient writers; Plutarch in using the word λεγόμενοι means nominally the Four Hundred, not the so-called Four Hundred.

¹⁷⁵ Under this head must apparently be ranged the ἀτιμία κατὰ προστάξει, mentioned by Andocides, (de Myst. 36). Compare on this point my dissertation de veterum Scriptor. Græcor. levitate, etc. p. 12.

¹⁷⁶ Thucyd. 8. 70.

up, killed two hundred of those whom it suspected, drove out four hundred more, and distributed their lands and houses. The Athenians hereupon proclaimed the Autonomia of the Samian democracy, while the demus attempted to defend itself against the assaults of the Geomori by fortifying the barriers which excluded them; they were accordingly shut out from all participation in the direction of public affairs, and prohibited from intermarrying with the demus ¹⁷⁷. Meanwhile, Pisander had abolished the democracy of some of the insular confederates of Athens, and assembled a band of three hundred desperadoes in Samos for the purpose of crushing all the rest of the citizens, and amongst them some of the most wealthy descendants of the ancient nobility, upon the plea that they were a demus ¹⁷⁸, which proceeding must be regarded as one of the most reckless outrages of party animosity. The vile Hyperbolus was slain upon the occasion ¹⁷⁹; but the attempt against the democracy miscarried. The conspirators were overpowered, and the victory of the Samian democrats inspired the Athenian army and navy with courage and strength. The crew of the ship Paralus, consisting entirely of freemen and citizens, headed by the commanders Thrasybulus, Thrasylus, Leon, and Diomedon, rising in favour of democracy, the Athenians and Samians together swore to maintain it against every assault. Those Athenians who were at the naval station declaring

¹⁷⁷ Thucyd. 8. 21: οὐτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐτε ἀγαγεῖσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων οὐδ' ἐς ἐκείνους οὐδενὶ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἐξῆν.

¹⁷⁸ Thucyd. 8. 73: — οἱ γὰρ τότε τῶν Σαμίων ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς, καὶ ὄντες δῆμος, μεταβαλλόμενοι αὐτοὺς — ἐγένοντό τε ἐς τριακοσίους ξυνομόται, καὶ ἐμέλλον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς δῆμος ὄντι, ἐπιθήσασθαι.

¹⁷⁹ Thucyd. ubi sup. Comp. the citations in Krüger, ubi sup. 378. n. 70.

themselves the principal element, and the fleet the chief power of the state¹⁸⁰, recalled Alcibiades, who now put himself at their head. Thus the majority of the Athenian citizens who were capable of bearing arms raised up, beside the oligarchy in Athens, a democracy of unprecedented strength and solidity.

The oligarchs had fallen out amongst themselves; political egotism¹⁸¹ induced one portion of them to seek a reconciliation with the people, and inspired the other with the wish to surrender them into the power of foreign enemies, who engaged to support the oligarchy. At the head of the former was Theramenes; the latter despatched Phrynichus on a mission to Sparta, and in the mean time erected a fortress called Entioneia, at the entrance of the Piræus. This was followed by disturbances in which Phrynichus lost his life, and many suffered from misuse¹⁸². Hereupon the Four Hundred offered to admit the Five Thousand to a share in the government by rotation; but it was too late. The oligarchy, which owed its rise to the dread of democratic excesses, was overthrown in consequence of the terror which took possession of the demus when intelligence of the defection of Eubœa arrived; the people tumultuously deposed the tyrants¹⁸³. Pisander, Aristarchus, etc., fled; the latter on his flight betrayed Oenon into the power of the Bœotians. Antiphon and Ancheptolemus were impeached by Theramenes¹⁸⁴, and executed¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁰ Thucyd. 8. 76:—ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν, ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε (!)

¹⁸¹ Thucyd. 8. 89.

¹⁸² Thucyd. 8. 89—92.

¹⁸³ Thucyd. 8. 96. 97.

¹⁸⁴ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 427.

¹⁸⁵ See the discordant accounts of Antiphon's death at the end of his biography in Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. Conf. Ruhnken.

THE FIVE THOUSAND.

In the interval between these transactions and the establishment of the Thirty, the Athenians with much difficulty managed to keep up a moderate democracy, based upon the institutions of Clis-thenes and Solon; but much is left to conjecture, and no less is involved in impenetrable obscurity. It may, however, safely be asserted, that democracy was not fully restored till after the time of the Thirty, during the archonship of Euclid. Upon the downfall of the Four Hundred the supreme powers of government were vested in five thousand citizens, who bore arms, brought together in haste, partly by chance, and partly by design¹⁸⁶; the former council was revived¹⁸⁷, but it was forbidden, on pain of malediction¹⁸⁸, to accept of remuneration for the discharge of an office. Every thing was made immediately dependent upon the decrees of the Five Thousand, who held several meetings for the purpose of appointing legislators and settling the constitution¹⁸⁹. Theramenes must be regarded as the mainspring of these proceedings. The army seems to have readily acquiesced in all that was done, which must be ascribed to the exertions of Alcibiades, who mainly contributed to restore concord among the citizens. He re-entered

¹⁸⁶ This was the province of the καταλογεῖς.

¹⁸⁷ This is evident from Xenoph. Hell. 1. 4. 20; 1. 7. 3. 4. Compare, on the subject of Demophantus' psephism, in the account of which mention is made of οἱ πεντακόσιοι, Meier, de Bon. Damnat. p. 3 and 10.

¹⁸⁸ Thucyd. 8. 97:—ἐπάρατον ἐποιήσαντο.

¹⁸⁹ —ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τὰλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. Thucyd. 8. 97. To this period must apparently be ascribed the above-mentioned psephism of Demophantus respecting high treason, and that of Cannonus for the separate trial of several persons accused together (Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 21). The commission of Nicomachus to prepare a copy of the laws, will be spoken of below, under the archonship of Euclid.

his native city amidst the acclamations of the people, and continued to stand at the helm for some time after these events¹⁹⁰. But the fickle people evinced less temperance and reflection than ever, and the adversaries of Alcibiades soon found means to disturb his short-lived popularity. He was opposed by personal enemies, such as Thrasybulus¹⁹¹, as well as by traitors, who still meditated the restoration of oligarchy, like Theramenes; with these conspired the reckless demagogues who regarded it as their peculiar vocation to attack the most eminent persons in the state, and at the head of whom were Cleophon¹⁹² and Philocles. Cleophon the lyre-maker, denounced by the comic writers as a spurious citizen and a chatterer¹⁹³, was a conspicuous character as early as Ol. 92. 1¹⁹⁴. He cannot be charged with dishonesty, and it is probable that he became one of the accusers of Alcibiades¹⁹⁵ because he suspected him of designs prejudicial to the public welfare; his hatred to Sparta and all who were in her interest was founded upon the persuasion that they were enemies to the Athenian democracy, on which account he strenuously resisted all negotiations for a peace with that state¹⁹⁶. Philocles was the author of the enactment, that after a victory the right hand of the prisoners should be cut off¹⁹⁷. Among the opponents of the oligarchs must be enumerated

¹⁹⁰ Plut. Alcib. 32—34.¹⁹¹ Plut. Alcib. 36.¹⁹² Concerning him, see, besides Ruhnken and others, Meier, de Bon. Damn. 218. n. 211.¹⁹³ Aristoph. Ran. 467. See above, § 64. n. 153.¹⁹⁴ Aristoph. Thesmoph. 804.¹⁹⁵ Himerius, 318, Wernsd. ed.¹⁹⁶ As early as 410, when the Spartan Endios endeavoured to bring about a peace. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 770 (from Philochorus).¹⁹⁷ Plut. Lysand. 8.

Cleigenes¹⁹⁸ and Cleomenes¹⁹⁹. Alcibiades appears to have been entirely without friends, and conscious that his enemies were endeavouring to effect his destruction, he secretly withdrew from the fleet.

While the demagogues incited the populace to the commission of the wildest excesses, the oligarchs carried on their cabals in secret, so that the rage of the deluded multitude, thus stirred up and inflamed from two sides, broke out into the most sanguinary violence against the victorious generals. The trial of those illustrious victims of sycophantic malevolence and popular infatuation presents details no less revolting to humanity than that of the Hermocopidæ, and it cannot, as upon that occasion, be urged in extenuation of the conduct of the Athenians, that they were actuated by the dread of conspiracies. Crimes like these could not long escape the vengeance of the offended Nemesis, and while we commiserate the sufferings of the people, we are compelled to acknowledge the justice of the punishment which overtook the guilty. Now, as during the trial of the Hermocopidæ, the better sort of citizens were absent on duty with the fleet, and the enormities in question were committed by the dregs of the populace at home²⁰⁰. Amongst those who were most active in exciting the blood-thirsty rage of the people was Theramenes²⁰¹, the accuser of his colleagues; and his nefarious efforts were seconded by Archedemus, Timocrates, Callixenus, and Ly-

¹⁹⁸ Aristoph. Ran. and Schol.¹⁹⁹ Plut. Lysand. 14.²⁰¹ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 8. 9.²⁰⁰ Οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ. Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 1.

ciscus. The clamorous declaration of the people, "that nothing should deter them from acting as they thought proper²⁰²," involved the height of ochlocratical extravagance, regardless alike of law and of justice. The commission of the crime was very soon followed by remorse, and the fury of the multitude was now turned against those who had urged them to the commission of their guilty excesses. These seem to have been actuated by malevolence and political calculation, rather than by passion. From the time of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred a conspiracy had existed, whose object was to effect the destruction of those stanch friends to their country who steadily opposed the designs of Sparta, and thereby prevented the re-establishment of oligarchy; these had been once more joined by Theramenes²⁰³, and the traitors of Ægos Potamoi, and Adimantus²⁰⁴ and Tydeus²⁰⁵ belonged to them. But they remained behind the curtain while the demagogues, who found it convenient this time to second their intrigues, were the prominent actors in the affair. But Cleophon took no part in their proceedings, and tried to persuade the now-penitent people to call to account the sycophants who had imposed upon their credulity²⁰⁶.

After the destruction of the naval power of Athens at Ægos Potamoi, the oligarchs endeavoured to obtain possession of the government. The Areopagus indeed made an attempt to avert the impending danger, and restored those who had

²⁰² Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 12: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις εἰάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν, ὃ ἂν βούληται.

²⁰³ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 427.

²⁰⁵ Pausan. 10. 9. 5.

²⁰⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 1. 32.

²⁰⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 40.

been deprived of the franchise to their rights²⁰⁷. Cleophon kept up the spirits of the people for a time, denounced instant vengeance against any one who should dare to speak of peace²⁰⁸, and stigmatized the members of council as enemies to the people²⁰⁹. Archestratus was thrown into a dungeon for having recommended a capitulation²¹⁰; but the conspirators, the Hetairoi as they were called, obtaining possession of the government, they nominated five Ephors²¹¹, under whose authority the council acted. Cleophon was murdered because he had called this a mere riot, and spoken disparagingly of the council²¹²; he left no fortune²¹³. Theramenes and his accomplices in crime, who now acted in concert with Lysander²¹⁴, reduced the Athenians to the greatest extremities. The first being commissioned to treat with Lysander, purposely remained absent, and in order the more effectually to break the spirit of the people, resigned them for a time to all the horrors of famine²¹⁵; after this the bravest of the generals and officers were imprisoned, and Lysander sailed into the Piræus, to reduce the town, and establish the oligarchy of the Thirty²¹⁶.

²⁰⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 2. 11. Conf. Lysias adv. Eratosth. 428.

²⁰⁸ Æschin. de Falsa Legat. 254.

²⁰⁹ Lysias adv. Nicom. 847: Κλεοφῶν τὴν βουλὴν ἰλοιδόρει, φάσκων συνεστάναι καὶ οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευέειν τῇ πόλει.

²¹⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 2. 15.

²¹¹ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 412.

²¹² Lysias adv. Nicom. 847—849; adv. Agorat. 452. Conf. Xenoph. Hell. 1. 7. 40.

²¹³ Lysias de Aristoph. Bon. 651.

²¹⁴ Concerning the treachery of Theramenes, see Lysias adv. Eratosth. 429.

²¹⁵ Xenophon, generally unsatisfactory in Grecian history, instead of his usual brevity and baldness, says too much of the famine. Conf. 2. 2. 11: ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπιλειοίπει. It was only then that ambassadors were deputed to go to Agis, and afterwards to Sellasia; upon their return Theramenes was sent. He returned after an absence of four months, whereupon ambassadors are once more sent. Many Athenians died of hunger (2. 2. 21); but according to the introductory sentence of Xenophon, ἐπεὶ δὲ, etc., scarcely one could have survived.

²¹⁶ Lysias adv. Agor. 455—466. Conf. Xenoph. Hell. 2. 2. 22, sqq.

b. SPARTA.

§ 66. The operation of the Lycurgan institutions, combined with extraordinary natural convulsions, and extensive losses in the battles of the Peloponnesian war, had materially reduced the number of the Spartan citizens; it seemed as though the festering disease which preyed upon the vitals of the population had destroyed its generative vigour. Hence, in the second and third divisions of the war, the Spartans began to spare the blood of the ancient citizens. Helots, who had once followed their masters like squires into the field, were sent out in organized bodies under Spartan generals, Brasidas, Gylippus¹, etc.; they were accompanied by new citizens of various denominations, and even these were sent out in very small numbers. Gylippus only took with him an insignificant band, not an army, when he went to Syracuse². Naturalization became more frequent than before; but Sparta did not, like Athens, open its franchise to foreigners of merit, but raised the inferior orders of its own population to the rank of citizens. By this means the several varieties of civil and political rights³ in the extended circle of the citizenship assumed a more determinate character, and gave rise to denominations unknown to the earlier age.

Enfranchised Helots were entitled Neodamodes⁴; and it may be inferred from a passage in Xenophon, that naturalized Perioeci received the name of Hy-

¹ Thucyd. 4. 80; 5. 34; 7. 58.

² Thucyd. 6. 104; 7. 1.

³ See § 60.

⁴ Thucyd. 7. 58: δύναται δὲ τὸ Νεοδαμῶδες, ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι.

pomeiones⁵. A particular class of enfranchised Helots were those who had accompanied Brasidas into Thrace, and who, in commemoration of his noble qualities, were denominated Brasidæans⁶. Besides these, mention is made of the bastards of the Spartans⁷, who we are almost led to suppose were identical with the Mothones or Mothaces alluded to above. For, as in the earlier age, the Epeunactæ are said to have been regarded in the light of citizens of the half-blood⁸, so the sons of a Spartan by a female Helot, when well-formed and active, appear to have been brought up with the legitimate children. Now, though we are informed that this favour had been shown to the Mothones, who, upon indisputable authority⁹, must be looked upon as the children of Helots, still on account of their humble origin on the mother's side, the so-called bastards might have been regarded as Helots' children. In treating of subjects of this description, the ancients never observe any great nicety of distinction in the terms they employ. This assumption would explain how Gylippus, Callicratidas, and Lysander might be Mothones¹⁰, while the last was a Heraclid and the son of Aristoclitus¹¹. Lastly, the Trophimi were the sons of strangers¹², who, as the name seems to imply, had

⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 6; αὐτοὶ μέντοι πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ εἰλωσι καὶ νεοδαμῶδεσι, καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιόικοις. The two substantives of the latter of these clauses seem to bear the same relation to each other as those of the first. In the common editions, it is true, a comma separates the word Perioeci from Hypomeiones; but this is only one of the innumerable instances in which the sense has been manifestly perverted by their insertion.

⁶ Thucyd. 4. 80; 5. 34. 67.

⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 9; νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι.

⁸ Vol. i. 324.

⁹ Vol. i. 326. n. 36.

¹⁰ Ælian, V. H. 12. 43; Athen. 6. 271. E.

¹¹ Plut. Lys. 2.

¹² Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 9; ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων.

been brought to Sparta at an early age, and educated according to the customs of that country. It is doubtful whether they were brought home from their campaigns by the Spartans, or whether the members of foreign states, connected with Sparta by treaties of hospitality, were allowed to send their sons thither to be educated and to take part in public affairs.

The word *Homoioi*, once the designation of those citizens who fulfilled all the demands of the law, and enjoyed the full rights of citizenship which it conferred¹³, was now applied to the ancient citizens, to distinguish them from the new ones mentioned above; the *Isonomia* which it expresses, therefore, only related to a portion of the partakers of civil and political freedom. They are described as the first of the Spartans, though it is improbable that this became their peculiar and permanent appellation¹⁴. Their importance increasing as their number diminished, they arrogated to themselves the character of a nobility with relation to the new citizens, and on the strength of their extraction made claim to privileges which constitutionally pertained to meritorious citizens alone¹⁵. Thus the original aristocracy, which had been raised upon a democratic basis, became converted into oligarchy; the ancient citizens strove by every means in their power to widen the gulf between themselves and the new ones; but no attempt at

¹³ Vol. i. 324.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 5. 15, says of the captives of Sphacteria, ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτῶν πρῶτοι τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι συγγενεῖς. Conf. Müll. Dor. 2. 83.

¹⁵ Of an analogous character appear to have been the *Atimia* imposed upon these citizens, and that pronounced against the prisoners of Sphacteria; ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιάνδε ὥστε μὴτε ἄρχειν, μὴδὲ πριαμένους τί, ἢ πωλοῦντας, κυρίους εἶναι, Thucyd. 5. 34.

reconciliation was made, and nothing was done to allay their mutual exasperation¹⁶. The new citizens must have been the more keenly alive to the restrictions thus imposed upon them, as neither positive ordinances nor any want of courage or skill prevented them from aspiring to the ancient Spartan excellence; the state was compelled to confide to them interests of the utmost importance¹⁷, so that they no longer had reason to esteem the duties of the ancient citizens as superior to their own. Thus the narrow-minded policy of the oligarchs gradually undermined the citizenship, whilst the constitution ceased to be respected by these brave men who had risked their property and lives in its defence and had received no reward for their services. Hence, there arose a struggle between those who suffered under civil disabilities and their oppressors, which even extended to the Helots, who, after they were allowed to bear arms, seem to have grown bolder. The strength and resolution of the Helots were considered so formidable in the Peloponnesian war, Ol. 89. 1; 424. B. C., that Sparta had recourse to the revolting expedient of a *crypteia en masse*, by which two thousand of the bravest amongst them were despatched¹⁸. Some time afterwards, in Ol. 93. 3., a body of Helots from Malea fled to arms and took up their position on the headland of Coryphasium, whence

¹⁶ The description of Thucydides may be applied generally, 1. 70. 71.

¹⁷ The Perioecus Phrynus was sent to Chios in order to reconnoitre, Thucyd. 8. 6. The Perioecus Deinedias was entrusted with the command of a fleet, Thucyd. 8. 22. The context forbids us to understand a Chian here, with Göttling, ad. Aristot. Pol. p. 465.

¹⁸ Thucyd. 4. 80; οἱ δὲ—ἠφάνισάν τι αὐτούς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾔσθετο, ὅτε τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεθάρη. Conf. Diodor. 12. 67.

they were afterwards suffered to retire unmolested¹⁹.

It is obvious that under these circumstances a general assembly of old and new citizens could not frequently take place; Thucydides only once expressly mentions such a meeting²⁰; thus the supreme power of the collective people was chiefly of a passive character. On the other hand, the so-called small Ecclesia²¹ met for the purpose of passing supreme decrees, and appears to have been composed of the Ephori and Gerontes, and probably Homoioi (ὁμοῖοι), selected by the former indiscriminately from such as did and such as did not hold offices of state²². According to ancient custom, the Gerusia was still nominally the chief power in the state; but though it may still possibly have maintained its former position in the opinion of the people²³, it is by no means probable that the election of the Gerontes was conducted with the same regard to civil virtue as formerly; the supreme power virtually being wielded by the Ephors, who exercised a sort of tyranny.

The Ephors constituted an authority to which the people, the public officers, and even the kings were compelled to submit²⁴. Most of the measures of government either proceeded directly from them, or obtained force through their assent. In passing decrees on peace and war, both the general and small assembly were governed by the propositions²⁵ of

¹⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 18.

²⁰ Thucyd. 1. 72.

²¹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 8;—τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν.

²² Vol. i. p. 328.

²³ Plut. Ages. 4.

²⁴ Compare the comprehensive exposition of the duties and power of the Ephors in Titmann, gr. Staatsv. 112, sqq., and Müll. Dor. 2. 121, sqq.

²⁵ On the decisive words of Sthenelaidas at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, see Thucyd. 1. 85. 87.

the Ephors, or the latter acted solely upon their own authority, thereby tacitly declaring that they were permanently invested with plenary powers²⁶. Justice was administered either with their co-operation or under their superintendence. But the control they exercised over the official duties of the public functionaries by their suggestions or direct influence, was most important in its consequences. They narrowly watched the proceedings of every person who distinguished himself, and more especially those of the highest in the state. The public officers who were absent, received their injunctions through the medium of the Scytale²⁷, which had already been employed in the orders sent to the traitor Pausanias. But the direction of the proceedings of the public officers, which was at first limited to the right of giving occasional orders, was soon extended into the permanent attendance of counsellors and spies. Even before the Peloponnesian war, king Pleistoanax was accompanied on his expedition to Attica²⁸ by a person appointed to advise him and to inspect his proceedings. Brasidas attended Alcidas in a similar capacity²⁹. Till that time, examples of such a practice only occur occasionally; but when the military operations of king Agis, in his campaign in Argos, had excited such dissatisfaction, that it was proposed to demolish his house and impose a fine of ten thousand drachmas upon him³⁰, a law was made, enacting,

²⁶ In such statements as occur, Thucyd. 5. 36; 8. 12, and Xenoph. Hell. 2. 2. 13. 19, it is doubtful whether we are to understand that they deliberated with the small assembly or not.

²⁷ The chief passages are Plut. Lys. 19; Schol. Thucyd. 1. 131. p. 361, Bipont; Schol. Pind. Olymp. 6. 154; Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1284, and thence Suidas.

²⁸ Plut. Pericl. 22.

²⁹ Thucyd. 3. 76.

³⁰ Thucyd. 5. 63.

that every general should be attended on his march by a council, composed of several persons³¹. The council which went with Agis consisted of ten members. When he afterwards held the command in Decelea, he was less shackled³²; but this was probably owing to the nature of the service he had to perform, which did not involve any enterprise of difficulty or danger, and was confined to devastating and blockading the country with a certain regularity, while there was little or no danger of attack from Athens. Eleven of these counsellors were afterwards assigned to Astyochus³³. But the king was regularly accompanied by two of the Ephors themselves³⁴; according to Aristotle, it was even customary to select for this office persons who were hostile to him³⁵. Finally, amongst the evidences of the jealousy with which the royal power was regarded, not to mention the sentences pronounced against royal offenders, must be counted the practice of never entrusting to a king the chief command at sea³⁶, which became an established rule, after the traitorous conduct of Pausanias.

We must once more enquire upon what constitutional basis the power of the Ephors rested, and how it could increase after the above-described change in the constitution. The Ephors have been compared with the Roman tribunes of the people, and it cannot be denied that the position and operations of the latter, as, for instance, in the bold

³¹ Νόμον δὲ ἔθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὃς οὕτω πρότερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς.

³² Thucyd. 8. 5.

³³ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 36; Respub. Lac. 13. 5.

³⁴ Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 20; διόπερ ἐξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτάς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι το στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς.

³⁵ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 22; ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐσι στρατηγοῖς αὐδίοις ἢ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἐτέρα βασιλεία καθίστηται.

attitude they assumed with respect to consuls and dictators³⁷, their power of attending generals and going to the camp to investigate their conduct³⁸, etc., were in some respects analogous to those of the Ephors. But this was partly done at the instance of the people, and upon the whole, their position with relation to their respective communities was entirely different. But it is certain that the power of the Ephoralty obtained an undue preponderance, as the oligarchy of the Homoioi became more oppressive, like which it was directed against the hereditary kingship, against the ancient citizens generally, and every distinguished individual in the state. Hence there is no foundation for the assertion, that the Ephors were chosen from a class of citizens endowed with inferior rights³⁹. They must, on the contrary, be considered as a committee composed of ancient citizens, whose sentiments, as an order, they shared, while the order and the official body employed all their jealousy and suspicion to support and strengthen each other. The counterpart of this oligarchical authority is beheld in the Inquisition of Venice, a republic which bore a striking resemblance to Sparta, both in its love of

³⁷ Liv. 9. 8.

³⁸ Ibid. 29. 21. 22.

³⁹ I am very far from underrating the weight of Aristotle's testimony, Pol. 2. 6. 14; γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντες, but there is no proof that this must be interpreted 'new citizens.' Aristotle opposes to each other καλοὶ καὶ φαῖστοι and δῆμος, and says that the Gerontes were chosen from the former; he does not regard them as an exclusive class of citizens, but as the more distinguished amongst them. Besides these there was a demus of ancient citizens it is true, some of whom were very indigent (ὥστε πολλάκις ἐμπίπτουσιν ἀνθρώποι σφόδρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον (of the Ephori), οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ὧνιοι ἦσαν). There is no difficulty in explaining how these ancient citizens might, as an order, share the sentiments of the wealthier and more respectable members of the state; and it is only in this sense that we can assent to Aristotle's observation concerning the sentiments of the demus; ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς. Pol. 2. 6. 15; for the half citizens were dissatisfied with their subordinate position, as the conspiracy of Cinadon plainly proves.

mystery and the jealous and illiberal character of its general policy.

c. THE OTHER INDEPENDENT STATES OF GREECE.

§ 67. Allusion has already been made¹ to the influence exercised upon the political development in the interior of the various republics of Greece by their participation in the war, and the party divisions which resulted from their adherence to one or the other of the two great confederacies; in several communities this division was solely determined by external circumstances, and thereby forced into a peculiar direction. We cannot pursue this subject here, but must confine our attention to those few states in which that influence is not equally perceptible. Unfortunately our information respecting several of them is exceedingly imperfect.

1. ARGOS².

After the peace of Nicias it became involved in the wars of the period, and the political movements in its interior became dependent upon them. After its defeat at Mantinea, Olymp. 90. 3; 418. B. C., upon which occasion the more ancient citizens³, and the five Lochoi, as they were termed, sustained severe losses, while the Thousand or

¹ See § 63.

² Comp. § 59. n. 1.

³ Manso, Sparta. v. 2. 434, looks upon the *πρεσβυτέρους* of Thucydides (5. 72.) as persons of a more elevated rank, and the class from which the Thousand were selected. But they appear merely to be opposed as veterans to the Thousand, the military youth. This was also the case in Elis (Thucyd. 5. 50: *ἐὶν ὅπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων*). The intermediate position must be assigned to the *πέντε λόχοι*, as the regular body of male recruits, therefore as the mass of the demus.

Logades⁴ of the other wing routed the enemy, the latter, relying upon the assistance of Sparta, raised the oligarchical banner. They succeeded in concluding a treaty with Sparta, and soon after a detachment of Argives in conjunction with some Spartans, marched to Sicyon, and assisted in establishing oligarchy in that city⁵. The government of the people was also overthrown in Argos⁶. But the oligarchy only lasted eight months⁷. Bryas, the chief of the Thousand, violated the chastity of a betrothed virgin whom he had forcibly carried off from her conductors during the nuptial procession; the victim of his lust surprised him in his sleep, put out his eyes, and fled to the people for protection, who hereupon rose in arms and overthrew their tyrants⁸. All who did not seek safety in flight were put to the sword. With the assistance of the Athenians long walls were now constructed, whereby this seat of democracy became connected with the sea. Three hundred men, suspected of oligarchical cabals, were in the following year delivered over to the custody of the Athenians, who distributed them over various islands⁹. The intrigues of Alcibiades had chiefly contributed to inflame the passions of the demus to this violent pitch; nevertheless, during the terror caused by the trial of the Hermocopidæ in Athens, it was reported in Argos that the friends

⁴ Thucyd. 5. 72: *οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες*; 73: *τοὺς χιλίους*, afterwards *οἱ λογάδες*. Plut. Alcib. 15: *οἱ Κίλιοι*.

⁵ Thucyd. 5. 76—81.

⁶ Thucyd. 5. 81; Diod. 12. 80; Plut. Alcib. 15.

⁷ Pausan. 2. 20. 1; Diod. ubi sup.; Thucyd. 5. 82.

⁸ Thucyd. 5. 84.

⁹ Diod. ubi sup.

of Alcibiades had conspired to overturn the democracy in Argos¹⁰, whereupon Athens sent back the three hundred prisoners for execution¹¹. Argos, as if to requite the favour, helped to dissolve the government of the Four Hundred, and received the ambassadors whom they had destined for Sparta, from the democratic crew of the Paralos, for the purpose of keeping them in safe custody¹².

2. BŒOTIA¹³.

Little or nothing is known of the internal history of Thebes and the other Bœotian communities during the war. Some light is, however, thrown upon the federal relations among the Bœotian towns, and the encroachments of Thebes, by the conduct of the latter towards Plataeæ and Thespiæ; to this must be added the mention of a federal council, and the hint thrown out respecting the devolution of the hegemony to the twelve Bœotarchs by rotation. The former was composed of four assemblies (*βουλαις*), invested with sovereign powers¹⁴; the latter was so far from always being the permanent attribute of the Thebans, that when it was vested in the Theban Bœotarch, the rest of the confederates, a short time before the battle of Delium, refused to fight, and it became necessary

¹⁰ Thucyd. 6. 61; Diod. 13. 5. It is not possible entirely to reconcile the account of the frustration of an oligarchical plot in Æneas, Tact. cap. 11, with the other statements; Casaubon, however, correctly refers it to an occurrence which took place between the before-mentioned rise of the demus against the allies of Bryas, and the dreadful massacre after the Peloponnesian war, to which we shall afterwards more particularly allude. This took place at the moment that Sparta was preparing to attack them.

¹¹ See § 65. n. 124.

¹² Conf. above, § 60. n. 2.

¹³ Thucyd. 5. 38: ἅπαν τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσι. Comp. vol. i. 192.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 8. 86.

to use persuasion to induce them to do so¹⁵. During the progress of the Peloponnesian war Thebes was as remarkable for its lenity and forbearance towards the towns which adhered to it, as for the cruelty with which, when supported by them, it treated Plataeæ and Thespiæ¹⁶. However, it did not remain altogether exempt from democratic commotions and intrigues, for some of the malcontents of the strictly aristocratic town Orchomenus endeavoured, with the assistance of the Athenians, Demosthenes and Hippocrates, to organize a democracy in Bœotia; but their attempts were frustrated by the victory of the Thebans and their allies at Delium, Ol. 89. 1; 424. B. C. In the eighteenth year of the war no better success attended an insurrection of the Thespian demus, supported by Athens, against the dynasts imposed upon it by Thebes¹⁷.

3. THESSALY.

Though the Thessalian communities were violently agitated by internal distractions¹⁸, these nowhere led to the permanent establishment of democracy. Critias the Athenian, during his residence in Thessaly, endeavoured to excite sedition amongst the Penestæ¹⁹, but at the same time gave the oligarchs advice as to how they might most effectually consolidate their authority²⁰. The Aleuadæ in Larissa, and the Scopadæ in Crannon and Pharsalus, continued till the conclusion of the

¹⁵ Thucyd. 4. 93.

¹⁶ Thucyd. 4. 76. Conf. Müller, Orchom. 417.

¹⁷ Thucyd. 6. 95.

¹⁸ Comp. § 62. 1. B. b.

¹⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 36, where see Schneider; conf. Memorabil. Socrat. 1. 2. 24.

²⁰ Philostrate. Vit. Soph. p. 502, Olear. ed.

war to be the leading aristocratic houses. To the former belonged Euryloclus, who offered Socrates an asylum²¹, Aristippus, the scholar of Gorgias²², and friend of the younger Cyrus, who sent him four thousand mercenaries to protect him against internal tumults²³, and lastly the Pharsalian Menon adverted to above²⁴. The last was united to the great king²⁵ by a treaty of hospitality which he had inherited from his father, who had joined the expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes with fifteen hundred Greeks²⁶. Amongst the Scopadæ we are acquainted with the youngest (the third) Scopas, who was likewise intimate with the younger Cyrus²⁷, and offered Socrates a retreat²⁸. The federal bond which connected the Thessalian towns became gradually relaxed, yet the office of the Tagos had not yet lost its authority, as may be perceived from the influence of Jason in a still later age. A total revolution in the internal condition of the several states, and in the constitution of the league itself, was effected in the last year of the Peloponnesian war. This event marks the commencement of a new era in the history of Thessaly.

4. CORCYRA.

The horrors which were here occasioned by the animosities of contending factions have been already alluded to²⁹. The origin and progress of these dissensions are a melancholy example of the evils which are produced, when domestic selfish-

²¹ Diog. Laert. 2. 25.²² Xenoph. Anab. 1. 1. 10.²³ See § 60. n. 3. ad fin.²⁴ Xenoph. Anab. 1. 2. 6.²⁵ Diog. Laert. 2. 25.²⁶ Plato, Menon, init.²⁷ Plato, Menon, 78. D.²⁸ Ælian. V. H. 12. 1.²⁹ § 63. n. 34.

ness abets the insidious designs of foreign intrigue. At the commencement of hostilities with Corinth Corcyra was democratic. In the sea-fight with the Corinthians, Ol. 86. 4; 432. B. C., a number of the principal Corcyræans were taken prisoners³⁰. The captives forgot the hatred which had for two centuries divided the Corcyræans and the Corinthians, in the prospect of the power which they hoped to acquire in their native city through the assistance of Corinth. Upon obtaining their release, they immediately took measures for the introduction of an oligarchy. But whilst fortune smiled upon their undertakings, their conduct was far from being entitled to praise; in their struggle for power they lost sight of moderation³¹. The licentious demus, prepared for the commission of every excess, made war upon them, and after an obstinate resistance overcame them³². The destruction of the last survivors was dreadful in the extreme. A pure democracy was now introduced, but the horrors of civil warfare are said to have been renewed. Diodorus³³ speaks of a butchery that took place in Ol. 92. 3; the silence of Thucydides, who remarks that after the massacre in the seventh year of the war, nothing occurred worthy of particular observation³⁴, makes that account suspicious, but Diodorus adds one more circumstance, viz., that Conon came to Corcyra at that time with some Messenians from Naupactus, who joined

³⁰ Thucyd. 1. 46—55.³¹ Thucyd. 3. 70, sqq.³² Diod. 13. 48.³³ Thucyd. 4. 48: καὶ ἡ στάσις πολλὴ γενομένη ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς τοῦτο, ὅσα γε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε. οὐ γὰρ ἐτι ἦν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν ἐτέρων ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον.³⁴ Thucyd. 4. 46—48.

in the expulsion or slaughter of the oligarchs. The rest is told in Diodorus' usual vague and insipid manner; slaves are enfranchised, civil rights conferred upon strangers; the friends of the exiles once more resort to arms, the former return, they fight till nightfall, and at length a convention restores peace and tranquillity³⁵. The rise of an oligarchy was impossible during the Peloponnesian war, whilst the squadrons of Athens were scouring the seas in all directions, and Corcyra almost resembled an Athenian camp; even after the disasters of the Athenians in Sicily, and the downfall of their naval power, Corcyra would not submit to the hegemony of Sparta. Through its total dereliction of moral dignity and decorum, the mob-government of Corcyra passed into a proverb³⁶.

5. MEGARA.

The spirit of dissension and intrigue was not idle here, but the people no longer present so revolting a subject of contemplation as formerly, and as they still did in Corcyra; but on the other hand the oligarchs are beheld in all their malignity. Oligarchy was not the immediate consequence of the defection from the Athenian league before the Peloponnesian war, as at the beginning of the war the oligarchical party were in exile at Pagæ and in various parts of the surrounding country³⁷. After the reduction of Plataeæ the Thebans offered it as a residence to the Megarian fugitives for a year³⁸. The Megarians were still

³⁵ Κοινῶς ῥέκουσιν τὴν πατρίδα.

³⁶ Ἐλευθέρα Κέρκυρα, χέζ' ὅπου θέλεις. Metr. Prov. ap. Schott. v. 569.

³⁷ Thucyd. 4. 66.

³⁸ Thucyd. 3. 68.

hostile to the Athenians, on account of the two irruptions which they annually made into the Megarian territory; moreover a Peloponnesian garrison in Nisæa³⁹, and the numerous partisans of the expelled oligarchs were insuperable obstacles to a reconciliation with Athens. When the exiled oligarchists began to harass the Megarian territory with their depredations⁴⁰, some of the people proposed that they should be recalled, a proceeding which formed a very honourable exception to the general practice of the Grecian states; and their friends now began to bestir themselves in their favour. On the other hand, the leaders of the people, who had effected the expulsion of those oligarchs, thinking to prevent their return and to maintain their own authority by the aid of Athens, sought to attain their object by treachery, and invited a body of Athenian troops to their aid. But all their efforts to betray the town into their power were unavailing. At this juncture the Spartan Brasidas arrived with an army of Peloponnesians, with which he proposed to garrison Megara, and so secure its fidelity, but the Megarians would not admit him into the town. After the departure of the Athenian army and the flight of the popular leaders in the interest of Athens, the deserted people entered into negotiations with the friends of the exiles and allowed them to return. The latter took a solemn oath not to revenge themselves upon their former adversaries, and to consult the good of the state alone. However, upon obtaining possession of the chief offices in the state, they

³⁹ Thucyd. 4. 66.

⁴⁰ Χαλεποί ἦσαν ληστεύοντες, Thucyd. ubi sup.

instituted a regular scrutiny, and singling out their enemies to the number of about a hundred, they constrained the people to pass a vote for putting them to death, which was accordingly carried into effect. They now introduced a regular oligarchy⁴¹, and probably repeated upon this occasion that which had taken place at their former forcible return, viz., they conferred offices upon none but those who had continued to fight against the people⁴² from the first moment of their banishment.

6. THE STATES OF THE EASTERN ISLANDS AND COASTS.

The variations which occurred in the constitutions of these states were closely connected with the external position of the chief belligerent powers. For instance, with the help of Peloponnesian fleets, oligarchy was established in Chios⁴³, Thasus, etc., but again overthrown in the latter towards the end of the war, when the Athenian democracy once more became triumphant⁴⁴. Separate mention must be made of Samos, which, as we have before seen in the history of the Four Hundred in Athens⁴⁵, continued to be the voluntary and faithful ally of Athens, and remained staunch to its democratic principles, as well as of Rhodes, on account of the great importance it afterwards attained. In the twentieth year of the war, when the Athenian Synteleia began to suffer from the continued defection of the allies, the chief men of the island called to their assist-

⁴¹ Thucyd. 5. 66—74.

⁴² Aristot. Pol. 4. 12. 10: ἐκ τῶν συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσάμενων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. Conf. § 59. n. 54. By this co-operation might possibly be meant the predatory excursions mentioned, n. 39.

⁴³ § 62. n. 147.

⁴⁴ § 62. n. 148.

⁴⁵ § 65.

ance the fleet of the Peloponnesians, and then deserted to them⁴⁶. This, however, was effected without the full concurrence of the people. But immediately after, Ol. 92. 2, the noble Dorieus, a descendant of the Diagoridæ, who had formerly been expelled at the instigation of Athens, and who had moreover found refuge and been admitted to the rights of citizenship in Thurii⁴⁷, arrived with thirteen ships from the fleet of Mindarus and allayed the tumult⁴⁸. This, in Ol. 93. 1; 408. B. C., was followed by the union of the three townships of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus, which had formerly constituted distinct communities, by the erection of the common capital Rhodes in a commodious situation⁴⁹. This synoikismus therefore was not of a democratic character; still, after numerous convulsions, and when the more ancient Greek states had sunk into utter insignificance, a democracy unfolded itself here whose moderation and dignity reflected honour upon the people.

7. THE SICELIOTS.

The intestine discord in the individual states which we were called upon to consider above⁵⁰, and in which the neighbouring communities participated, continued to prevail till the great expedition of the Athenians compelled most of them to unite with Syracuse and take measures for their common defence. But no salutary fruits sprung from the victory over the Athenians; internal distractions, and conflicts with the barbarian armies of Carthage

⁴⁶ Thucyd. 8. 44.

⁴⁷ Xenoph. 1. 5. 19; Paus. 6. 7. 2.

⁴⁸ Diod. 13. 75.

⁴⁹ Diod. 13. 38. 45.

⁵⁰ § 59. n. 8.

resulted in the destruction of numerous towns, and the subjection of others to the yoke of domestic tyrants.

Leontini was one of the chief seats of intestine strife before the arrival of the Athenians; we have already seen how the oligarchs drove the people out of the town which they themselves then quitted, and took up their residence in Syracuse, where they became citizens. A short time afterwards a portion of them returned to their own deserted city, and some of the scattered demus likewise assembled there⁵¹. Nevertheless these Leontines do not again appear during the war as a distinct community; by the Leontines as a people, are probably meant those who dwelt in Syracuse⁵². When some Agrigentan fugitives, Ol. 93. 3; 406. B. C., sought refuge in Syracuse, Leontini was assigned to them for a residence⁵³; but soon afterwards, Olymp. 94. 1, the Leontines who resided in Syracuse threw off the yoke of the tyrant Dionysius and marched back to their own city⁵⁴, which hereupon became a distinct and independent state, though it did not long retain that character⁵⁵.

In Syracuse, a short time before the Athenian expedition, the two great parties were headed by Athenagoras and Hermocrates; the former a violent demagogue, the latter stigmatized by his rival as the chief of an oligarchical faction⁵⁶. But Hermocrates, whose intervention had upon a former occasion restored concord amongst the Sice-

⁵¹ Thucyd. 5. 4; 6. 48; conf. Diod. 12. 54.

⁵² e. g. Thucyd. 6. 50; and, as it would seem also, Diod. 13. 18.

⁵³ Diod. 13. 89.

⁵⁴ Diod. 14. 14.

⁵⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 5.

⁵⁶ Thucyd. 6. 38, sqq.

liots⁵⁷, once more became the saviour of his country at a time when its total incapacity to take measures for its own security threatened to render it an easy prey to the Athenians. He quelled a conspiracy amongst the slaves⁵⁸, and prevailed upon the people to choose three strategi instead of fifteen as formerly, and to entrust them with unlimited powers⁵⁹. After the discomfiture of the Athenians, the party feuds broke out afresh. Aristotle's remark, alluded to above⁶⁰, that democracy now, and not till now, supplanted the mixed constitution, which he denominates Politeia, may be explained from the fact, that Hermocrates and his adherents had till that time successfully withstood the tumultuous demagoguery of Athenagoras. But now Hermocrates was opposed by a new antagonist, the talented but impetuous Diocles. Their differences dated from the time of the deliberations as to the course to be pursued with the Athenian captives and their confederates. In the description of Diodorus⁶¹, which it must be confessed cannot altogether be depended upon, Diocles is represented as an implacable and barbarous enemy to the prisoners. The cause of humanity is pleaded by Nicolaus, a venerable old man, who had lost two sons during the siege⁶². No great faith can be reposed in a narrative of proceedings which Diodorus has thought proper to set forth with rhetorical decorations; but there is no doubt that Syracuse tarnished the glory of its victory by barbarity to the captives⁶³.

⁵⁷ § 62. n. 125.

⁵⁸ Thucyd. 6. 73; comp. Plut. Nic. 16.

⁵⁹ Diod. 13. 19.

⁶⁰ § 63. n. 17.

⁶¹ Polyæn. 1. 43. 1.

⁶² Aristot. Pol. 5. 3. 6.

⁶³ Diod. 13. 20, sqq.

Whilst Hermocrates led a squadron into the eastern seas against the Athenians⁶⁴, Diocles remained at home and persuaded the people to pass a decree against him and his partisans⁶⁵. Diocles now became the legislator of Syracuse. His laws remained in vigour⁶⁶ for several centuries, and even down to the time of the Romans, while he himself received heroic honours⁶⁷. Diodorus has attempted to describe the distinctive features of his legislation, and directs notice to his intentional minuteness on the subject, to which he asserts that his predecessor had not devoted sufficient attention⁶⁸. But unfortunately his attempts to delineate the peculiarities of this code exhibit the same want of discrimination as his military descriptions, in which he is unable to seize the real points of difference between one battle and another. In narrating a particular fact, he thought it was sufficient to describe what generally took place under similar circumstances, and this was afterwards decked out with rhetorical bombast. This accounts for the marked family likeness which all his pictures bear, and which must not so much be ascribed to the natural sameness of the subjects he delineates, as to the vague and unmeaning phrases with which he uniformly garnishes his descriptions. He commences his history of the legislation of Diocles⁶⁹ by narrating that he drew his sword and stabbed himself, because he had broken his own law by ap-

⁶⁴ Thucyd. 8. 26.⁶⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 1. 27.⁶⁶ In the time of Timoleon and Hiero a more intelligible language was substituted for the obsolete idiom in which they were written. Diod. 13. 35.⁶⁷ Diod. ubi sup.⁶⁸ Diod. ubi sup.⁶⁹ Diod. 13. 33.

pearing in the market-place armed, though circumstances had compelled him to do so. But, in spite of this, he goes on to relate that he was afterwards banished. This story alone savours of a transference from Charondas⁷⁰. Further on he says⁷¹, that Diocles made a proposition for electing the magistrates by lot, and at the same time for choosing legislators, who were to draw up a constitution and laws; and that he himself was one of the persons chosen. His criminal laws were very severe; but at the same time he appointed rewards for merit, and specified the fines to be imposed both in private suits and public actions. Thus far extends the account of Diodorus. Athenæus⁷² subjoins from Phylarchus that Diocles forbade the wives of citizens to indulge in immoderate luxury in dress, which he only allowed to women of loose character. This is also found amongst the enactments of one of the Italiot legislators⁷³. The fault of this confusion, however, does not lie with the historians alone, for it is most probable, that in compiling his laws, Diocles took the codes of Zaleucus, Charondas, and even Pythagoras for his models.

The legislation of Diocles did not restore tranquillity to Syracuse, and even the attacks of foreign enemies failed to call up a spirit of unanimity. Egesta having, by its solicitations, prevailed upon the Carthaginians to send an armament against its hated rival Selinus⁷⁴, Syracuse determined upon assisting the latter, and Diocles was nominated to

⁷⁰ Diod. 12. 19. Valer. Max. 6. 5. 4.⁷¹ Diod. 13. 34.⁷² Athen. 12. 521. B.⁷³ See Append. vi.⁷⁴ See below, and § 75. n. 6, sqq.

the command in the war with the Carthaginians⁷⁵. In the mean time Hermocrates had returned to Sicily⁷⁶. He had at first borne his exile with noble resignation⁷⁷; but the desire of returning to his country soon awoke within him. Nevertheless he remained true to his principles, and far from engaging in any undertaking against his native city, he levied soldiers and led them against the Carthaginians, whereupon the Syracusans, dazzled by the accounts of his victories over their ancient enemies of Carthage, soon experienced a reaction of feeling in his favour. Hermocrates now sought to overthrow Diocles; but though he succeeded in his attempt, and caused him to be banished, he himself was not recalled, as it was feared that his power might lead to tyranny. His friends, however, still holding out inducements to him, he marched to Syracuse at the head of three thousand men, but upon venturing into the town with too small a retinue was slain. Amongst his companions was Dionysius, the subsequent tyrant of Syracuse, who upon this occasion was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed⁷⁸. The continuance of the war with Carthage enabled him to obtain the favour of the people, so that before the end of the Peloponnesian war he was in possession of the tyranny.

During these events Agrigentum, the rival of Syracuse, possessed an abundant population⁷⁹, and

⁷⁵ Diod. 13. 59.

⁷⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 1. 28, sqq.

⁷⁹ Diod. 13. 84. reckons 20,000 citizens, and 200,000 inhabitants in all; in Diog. Laert. 8. 63. the number is stated at 800,000 (if the reading is correct) upon the authority of Potamilla. "Ignotissima autem mihi omnium feminarum hæc femina." Menag.

⁷⁶ Diod. 13. 63.

⁷⁸ Diod. 13. 75.

enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and though not entirely exempt from party feuds⁸⁰, it was still politic and circumspect enough to remain neuter in the war against Athens⁸¹; but in Ol. 93. 3; 406. B. C., it was taken by the Carthaginians and razed to the ground⁸².

⁸⁰ Thucyd. 7. 46.

⁸² Diod. 13. 90; Xenoph. Hell. 1. 5. 21.

⁸¹ Thucyd. 7. 33.

THE PREDOMINANCE AND DECLINE OF
OLIGARCHY WITH THE HEGEMONY OF
SPARTA; THE NEW DEMOCRACY
AND THE TYRANNY.

FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TILL THE
TIME OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

*A. Zenith of the Oligarchical System under the
Hegemony of Sparta.*

I. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GREECE TILL THE
LIBERATION OF THEBES FROM THE
SPARTAN YOKE.

§ 68. The variations which occurred in the internal condition of the Grecian states, during the space of time above marked out for consideration, cannot be conveniently treated according to the historical succession of periods, and the changes which took place in the external relations of the states to each other, inasmuch as the principal phenomena presented to our notice, viz., the hegemony of Sparta and the supremacy of the elder Dionysius in the external, and oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny in the internal political system were rather contemporary than successive. But considered with reference to the greater or less degree of influence which they respectively exercised, they undoubtedly present themselves to our notice in successive stages of development, wherefore, the history of Sparta's hegemony must begin with the oligarchy; after the rise of Thebes, the democratic

principle predominates; and the tyranny requires separate consideration, and must be accompanied by an account of the Greek states in the west.

Though the hegemony of Sparta was more extensive than that of Athens had been, it was far from being universal; not only the west was never included under it, but several of the provinces of the Grecian continent itself refused to acknowledge the Spartan sway. Moreover, in defining the empire of Sparta, we are called upon to consider two distinct periods. 1. That of the hegemony by sea, which lasted from the victory over Athens till the battle of Naxos. 2. That of the hegemony by land in its greatest extent, which commenced with the peace of Antalcidas, and attained its zenith with the occupation of the Cadmea and the expedition to Olynthus. During the former, Sparta commanded all the eastern dependencies of Greece, but in Greece Proper, her authority extended very little beyond the confines of the Peloponnesus. During the latter, her empire by land included Bœotia and reached as far as Thrace, while she scarcely retained any portion of her hegemony in the east and among the maritime states.

After their thirst of vengeance was satisfied, few of the Greeks had much cause to congratulate themselves upon the issue of the conflict with Athens, the professed object of which had been to obtain freedom and independence for the second-rate states; and many amongst them, who had made great sacrifices for Sparta, now began to feel sorrow and repentance. Amongst the voluntary confederates of Athens, the powerful Samos had been reduced by Lysander, immediately after the capi-

tulation of Athens¹. The Messenians of Naupactus were expelled in Olymp. 94. 4; 401. B. C.; their city was filled with Achæans², the unhappy Messenians themselves were dispersed, and wandered to Sicily, Rhegium, and Cyrene³. Sparta, desirous of entirely restoring the Peloponnesian Symmachia, and of executing her long-deferred scheme of vengeance against Elis for having persisted in its neutrality, commanded it in the same year, viz., 401. B. C., to enfranchise its Perioeci, that in case of a refusal she might have a pretext for reducing it by force. The event corresponded with her calculations; Elis, unequal to the conflict in which it became involved, was constrained to yield in the third year of the war, emancipated the Perioeci⁴, pulled down its walls, surrendered its ships, and renewed its alliance with Sparta⁵. The desire of Sparta to extend her empire over the east and west, as Athens had formerly done, induced her to evince extraordinary activity in her foreign relations. When the proper moment for declaring her despotic intentions was not arrived, she tried the effect of negociation, and did not even disdain to have recourse to treachery when her interest required it. Syracuse, to whose devoted co-operation she had such deep obligations, groaned under the yoke of Dionysius, whilst Sparta sent Aristus there, with instructions to consult appearances as much as possible, but at the same time to do every thing in his power to strengthen the tyranny⁶;

¹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 6.

² Diodor. 13. 34; conf. 15. 75, and Xenoph. Hell. 4. 6. 14.

³ Diodor. ubi sup. and Pausan. 4. 26. 2.

⁴ On this point see § 69. n. 3.

⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 21, sqq.; Diodor. 14. 17. 34; Pausan. 3. 8. 2. 3.

⁶ Diodor. 14. 10. says, διὰ δὲ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ἀσχημονεῖν ἐποίησεν

and afterwards in Olymp. 96. 1., Pharacidas, the Spartan, was sent with a fleet to assist Dionysius in putting down an insurrection⁷. All this was done with a view to secure the alliance of the tyrant. Still more culpable was the policy of Sparta in reference to the Asiatic Greeks and the Persians, for Dionysius was at least a Greek, and made head against the Carthaginians. In the course of the war, immediately that the Spartans set foot again on the shores of Asia Minor, Sparta declared, that if the great king would assist her, she was ready to betray into his hands all the Greeks in that quarter, many of whom had thrown themselves into her arms with generous confidence⁸. The personal friendship of Lysander and the younger Cyrus, rendered such contracts unnecessary, it is true; but would the latter ever have resigned his authority over the coasts of Asia, or would Sparta have taken measures to compel him to do so? After Sparta, indeed, had succeeded in subduing Athens, by means of a formidable armada, fitted out with Persian gold, she appropriated to herself all the contributions which the latter had exacted from her dependencies, and enjoyed the fruits of victory in the abundant tribute which flowed into her coffers. Cyrus being occupied with preparations for the expedition against his brother, and above all, standing in need of assist-

αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, and in this instance even he is a satisfactory authority.

⁷ Diodor. 14. 70.

⁸ See § 62. n. 147. That the dissatisfaction of Lichas with the first and second conventions, in which, through an accidental ambiguity of expression, all the islands, Thessaly, Locris as far as Boeotia, in other words, all that his father or his ancestors had ever possessed (Thucyd. 8. 18. 37. 43), had been abandoned to the barbarians, did not spring from any concern for the fate of the Asiatic Greeks, is evident from the third convention (Thucyd. 8. 84), notwithstanding his endeavour to gild the pill by means of a ἕως ἂν τὸν πόλεμον εὖ θῶνται.

ance from the Greeks, offered no opposition to this proceeding.

Whilst Sparta was thus endeavouring to extend her sovereignty over two seas, her position in Greece itself daily grew more precarious. Thebes had made reiterated and fruitless applications to her for a share of the spoils taken in the war, and began to harbour feelings of animosity against her⁹. These manifested themselves during the government of the Thirty in Athens. Their protector, Lysander, seems to have issued a proclamation to the effect, that every person who neglected to deliver up Athenian fugitives, should be fined five talents¹⁰. But Thebes declared, that if any one of her citizens should fail to afford the fugitives from Athens all the assistance in his power¹¹, he should be fined one talent, and went so far as to allow Athenian troops to march through her territory¹², whilst Ismenias the Theban furnished Thrasybulus with considerable succours¹³. The Argives ordered the envoys who demanded the extradition of the Athenian refugees, to quit their town before sunset¹⁴. Meanwhile, Athens having shaken off the yoke of the Thirty, Lysander sent the most urgent messages to Sparta for assistance; the Ten, by whom the Thirty were succeeded, having obtained

⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 5; Plut. Lys. 27. According to Justin, 5. 10, also Corinth.

¹⁰ Diodor. 14. 6: ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωγίμους τοῖς τριάκοντα εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. Conf. Lysias, c. Eratosth. 444: πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι.

¹¹ Diodor. 14. 6; Plut. Lys. 27.

¹² Plut. ubi sup. He says, ἂν δὲ τις Ἀθήναζε διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ τοῦ τυράννου ὅπλα κομίζῃ, μήτε ὁρᾶν τινα Θηβαίων μήτε ἀκούειν. Conf. Pelop. 6, and Dinarch. in Demosth. 19, where there is μὴ περιορᾶν.

¹³ Justin, 5. 9.

¹⁴ Demosth. de Lib. Rhod. 197. 7. 8: ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐὰν μὴ πρὸ ἡλίου δύοντος ἀπαλλάττωνται, πολεμίους κρίνειν. Conf. Diodor. 14. 6.

a loan of a hundred talents¹⁵, Lysander advanced with a fleet, and king Pausanias marched at the head of a Peloponnesian army against the Athenian fugitives who had occupied the Piræus¹⁶; but fear of Argos and Thebes, combined with the suspicion with which the king and the Ephors regarded Lysander, and the good nature of the first, appear to have induced Sparta to consent to the re-establishment of democracy in Athens¹⁷. But gratitude failed to render the last faithful to her league with Sparta.

A considerable change had been wrought in the political position of Sparta with regard to Asia, since the death of the younger Cyrus. It was not a mere band of wandering mercenaries which the Spartan Clearchus had under his command when he accompanied that prince; Sparta had ordered him to join the expedition, through the medium of the Scytale¹⁸, and the voyage of the Grecian fleet to Cilicia to support the operations of the land-army¹⁹, bears still stronger marks of having been undertaken in pursuance of the commands of the state. Upon the failure of the expedition, Tissaphernes lost no time in renewing those claims to the dominion of the western coast of Asia²⁰, which had acquired such force from the former concessions of Sparta. But the latter refused to relinquish the sovereignty of these coasts and the treasures which she derived from it; therefore, when the Ionians,

¹⁵ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 422.

¹⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 27—30.

¹⁷ Ibid. 2. 4. 30, sqq.; conf. Lysias adv. Pol. 604. 605.

¹⁸ Plut. Artax. 6: ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ πάντα κελεύοντες.

¹⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 1. 1; Diodor. 14. 19.

²⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 1. 3: εὐθὺς ἡξίου τὰς Ἴωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι.

Olymp. 95. 1; 399. B. C., applied to her for assistance, an army, furnished by the Grecian cities in alliance with Sparta, was sent to their aid, the rude and dissipated Thimbron²¹ being appointed to the command; he was, in the following year, succeeded by the crafty Dercyllidas²². The number of troops was inconsiderable, and there were almost as many officers as Spartans; it was intended that the Asiatic Greeks themselves should bear arms against the Persians. But how were courage and perseverance to be instilled into these degenerate voluptuaries? Xenophon, indeed, is lavish of his commendations to Agesilaus, and lays great stress upon the important effects which resulted from his exertions in military affairs, and the love he gained in Asia²³; but he cannot disguise the fact, that at the beginning of the war the Asiatic Greeks displayed cowardice and a reluctance to fight under the banners of Sparta²⁴. Even the brilliant qualities of Agesilaus himself failed to inspire them with ardour and confidence; for when he allowed them to send substitutes to the army, they eagerly availed themselves of the permission²⁵. Still even Dercyllidas carried on the war with success, and there appeared some prospect of securing the towns of Lesser Asia against the assaults of the Persians, and even of wholly delivering them from their yoke. He was succeeded in the command by Agesilaus, Olymp. 95. 4; 396. B. C. He sent forth a summons to the Greeks of the mother-country to join the expedition against

²¹ Aristid. 2. 176. ed. Jebb: *μήθυσον και ἀκόλαστον*.

²² Xenoph. Hell. 3. 1. 5, sqq. ²³ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 2. 1.

²⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 17.

²⁵ Ibid. 3. 4. 15: *ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦμενον προθύμως ζητοῖη*.

the barbarians, in the same manner as in a national war²⁶. But Argos was not even summoned, whilst Corinth was deterred from joining the expedition by an evil omen²⁷, which reminds us of the oracle which Crete alleged in extenuation of its inactivity upon the approach of Xerxes. Athens excused herself upon the plea of exhaustion²⁸. The horsemen who had served the dynasts had been sent out under Thimbron, and their departure was pronounced a benefit to the constitution²⁹; besides, Athens had already received information that Conon was carrying on negotiations with Pharnabazus³⁰. Thebes not only refused to furnish troops, but when Agesilaus, in his towering pride, wished to imitate the example of Agamemnon by sacrificing in Aulis, some Theban horsemen suddenly appeared and disturbed the ceremony³¹. Hence this cannot be accounted a general hegemony; and the assertion of Xenophon, that all the states of Greece obeyed when a Lacedæmonian commanded³², is by far too unqualified. We cannot here follow up the military operations of Agesilaus. He did every thing that it was possible to effect with an army composed of such various and ill-assorted materials, though the state of discipline into which he had brought it was excellent; but attacks like these, without native strength and national feeling in the

²⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 3: Pausan. 3. 9. 1.

²⁷ According to Pausan. ubi sup. they were reluctantly compelled to remain at home: but this is somewhat inconsistent with their defection from Sparta a short time afterwards. We must not overlook the party division for and against Sparta in Corinth at the time.

²⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 1. 4: *κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἐναποδημοῖεν και ἐναπόλοιτο*. ²⁹ Pausan. ubi sup.

³⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 3. 4; Plut. Ages. ap. Pausan. 3. 9. 2.

³¹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 1. 5. The observation applies to the time when Thimbron set out on his march, and more immediately refers to Asia Minor.

background, might rouse indeed, but could not destroy, the Persian colossus³³.

Whilst the temper above described prevailed amongst the chief states of the Grecian mother-country, it scarcely required the aid of Persian gold to prevail upon them to rise against Sparta. The assertion that Agesilaus' jest³⁴ explains the origin and course of the divisions which ensued, is a mere piece of rhetorical deception. Agesilaus was upon the point of overturning the Persian throne, when ten thousand Darics changed the posture of affairs! It cannot, however, be denied, that when Timocrates the Rhodian was sent by Tithraustes to Greece with about fifty talents of silver³⁵, the demagogues of Athens, Corinth, Thebes³⁶, etc., stretched out a willing hand to receive his largesses. But it cannot be proved that Corinth, Argos, and Thebes, had simultaneously acquiesced in the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks; in Menexenus³⁷ this assertion also seems to involve a mere rhetorical antithesis, implying that Athens had not done so. A confederacy was now formed against Sparta by Argos, Corinth, Athens, Thebes, whose authority at that time extended over all Bœotia, with the exception of Orchomenus, Lysander having induced it to

³³ Plutarch, Ages. 15, gives loose to his imagination, when he says that Agesilaus τὸν πόλεμον διήρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάττης, περὶ τοῦ σωματος βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἑκβατάνοις καὶ Σούσοις εὐδαιμονίας διαμάχεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. Isocrat. Paneg. 40, more reasonably observes, μικροῦ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἁλὶ χώρας ἐκράτησεν.

³⁴ Plut. Ages. 15: — ἀναζευγνύων ἔφη μυρίοις τοξόταις ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. Conf. Lacon. Apophth. 6. 793.

³⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 1; Paus. 3. 9. 4; Plut. Artax. 21, where the Rhodian is called Hermocrates.

³⁶ For the names of those who received bribes, consult Pausan. ubi sup. and Xenoph. 3. 5. 2. The latter says that no Athenians accepted money, but Pausanias names Cephalus and Epicrates.

³⁷ Plat. Menex. 245. B.

throw off its allegiance to Eubœa³⁸, which owing to the bridge near Chalcis was dependent upon Bœotia; the Opuntian and Ozolian Locrians, and after the death of Lysander, the Malians and Acarnanians³⁹. The inhabitants of Pharsalus, Larissa, etc., were hostile to Agesilaus⁴⁰, if they did not march out themselves. The allies of Sparta were Tegea, Mantinea, to which must be added Orchomenus and the smaller townships of Arcadia, though their names are not expressly mentioned⁴¹, Elis, apart from which must be reckoned its former Periœci, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzen, Halieis⁴², and Achaia⁴³. Phlius, harassed by intestine quarrels, did not furnish its quota of men⁴⁴. Megara and Ægina, to which the remnant of its former inhabitants had now returned⁴⁵, sided with Sparta; the former on account of its oligarchy, the latter out of exasperation against Athens, which was so violent that it had passed a law, declaring that every Athenian who set foot on the island should be punished with death⁴⁶. The allies of Sparta in the north were Phocis and the Bœo-

³⁸ Xenoph. 4. 2. 17; conf. 3. 5. 6.

³⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 2. 17, where we must, however, read Ἀκαρνᾶνες instead of Αἰνιᾶνες (conf. § 72. n. 56); the latter are enumerated together with the Malians, 3. 5. 6, when they both performed military service under Lysander; 4. 3. 15, the Αἰνιᾶνες are included in the allied army against Agesilaus. But the Acarnanians are also afterwards mentioned as allies of Thebes and Athens, Xenoph. Hell. 4. 6. 1, sqq. Thus the confusion may the more easily be accounted for.

⁴⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 3. 3; Plut. Ages. 16.

⁴¹ To these in particular applies the charge which the Acanthian Cleigenes brings against the Arcadians: Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν (the Spartans) ἴωσι, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσι. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 19.

⁴² Xenoph. Hell. 4. 2. 17.

⁴³ Xenophon's list of the members of the two leagues is very inaccurate. He does not mention the Achæans till 4. 2. 18.

⁴⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 2. 17: ἐκχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν can only allude to an ἱερομηνία, not to an armistice with the enemies of Sparta.

⁴⁵ Plut. Lysan. 14.

⁴⁶ Diog. Laert. 3. 19. According to Plut. Dion. 9, the Psephism only denounced the penalty of slavery, and this was carried into effect in the case of Plato, when he arrived in Ægina from Sicily.

tian Orchomenus. The Corinthian (or first Bœotian) war⁴⁷ broke out in the spring, Olymp. 96. 2, in 394. B. C. Lysander was killed at Haliartus, at the very beginning of the war⁴⁸. Sparta maintained the field in the war by land, but not without sustaining severe losses. The Peltasts of Iphicrates effected a marked change in the operations of the war; they cut down a whole Spartan mora⁴⁹, and upon the whole the Hoplitæ of Sparta no longer inspired the same terror as formerly. But with the fleet fitted out at the expense of Pharnabazus and the king⁵⁰, Conon gave a heavy blow to the naval power of Sparta by the victory of Cnidus, Olymp. 96. 3; 394. B. C.⁵¹. Chios, Mytilene, Cos, Nisyrus, Teos, Erythræ, and Ephesus⁵², weary of the yoke of their new masters, and attracted by the alluring promises of Autonomia held out to them by Lysander, revolted from Sparta. In the mean time Athens gradually recovered her independence and resumed her political importance by rebuilding her long walls, which she was enabled to accomplish through the exertions of Conon⁵³. Still Sparta did not wholly retire from the sea; the naval power of Athens herself was still inconsiderable, though Thrasybulus⁵⁴ did every thing in his power to exercise and promote her reviving strength. With the further progress of the war, both states were reduced to great straits in

⁴⁷ The war is entitled *Corinthian*, Isocrat. Plat. 523; Paus. 3. 9. 6; *Bœotian*, Diod. 14. 81; Ps. Demosth. in Neer. 1357: ὁ ὑστέρων πόλεμος against Sparta.

⁴⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 18. 19.

⁴⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 5. 11—28.

⁵⁰ Diod. 14. 39; conf. 81; Paus. 1. 3. 1; Isocrat. Paneg. 39; Plat. Menex. 245. A.; Corn. Nep. Con. 4; Justin, 5. 10.

⁵¹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 3. 10—14; Diod. 14. 83; Corn. Nep. Con. 4; Justin, 6. 3.

⁵² Diod. 14. 84; Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 2.

⁵³ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 9; Corn. Nep. ubi sup. ⁵⁴ Xenoph. 4. 8. 25, sqq.

consequence of exhausted treasuries, and were forced to apply to Persia for subsidies. Conon had too notoriously applied the monies entrusted to him by Persia, to the exigencies of his native city, and perished in attempting to render the assistance of the barbarians subservient to the object of raising it from its prostration, though he probably intended to break off all connection with them, as soon as he could do so without danger. His imprisonment and subsequent flight or assassination⁵⁵, had the effect of complicating relations for some time afterwards, both parties becoming hostile to Persia, though without uniting against the common enemy. This explains the strange circumstance that Te-leutias, admiral of the Spartan fleet, though an enemy to Persia, took the fleet which the Athenians, who were also hostile to the Persians, had sent to the assistance of Evagoras in Cyprus⁵⁶. But a second Lysander now arose in Sparta.

Antalcidas crafty, skilful, and as regardless of the means by which he accomplished his designs, as he was indifferent to the honour of Sparta and the maintenance of Grecian nationality against the barbarians⁵⁷, was appointed to the command of the fleet⁵⁸. The political relation of Sparta to Persia had hitherto been chiefly determined by the sentiments and policy of Lysander and Agesilaus. The former seems to have been somewhat lukewarm in defending the coasts of Asia Minor; the latter on the contrary had not only prosecuted that object with ardour, but dwelt with peculiar pride and complacency on the resemblance which

⁵⁵ Xenoph. 4. 8. 16 (his imprisonment); Isocrat. Paneg. 41 (assassination); Lys. de Aristoph. Bon. 638 and 640 (his flight to Cyprus and natural death). Conf. Corn. Nep. Con. 5.

⁵⁶ Xenoph. 4. 8. 24.

⁵⁷ For a description of his character, see Plut. Ages. 21. 22.

⁵⁸ Xenoph. 5. 1. 6.

he imagined there was between Agamemnon and himself, who, as the monarch of European nations, went forth to chastise the insolence of an Asiatic despot. Antalcidas, who was the personal enemy of Agesilaus⁵⁹, endeavoured to conciliate the barbarians, and was sent to Tiribazus with instructions to declare the readiness of Sparta to sacrifice the Greeks of the western coast of Asia Minor to the Persians, on condition that they would assist her in subjugating the states of the Grecian continent. He offered to cede those towns to the king, and in return required his assistance in restoring by force of arms the peace of the Grecian continent, and vindicating the Autonomia of all the states of Greece both great and small, with the exception of those above specified. Whether the barbarians perceived the true drift of this last point, the *divide ac impera*, it is impossible to say. Now, it is true, Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, sent envoys to the Persian court; but they indignantly refused to subscribe to the preliminary conditions drawn up by Antalcidas⁶⁰. But he had effectually gained the confidence of the barbarians, brought back money with him to defray the expenses of the war, and in a short time had a fleet of eighty galleys afloat⁶¹. Tiribazus, Ol. 98. 2; 387. B. C., now issued a proclamation directing all who chose to accept the peace offered by the king, to assemble for that purpose; and the majority of the Grecian states immediately declared their assent to it⁶².

These conditions⁶³ remind us of the former

⁵⁹ Plut. Ages. 23.

⁶⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 13—15.

⁶¹ Xenoph. 5. 1. 28.

⁶² Xenoph. 5. 1. 30: *ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο* — to learn from Tiribazus the terms of the peace. The addition of *ταχέως* is bitter

⁶³ Xenoph. 5. 1. 31.

negotiations of Tissaphernes with Sparta, and the peace itself must be considered a most disgraceful result, after the brilliant hopes which had been raised by the successes of Agesilaus. They were as follows:

1. The king was to receive the Grecian towns on the continent of Asia Minor, and the islands of Clazomenæ⁶⁴ and Cyprus⁶⁵; all of which were declared subject to his sovereign will and pleasure⁶⁶.
2. The Autonomia of all the other Grecian states, whether great or small, was to be respected; Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros, alone remaining subject to Athens.
3. Persia and the states desirous of ratifying the peace, were to make war upon such as refused their assent to it⁶⁷.

The columns on which the treaty was engraved were placed in the common sanctuaries⁶⁸.

The policy of Sparta upon this occasion is manifest. By granting Autonomia to the inferior states, she hoped to dissolve the alliance among towns of the same district, and particularly to break the power of Thebes, while she herself would still retain her authority over the Perioeci and Helots of her own territory, which was confirmed

⁶⁴ On its situation, see Thucyd. 8. 14.

⁶⁵ Plut. Artax. 21, erroneously has: *νήσους, ὅσαι προσκυροῦσιν Ἀσίᾳ*.

⁶⁶ As early as in the third of the former treaties, Thucyd. 8. 58, the words *καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βουλευέτω βασιλεύς, ὅπως βούλεται* are used. Concerning the peace of Antalcidas, consult Isocrat. Paneg. cap. 39: *διαβρῆδην γράψαντες, χρῆσθαι τούτῳ, ὅ, τι αὐτὸς βούληται*. Coni. cap. 37: — *ὥστε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν κατασκάπτειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσιν ἐντελεῖν*.

⁶⁷ Xenoph. 5. 1. 31: — *καὶ περὶ, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ναυσί, καὶ χρήμασιν*.

⁶⁸ Isocrat. Paneg. 48: — *καὶ ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν (ὁ βάρβαρος) ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράψαντας ἐν τοῖς κοινῶν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναθεῖναι, κ. τ. λ.*

by ancient prescription: and finally, by the confusion that would inevitably result from this severance of all previous bands, and the nominal independence of communities incapable of asserting it in the long run, she hoped to get them into her power⁶⁹. The calculations of Athens, that is to say, if she calculated at all, and was not compelled by the entire prostration of her power to bow to a necessity which she could not control⁷⁰, were probably that she would obtain many of the maritime states on which Autonomia had been conferred, as soon as Sparta should no longer have a powerful fleet at sea; moreover, it is not impossible that she reckoned upon gaining influence in the Peloponnesus and on the mainland through the above-described confusion which she foresaw would inevitably result from the arrangements. Finally, Thebes was the last of the other states to give its assent to the peace, being unwilling to relinquish its hegemony in Bœotia.

We must do the Greeks the justice to acknowledge that there is every reason to suppose that public opinion was decidedly adverse to this peace. Plutarch in a later age stigmatizes with patriotic indignation the conduct of Sparta as a piece of flagitious treachery⁷¹, denies the name of a peace to this act of perfidy and insult to the whole of Greece, and declares that no war ever entailed more humiliating consequences upon the vanquished⁷².

⁶⁹ Plut. Ages. 23; Polybius, 6. 49. 5, takes a partial view of the subject, and regards the money only; the Spartans, he says, abandoned the Grecian towns in Asia to their fate, *χάριν τοῦ χρημάτων εὐπορήσαι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυναστείαν*. The opinion of Diodor. 15. 5, that Sparta's spirit of aggrandisement was not aroused till after the peace, is obviously absurd.

⁷¹ Plut. Ages. 23.

⁷⁰ Xenoph. 5. 1. 29.

⁷² Plut. Artax. 21.

Isocrates, the contemporary of Antalcidas, denounces it no less emphatically⁷³. Will any one after this attach any importance to the assertion of the prejudiced Xenophon, that the Spartans acquired fresh glory by the peace⁷⁴? Its author received a just reward. After the battle of Leuctra he once more repaired to the Persian court, but being there slighted as the representative of a people who had been conquered in a pitched battle, he became disgusted with the world, and starved himself to death⁷⁵.

From this time the Grecian states on the west coast of Asia Minor disappear from our view. Some of them, it is true, afterwards acquired riches, prosperity, and renown, like Ephesus, which when Lysander made it his residence, seemed to have received new life; but they no longer retained their genuine Grecian nationality, and their freedom was irrecoverably gone; their political system ceased to be rooted in congenial soil; some of them were governed by tyrants as Persian satraps, and though we find the titles of numerous magistrates there down to the Roman times, they seem to have been of no importance in a constitutional point of view⁷⁶. The liberty which was repeatedly guaranteed to them in the treaties of their more powerful neighbours, the last of which was that of the Romans after their victory over Antiochus⁷⁷, was little more than a change of

⁷³ Isocrat. Paneg. 47. 48.

⁷⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 1. 36: *πολὺ ἐπικυδίστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδος εἰρήνης καλουμένης*.

⁷⁵ Plut. Artax. 23. This may chiefly be collected from inscriptions and coins. See the exhaustive accounts of Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 420—476. Amongst the older writers Van Dale is sufficiently copious, Diss. de Antiquitatib. et Marmorib. Rom. et Græc. Amstel. 1702.

⁷⁷ Liv. 33. 32. 34.

masters, and was like a grain of seed in an exhausted soil. On the other hand, some of the islands which had been declared free by the peace of Antalcidas, again rose to independence and power, and though the accounts which have been transmitted concerning them are exceedingly scanty, they are still of sufficient importance to demand a place below.

After the peace of Antalcidas Greece itself presented the same spectacle as at the dissolution of the kindred ties of the tribes and races under the ancient monarchies. As at that time, the more extensive confederacies of a district, such as Bœotia and Elis, split themselves into separate communities, whilst every petty place that was surrounded with walls assumed the character of an independent state, so innumerable country towns now laid claim to what was denominated *Autonomia*. The wily Spartans had purposely avoided fixing any definite period from which claims for the recovery of the independence, pretended to have been suppressed, required to be dated. By this means confederacies of remote antiquity might be dissolved, and the name *πόλις* applied to the most insignificant townships. It is probable that very few of these new republics had very clear notions of their true condition. Some of them considered their dependence upon Sparta less onerous than the yoke which had been imposed upon them by the chief towns of their own districts, as Pisa now released from its subjection to Elis⁷⁸, besides various towns of Bœotia, amongst which we may enu-

⁷⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 28.

merate Plataeæ, which was now rebuilt⁷⁹. Most of them were probably allured by the captivating sounds *Autonomia*, *Autocrateia*, *Autoteleia*, etc.⁸⁰, without reflecting upon the dangers which threatened their young and unprotected liberties, and the inability of communities which had withdrawn from the alliance of parent and sister states, to maintain their independence. Finally, it was difficult to bring within the operation of the peace those townships whose inhabitants had been gathered into one capital during the rapid advancement of democracy, nor did these in fact desire it. Mantinea was eminently conspicuous for unity and strength. But Sparta, with revolting violence, forced it to conform to the stipulations of the peace, and in Ol. 98. 3; 386. B. C., once more resolved it into the townships of which it had been composed about a century before⁸¹. Amongst the many arbitrary acts of Sparta during this period must be reckoned the disarming of Chios, which was forced to deliver up its ships, and to banish its best and bravest citizens⁸².

An immediate consequence of the peace of Antalcidas was the more rigorous organization of the former *Symmachia* of the Peloponnesus, which Argos alone refused to enter, whilst Achaia, or at least its capital Pellene⁸³, joined the Spartans, and

⁷⁹ Paus. 9. 1. 3.

⁸⁰ Compare above on the term *Isonomia*, and see a few additional remarks on the subject in Append. vii.

⁸¹ Διοικιστῶν. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 1—8; Diod. 15. 4; Paus. 8. 8. 5.

⁸² Isocrat. *Symmach.* 286, where the exact date of this occurrence is not given. Conf. Diod. 13. 65, and Schneider ad Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 11.

⁸³ We must once more call attention to the fact, that the words *Achaean* and *Pellenian* were employed indiscriminately. See Xenoph. 4. 2. 18. 20; 6. 2. 2; 6. 4. 18; 6. 5. 29; 7. 2. 2. 11. 14; 7. 4. 28. 30; 7. 5. 1. 18; 7. 4. 17.

even Corinth again evinced its ancient zeal in their favour. The principal obligation enjoined by the act of confederation was that of performing military service⁸⁴. Sparta demanded levies of troops, by means of the Scytale⁸⁵, and these appear to have been collected by Xenagi⁸⁶; any member of the confederacy that refused to furnish its quota when required incurred a fine⁸⁷. All contentions between allied towns during the absence of the confederate army were strictly forbidden⁸⁸. The assemblies of the ambassadors from the various states of the league were held in Sparta⁸⁹. There was also a federal tribunal, in which Sparta presided; its authority was appealed to by some Phliasian fugitives who had been expelled in intestine warfare⁹⁰. However, the trial of the Theban Ismenias, after the occupation of the Cadmea⁹¹, is not a very creditable example of its agency; upon this occasion the court consisted of three judges from Sparta, and one from each of the other states of the league indiscriminately; this proceeding reminds us of the treatment of the Plataeans in the Peloponnesian war⁹².

It is not improbable that the Peloponnesus bore, without repining, a yoke to which it had been so long accustomed; but the ambition of Sparta demanded the same degree of obedience from the other provinces of Greece. Her imperious pretensions were unceasingly stimulated and encouraged

⁸⁴ Xenoph. 6. 3. 7.⁸⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 37.⁸⁶ Xenoph. 3. 5. 7.⁸⁷ Xenoph. 5. 2. 21.⁸⁸ At least this was the case in the single instance adduced by Xenoph. 5. 4. 37.⁸⁹ Xenoph. 5. 2. 11. 20; 5. 4. 60.⁹⁰ Xenoph. 5. 3. 10.⁹¹ Xenoph. 5. 2. 35.⁹² Comp. at large Müller, Dor. 1. 178, sqq.

by Agesilaus, who seems to have been born to accelerate the destruction of his own country and of Greece in general. Such a line of policy was, it must be confessed, not unsupported by inducements from without; remote towns at variance with their neighbours, or dreading their encroachments, requested Sparta to protect their Autonomia, and such applications met ready attention. Thus the embassy of the Chalcidian-Thracian towns, Acanthus and Apollonia, which complained of Olynthus, was favourably received.

Olynthus⁹³ had, a short time after its foundation⁹⁴, become powerful enough to shake off its dependence upon Macedonia, and soon afterwards, at a time when Athens and Sparta had no leisure to vindicate their claims to Chalcidice, it endeavoured either by force or treaty, to bring all the adjacent places into alliance with itself. These attempts were resisted by the two towns already mentioned. Sparta readily availed herself of a pretext to send an expedition to the Thracian coast, Ol. 99. 2; 382. B. C., where Brasidas had once performed such brilliant achievements, and where important advantages were still to be obtained. But Olynthus was not reduced till after a destructive war of nearly three years in duration, in which the Spartans lost a valiant king; nor was it even certain how long that city would continue to feel the effects of the humiliation it had sustained⁹⁵.

But still more pernicious than this domineering

⁹³ See § 62. n. 77, sqq.⁹⁴ Thucyd. 1. 58.⁹⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 11—24. 37, sqq.; 5. 3. 1—9. 18—20. The words of Demosth. de Falsa Legat. 425. 18: οὕτω (at the time of the war with Sparta) Χαλκιδέων πάντων εἰς ἐν συνηκισμένον—would lead us to suppose that the prosperity of Olynthus increased after the war.

disposition in itself was the rooted hatred which Agesilaus bore to Thebes. The origin of this appears to have been the refusal of the Thebans to send troops to Asia, and their interruption of the sacrificial rites at Aulis. The attack upon the Cadmea of Thebes⁹⁶ by Phœbidas, though perhaps not made in express obedience to the instructions of Agesilaus⁹⁷, was, after it had been sanctioned by success, so far from being ungrateful to that monarch, that he wholly forgot what was due to the good faith and honour of the state⁹⁸, and persuaded the Spartans to appropriate to themselves the fruits of this act of treachery⁹⁹. He afterwards evinced a similar feeling upon the occasion of Sphodrias' attempt upon the Piræus¹⁰⁰.

Thus Sparta had attained what had been her real object at the peace of Antalcidas. Her once haughty rival, Thebes, was held in check by a garrison and the despotism of its oligarchs; Argos and Athens were separated, whilst the latter was not hostile to Sparta, the former impoverished and powerless; Mantinea and Elis scarcely retained the semblance of independent communities; and lastly, Sparta had entered into an alliance with the king of Persia in the east, and with the tyrant Dionysius in the west.

The spirit by which Sparta was guided in her foreign policy is reflected in her actions. Her

⁹⁶ Xenoph. 5. 2. 25—30.

⁹⁷ Plut. Ages. 24: Ἦν μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τούτων ὑπόνοια, Φοιβίδου μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, βούλευμα δ' Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πεπραγμένον.

⁹⁸ This is even felt and avowed by Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 1.

⁹⁹ Plut. Ages. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Plut. Ages. 25; Xenoph. 5. 4. 25, seq. Here, too, Xenophon observes, Hell. 5. 4. 24: καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξε αὐτῇ δὴ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀδικώτατα δίκη κριθῆναι.

ruling passion was the desire of governing, and her main object¹⁰¹ the extension of her empire: violence, whenever it could be exercised with impunity, and treachery, were the means by which she compassed her ends, while the possession of power was merely subservient to the gratification of her arrogance, and the still further indulgence of her rapacity¹⁰². In Sparta itself it is not altogether impossible that the endeavour to retain the form after the substance had departed, was to a certain degree still successful; but when the Lacedæmonian quitted his own country, and ceased to occupy himself with military concerns, he was no longer in his congenial element; and the numerous Spartans who were engaged on foreign service in garrisons, as Harmosts, etc., were detested by the rest of the Greeks on account of their insolence and brutality¹⁰³, and the exactions which they exercised both on their own score and for the state. The outrages of Pausanias were frequently repeated in after times, and it was as common to see his likeness in a Clearchus or a Thimbron, as it was rare to find such men as Callicratidas. Dignity had departed from the austere Lycurgan discipline, but the Spartan character had remained insensible to

¹⁰¹ Plut. Ages. 37: Λακεδαιμόνιοι—οὔτε μανθάνουσιν οὐτ' ἐπίστανται δίκαιον ἄλλο, πλὴν ᾧ τὴν Σπάρτην αὖξιν νομίζουσιν, may be taken in its worst sense. Iphicrates said very truly of the Spartans: ὅτι πίστιν ἀν οἶεται γενέσθαι μόνην, εἰ δείξειαν, ὅπως, ἀν ἀδικεῖν βούλωνται, μὴ δυνήσονται· ἐπεὶ, ὅτι γ' αἰεὶ βουλήσονται, εὖ εἰδέναι. Demosth. in Aristocr. 659.

¹⁰² Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 22:—ἀπώλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι σχολάζειν, μηδὲ ἡσκημένοι μηδεμίαν ἀσκησιν ἐτέραν κυριωτέραν τῆς πολεμικῆς.

¹⁰³ Frequent mention is made of the βακτηρία, with which Eurybiades threatened Themistocles (Plut. Them. 11). Astyochus also made use of the same threat towards the noble Dorieus, Thucyd. 8. 84; Callibius, towards the Athenian Autolycus, Plut. Lys. 15; Mnasiippus on Corcyra, Xenoph. Hell. 6. 2. 19. etc.

the humanizing influence of civilization. Hence, the despotism of Sparta was no less censured than that of Athens had formerly been ¹⁰⁴. This will be made manifest by a careful examination of the conduct she pursued in establishing constitutions in the states subject to her authority. Almost the only instance of her political generosity on record was the acquittal of the Byzantine Anaxilaus, who had surrendered the city to Alcibiades ¹⁰⁵.

II. THE CONSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY SPARTA.

§ 69. Even during the Peloponnesian war we have seen that Sparta employed her whole influence to disseminate oligarchical institutions; in proof of which, it is only necessary to refer to Heraclea, Trachinia, Sicyon, Argos, etc. The efforts by which she sought to accomplish this object, assumed a new character when Lysander appeared upon the political stage, and for some time became entirely dependent upon his measures. Lysander was the Alcibiades of Sparta. An accomplished party leader, he was peculiarly fitted to undermine the laws, customs, and establishments of a community, to stir up factions, and to render them dependent upon himself; while, by means of simulated friendship and false oaths, with which he ordered men to cheat, as he did boys with dice, he first lulled his adversaries into security, and

¹⁰⁴ The comic poet Theopompus compared the Spartans with the cheating cupbearers, as they had first offered the sweetest beverage, viz., liberty, and then poured vinegar into it. Plut. Lys. 13. However, it is possible that amongst the numerous calumnies must be included the statement of the Theban envoys in Athens, viz., that even Helots had been appointed Harmosta. Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 12.

¹⁰⁵ Plut. Alcib. 31.

then betrayed and destroyed them¹. Though he far outstripped his fellow-citizens in rapacity and violence, he found every disposition on their part to abet his designs, nor were they less ready to appropriate to themselves the fruits of his acts when he himself had become obnoxious to them. But in the states whose constitutions he regulated, his plans were promoted by the restless egotism and vindictive malice of their inhabitants. Under the name of a Decarchia², headed by a Spartan Harmost, he introduced into most of these towns an institution pregnant with all the rancour of party animosity. He began this nefarious system at Ephesus, his head-quarters in the campaign against Alcibiades, whither he summoned the ring-leaders³ of the populace from the surrounding places, and thus stirred up the fury of civil discord. The subversion of the democracies which the hegemony of Athens had till then maintained, was not effected without the usual horrors, and Lysander left neither craft nor force unemployed to augment them. At his instigation a large body of the oligarchists were cruelly butchered in Miletus⁴; a like atrocity was perpetrated in Thasus⁵; the whole of the demus was driven out of Samos, and the restored oligarchs composed the whole body

¹ Plut. Lys. 8.

² On this word and the δεκαρχία (presidency of a Decuria), occasionally confounded with it (e. g. Harpocr. δεκαρχία; conf. Vales. *ibid.*), see Schneider ad Aristot. Pol. 2. 146. 147.

³ Plut. Lys. 5:—ὅς ἐώρα μάλιστα ταῖς τε τόλμαις καὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄντας. Comp. Lys. 13: οὔτε γὰρ ἀριστίνδην οὔτε πλουτίνδην ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλ' ἐταυρίαίς καὶ ξενίαίς χαρίζομενος τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ κολάσεως, κ. τ. λ. Conf. cap. 19. Diodorus misconceives the subject altogether, when he says of Lysander, 14. 13: ἐν αἷς μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἐν αἷς δὲ ὀλιγαρχίας καταστήσας.

⁴ Plut. Lys. 8. 19; Diod. 13. 104.

⁵ Polyæn. 1. 45. 4. Comp. Wessel. ad Diod. 13. 104.

of the citizens⁶. Other towns witnessed similar horrors, and Lysander was present in person during many a scene of blood⁷. The situation of the exiles was the more deplorable, as the widely-extended empire of Sparta rendered escape almost impossible, while Lysander had numerous and willing instruments of his outrages in the Decarchs, who, if possible, were still more barbarous and malignant than himself⁸.

As soon as the Spartans withdrew their confidence from Lysander, they proceeded to depose the Decarchs who remained faithful to him, with the view of weakening his influence. They not only removed the dynasts from Athens, where this was brought about by a particular combination of circumstances, but also from the towns on the west coast of Asia, in which Lysander's adherents were most numerous⁹. But Xenophon's assertion, that democracies were not introduced into those cities, and that peace and prosperity were not restored¹⁰, is even disproved by his own narration¹¹. At least the democrats who had fled from Chios and established themselves in Atarneus, were not brought back by fair means, but subdued by force¹². It is possible that expulsion and massacres did not take place under Agesilaus; but even he cannot be absolved from the charge of partizanship and favouritism¹³. Spartan Harmosts lastly, during the hege-

⁶ Plut. Lys. 14; Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 6.

⁷ Plut. Lys. 13.

⁸ Isocrat. Panath. 407, says of the Decarchs: ὧν ἐπιχειρήσας ἂν τις κατηγορεῖν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας συνεχῶς, οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος εἰρηκέναι δοῖται τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων.

⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 2.

¹⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 9.

¹¹ Compare below § 73. n. 1.

¹² Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 11.

¹³ Plut. Ages. 5. 13; Isocr. 9. 764.

mony of Sparta, impeded the free operation of the political system in the towns of Asia.

Amongst the states of the mother-country, whose constitutions were remodelled under the influence of Sparta, the following require separate consideration.

1. ATHENS. THE ANARCHY¹⁴.

The appointment of the Thirty¹⁵, their protection by Lysander, and their acts, sufficiently illustrate the character of the constitutions set up by the Spartan chief. It is here necessary to revert to the machinations of Theramenes, and the intelligence between him and Lysander¹⁶. Whilst the latter was still at Athens, consequently in the spring of the year 404. B. C., Ol. 93. 4, Theramenes publicly proposed to delegate the supreme power to thirty men¹⁷, who were to set down such of the Spartan laws as were destined for the future regulation of the state¹⁸. These, therefore, constituted an autocratic Trigintavirate, like the Decemvirate in Rome, in conformity to the notion of the ancients before alluded to¹⁹, viz., that it was necessary for a public body, charged with legislative duties, to possess sovereign power for the time

¹⁴ Because there was no Archon that year, Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 1. Pythodorus should have followed, Olymp. 94. 1. Concerning these dates, see Taylor, Vit. Lys. 6. 138. 139.

¹⁵ The ancients of the good time call them as above, and not the Thirty tyrants. Diod. 15. 63, etc., cannot be regarded as an authority. Their appropriate name in the political vocabulary of the time would be *dynasts*, Aristot. Pol. 4. 5. 1; conf. 5. 5. 8. and 12. But Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 13, calls the dynasts in Thebes, *tyrants*.

¹⁶ Conf. § 65. ad fin.

¹⁷ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 430; conf. Diod. 14. 3, who, however, says "the Athenians (!) fetched Lysander to give them a constitution;" and represents Theramenes as a democrat.

¹⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 2: — οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι.

¹⁹ See vol. i. p. 304.

being. But the decree to that effect, which was drawn up by Dracontides²⁰, was only extorted from the people through fear of the hostile soldiery²¹ by whom they were surrounded. Theramenes had urged the institution of an oligarchy, in the hope that he himself might obtain the chief place under it; but he was wholly deficient in the enterprising spirit and extensive genius requisite for the effective leader of a party; and though it was by party that he sought to rule, it neither raised him, nor could he gain an ascendant over it; he was always trying fresh expedients and failed in all.

The most distinguished amongst the Thirty after Theramenes, whom he soon eclipsed, was Critias, the son of Callaischrus, and related to the house of Solon²². Like Alcibiades, he had once been the pupil of Socrates²³, by whom he had been instructed in the wisdom and arts of political life; and, like Alcibiades, he had soon renounced the principles of his master²⁴. Hence he was characteristically denominated the layman amongst philosophers, and the philosopher amongst laymen²⁵. He possessed various polite accomplishments; he could play on the flute²⁶, was by no means a contemptible poet²⁷,

²⁰ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 157.

²¹ This is the construction I put upon the phrase, *ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ*, Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 2.

²² Concerning his family, see Schol. Plat. Tim. Rubnk. 201. See a correction of the pedigree in Ast, v. Plat. Leb. u. Schrift. p. 17: conf. Heindorf, ad Plat. Charmid. § 3, and Schleiermacher, Plat. 2. 394. In the Charmid. 154. E. and 155. A. speaking of the family of Charmides, the nephew and ward of Critias, (Charmid. 153. A. 154. A.) he says, *πρόρωθεν τὸ καλὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει ἀπὸ τῆς Σόλωνος συγγενείας*, conf. 157. E.

²³ Xenoph. Memorabil. 1. 2. 16.

²⁴ Diog. Laert. 2. 19; Ælian. V. H. 4. 15.

²⁵ Schol. Plat. Tim. 200, Rubnk.: *ἐκαλεῖτο ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις*. Conf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 501, Olear. In Plut. de Superstit. 6. 654, he is coupled with Diagoras as an Atheist.

²⁶ Athen. 4. 184. D.

²⁷ See specimens of his poetry, Plut. Alcib. 33; Cim. 10; Athen. 10. 432.

and was moreover an author, having written a work on the ordinances of Sparta²⁸; he created a number of new words, many of which maintained themselves in subsequent use²⁹. He commenced his political career under the auspices of his father Callaischrus. It is not improbable that he had been one of the associates of Alcibiades, and his flight from Athens seems to have occurred during the trial of the Hermocopidæ³⁰. His talent and predilection for political intrigue are attested by his conduct during his residence in Thessaly, where he sought to inveigle the Penestæ to revolt and to set up a democracy³¹, whilst he did every thing in his power to confirm the oligarchical sentiments of the dynasts, by systematically inveighing against democratic institutions in the sophistical orations which he delivered there in the manner of Gorgias³². He appears to have returned to Athens soon after the fall of the Four Hundred, for he wrote the psephism for the recall of Alcibiades³³. In the exercise of his power he was the most avaricious, violent, and sanguinary of the Thirty³⁴, destroying, without distinction or remorse, all who stood in the way of his selfish designs³⁵, whether friends, benefactors,

D. sqq. I have not yet had an opportunity of availing myself of Bach's Dissertation on the Life and Writings of Critias.

²⁸ Athen. 11. 463. F. 483. B. 486. E. Is it, perhaps, from thence that the statement in Plut. Cim. 16, is borrowed, that Critias said Cimon had postponed the interests of his own country to those of Sparta?

²⁹ Pollux, 6. 31. 38. 153; 7. 177; 8. 25; 9. 17.

³⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 24.

³¹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 36.

³² Philostr. 502.

³³ Plut. Alcib. 33.

³⁴ Xenoph. Mem. 1. 2. 12: *κλεπτίστατος τε καὶ βιαίωτατος*.

³⁵ Philostratus, 501, goes so far as to say, *βουλεύματός τε ἀτόπου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυνελάβανεν, ὡς μηλόβοτος ἢ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανθείη, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης ἐκκενωθεῖσα*. According to this, he must, like Theramenes, have had an understanding with the Spartans even before the capitulation of Athens. That is certain; but that proposal did not emanate from Sparta, but from the Theban Erianthus, Plut. Lys. 15. (Erianthus ap. Schol. Demosth. de Falsa Legat. 157); conf. Isocr. Plat. 524; Xenoph. Hell.

or kindred. Through his efforts, and those of Lysander, Alcibiades fell a sacrifice to oligarchical suspicion, and the relentless hatred of that state which he himself had furnished with arms against his native city, but which he had caused more fatal injury than any of his predecessors³⁶. Critias effected the destruction of Theramenes and persecuted Socrates. The most distinguished of the Thirty, after Critias and Theramenes, were Charicles, whom Aristotle denominates their chief³⁷, Theognis, a composer of frigid tragedies³⁸, Eratosthenes, against whom the yet-extant speech of Lysias was directed, Sophocles, Dracontides³⁹, etc.

The constitution of the Thirty did not abolish all the former authorities. A council was chosen, according to the discretion of the Thirty⁴⁰, chiefly from members of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred⁴¹. Ten Archons were appointed at the Piræus and ten officers in the town⁴², to whom were confided the duties hitherto performed by the officers of police; it appears probable that these

3. 5. 8. Sparta opposed it (Justin, 5. 18) as well as Phocis (Demosth. de Falsa Legat. 361); but it is very certain that Lysander outstripped his native city in iniquity, for he brought forward a proposition in the council of the confederates for the total extinction of the Athenian state. Pausan. 3. 8. 3, says of him and Agis, *κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐ μετὰ Σπαρτιατῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ βούλευμα ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήνεγκαν, ἐκκόψαι προῤῥίζοντας τὰς Ἀθήνας*. Plut. Lys. 15, it is stated that Lysander made a proposition, *ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ*. Critias finally can have concurred in neither of them, for he was desirous of governing in his native city, and that, at least, required that it should continue to subsist.

³⁶ Plut. Alcib. 38. The truth of the statement here contained, that Critias had instigated the Spartans to send a Scytale to Lysander, commanding him to effect the destruction of Alcibiades, cannot, in the face of the conflicting assertion of Ephorus, ap. Diodor. 14. 11, that Pharnabazus was the author of his death, be substantiated by such testimony as that of Isocrates de Big. 618. 619, it is true; but there is considerable internal evidence in its favour.

³⁷ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 4. ³⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acrh. 11.

³⁹ See the whole list in Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 2.

⁴⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 12. ⁴¹ Lysias adv. Agorat. 495.

⁴² Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 324. D; Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 38 and 19, with Schneider's note; conf. Plut. Lysand. 15; Bekker, Anecd. 235.

replaced the former Eleven, who no longer constituted a distinct official body⁴³. Amongst the former were Molpis⁴⁴, and Charmides⁴⁵ the son of Glaucon. They now declared their resolution to expel all persons of dishonest character, and to endeavour to lead back the citizens to justice and virtue⁴⁶, whereupon a number of sycophants were put to death⁴⁷. A list of three thousand was drawn up from the whole body of citizens⁴⁸, and these alone were permitted to carry arms; all the rest (*οἱ ἔξω καταλόγου*) were disarmed, the munitions of war were deposited in the citadel⁴⁹, and they themselves forbidden to reside in the city⁵⁰. No one of these three thousand could be punished with death, except by a decree of the council; the Thirty alone were entitled to pronounce sentence on the remainder⁵¹. Lysander sent a garrison, under the Harmost Callibius, to protect the Thirty, besides which a troop of horse was formed from the Athenian youth, who were to receive regular pay⁵². It is in the nature of all tyrannies to make the enslaved people support the garrisons by which they are held in subjection, and this was the case here. The exactions which flowed from this state of things were soon combined with murder and de-

⁴³ Comp. Ullrich; Four Dialogues of Plato, second edit. Berl. 1821, p. 259. 260. n. ⁴⁴ Harpocr. Μόλπις.

⁴⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 19. Concerning the confusion between these Ten and the Ten who succeeded the Thirty, see below, § 71. n. 7.

⁴⁶ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 385: *χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι*.

⁴⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 12; comp. Diodor. 14. 4.

⁴⁸ Isocrates adv. Callim. 655, and adv. Euthynus, 701, somewhat singularly says, *εἰς τὸν μετὰ Πεισάνδρου κατάλογον*, in contradistinction to the *κατάλογος* of the Thirty; but these words are designed to mark the connection between the lists of the two oligarchies, and the nullity of the *κατάλογος* of the restored democracy in the opinion of the Thirty.

⁴⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 20.

⁵⁰ Lysias de Philon. Dokimas, 873.

⁵¹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 52.

⁵² Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 13.

struction. The rich Metœci were first marked out for slaughter; upon the motion of Pison and Theognis, each of the Thirty selected one for execution⁵³. It was not long before the exterminating sword was raised against the citizens themselves; "men's lives were held at nought—to amass riches was the chief object⁵⁴." The proceedings were no less remarkable for informality⁵⁵ than injustice; Batrachus and Æschylides are recorded amongst the wicked and bloodstained accusers of the time⁵⁶. Persons were even forbidden to follow the corpses of their murdered relatives⁵⁷. The whole number of those who were executed is stated at fourteen hundred, but the amount is probably exaggerated⁵⁸; amongst them were numerous persons of distinction, as Niceratus the son of Nicias, doubtless because he was wealthy; Antiphon, who had kept two triremes; Leon the Salaminian⁵⁹, etc. The more effectually to crush the spirit of the democracy, they resolved to destroy its two principal levers, navigation and oratory. The dockyards, which had been constructed at an expense of eleven thousand talents, were sold for three⁶⁰, or rather, that was the price agreed upon for their demolition. At the proposal of Critias and Charicles, all instruction in oratory was prohibited⁶¹, not so much on account of Critias' enmity to Socrates, as in compliance with the invariable practice of oligarchy; the orators' pulpit on the Pnyx, which

⁵³ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 21. 40; Lysias adv. Eratosth. 386; Diodor. 14. 5, has sixty.

⁵⁴ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 387.

⁵⁵ Lysias adv. Agor. 387.

⁵⁶ Lysias adv. Andoc. 242; adv. Eratosth. 415.

⁵⁷ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 628.

⁵⁸ Diog. Laert. 7. 5.

⁵⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 38—40. Concerning this Antiphon, the son of Lysidionides, not the Rhamnusian, see § 65. n. 143.

⁶⁰ Isocrat. Areop. 239.

⁶¹ Xenoph. Memorab. 1. 2. 31.

had commanded a view of the sea, was now turned towards the land-side, in order that that inspiring spectacle might no longer call up democratic emotions⁶².

Whilst the number of the fugitives increased, and they were preparing to effect their return by force of arms, the dynasts fell out amongst themselves. Theramenes felt that, in Critias, he had to contend with an antagonist who was an overmatch for him, and willing to try the effect of a change of character, began, as amongst the Four Hundred, to intrigue with the demus. But Critias boldly and steadily advanced upon his path of blood, and found little difficulty in effecting the destruction of his adversary. The fortitude with which the latter met death⁶³, cannot reconcile us to the iniquities of his life; though it is on that account that he was overrated by the ancients, who held that species of fortitude in peculiar honour, and therefore themselves so frequently defied the terrors of death by suicide; this is perceptible in the remarks of Aristotle⁶⁴ and Cicero⁶⁵, of whom the latter offers a cruel insult to the memory of Socrates, when he couples his name with that of Theramenes⁶⁶.

The history of the manner in which the chief power passed from the Thirty to the Ten must be reserved for the following chapter⁶⁷.

⁶² Plut. Themist. 19.

⁶³ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 56.

⁶⁴ Plut. Nic. 2: — τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν, κ. τ. λ., viz. Nicias, Thucydides, the son of Milesias, and Theramenes.

⁶⁵ Qu. Tuscul. 1. 40: Quam me delectat Theramenes, etc.

⁶⁶ Tuscul. 1. 42: Sed quid ego Socratem, aut Theramenem, præstantes viros virtutis et sapientiæ gloria, commemoro, etc.

⁶⁷ See § 71.

2. ELIS⁶⁸.

The defection from the Spartan confederacy during the Peloponnesian war, had put an end to the ancient aristocracy. But upon the rupture with Sparta, Ol. 94. 3; 401. B. C., the citizens of distinction, headed by Xenias the guest of the latter state, endeavoured, in the second year of the war, to overthrow the democracy⁶⁹, but were overpowered by the demus, under the command of Thrasydæus. Meanwhile the Lepreatians, who had joined the ranks of Sparta during the Peloponnesian war⁷⁰, and had some Brasidæans and Neodamodes quartered upon them as a garrison or as Epœci⁷¹, besides Macistians, and afterwards other tributaries of the Spartans, had gone over to the enemy. The chief of their perfidious demands was for the emancipation of the towns of the Periœci, by which we are to understand the tributary places in Triphylia, as well as the dependent townships in Pisatis, consequently without the limits of Elis proper (κοιλίη). Elis was constrained to purchase peace by granting freedom to the greater part of those towns it had hitherto held in subjection, such as those of Triphylia, the most considerable of which were Lepreum and Macistus, whilst Lasion was claimed by the Arcadians, Cyllene in Elis, Phrixa, Acrorea, Amphidoli, Marganeis, Epitalium, Leprina, and Epeum in Pisatis⁷². Nevertheless Pisa, which was divided into villages, and Olympia

⁶⁸ Conf. above, § 59. n. 3.⁶⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 27; Paus. 3. 8. 2: — ἐπανάστη τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσι. Xenias was very rich according to Xenophon, ubi sup.⁷⁰ See above, § 62. n. 96.⁷¹ Thucyd. 5. 34.⁷² Xenoph. Hell. 3. 2. 30.

SPARTAN CONSTITUTIONS. PHLIUS. § 69. 323

remained subject to Elis⁷³, after Olymp. 50. 1; 580. B. C. At the same time, as is proved by subsequent events, the oligarchical party obtained the reins of power. To the band of the Three Hundred⁷⁴ that of the Four Hundred⁷⁵, which was probably identical with the knights⁷⁶, seems to have been added about this time.

3. MANTINEA.

The Dioikismus⁷⁷ in Olymp. 98. 3; 386. B. C., was immediately followed by the introduction of oligarchical institutions; the villages into which the common capital had been resolved, received chief magistrates belonging to the oligarchical and Spartan faction, and, in the words of Xenophon, rejoiced in the new order of things by which the chief power was secured to the best in the state, (βέλτιστοι)⁷⁸!

4. PHLIUS.

The oligarchs were driven out during the Corinthian war; on which account Phlius did not fight under the banners of Sparta⁷⁹. The refugees applied to Sparta, but she did not assist in effecting their return; even when Phlius, dreading the invasion of Iphicrates, opened its gates to the Spartans, they left the constitution and laws as they found them, and quitted the town

⁷³ Xenoph. 3. 2. 31. Sparta declared the Pisatans, as χωρίτας, unfit to preside at the Olympic festival.⁷⁴ These are mentioned by Thucydides — ἐκ τῆς κοίτης Ἡλίδος τριακοσίους λογάδας, 2. 25.⁷⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 13. 16.⁷⁶ See § 68. n. 83.⁷⁷ See below, § 73. n. 46.⁷⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 7: — ἤδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις — ξυνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κομῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον, ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο.⁷⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 15; 4. 2. 16.

without molesting the inhabitants⁸⁰. But after the dismemberment of Mantinea the Ephors commanded the Phliasians to suffer the fugitives to return without obstruction. These not only complied with the injunction, but also promised to restore to them their estates, and to indemnify out of the public treasury the persons by whom they had been purchased, and to refer all disputes to legal adjudication⁸¹. But these attempts at reconciliation proved abortive; the refugees insisted upon having their demands investigated by an impartial tribunal, whilst the demus claimed the right of deciding upon them itself⁸². This led to fresh complaints on the part of the fugitives in Sparta, and to the infliction of further fines; at length when the Cadmea was in the power of Sparta, Agesilaus led an army of Spartans against Phlius, and had every reason to be satisfied with the results of his expedition⁸³. The Phliasians made a desperate resistance: the demagogue, Delphion, resolutely defended the place amidst the horrors of famine, till it was at length compelled to surrender in Ol. 100. 2; 379. B. C.; Agesilaus left a garrison there until a hundred men, partly fugitives, and partly such as had remained in the town, and were invested with sovereign powers, should have pronounced sentence of life and death upon the inhabitants, and completed their task of framing new laws⁸⁴. As might naturally be expected, oligarchy was now introduced, and was maintained during the Boeotian war.

⁸⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 15, 16.⁸¹ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 10.⁸² Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 21—25.⁸³ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 8—10.⁸⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 11—17.

5. CORINTH.

After the peace of Nicias had re-established a friendly feeling between Sparta and Corinth, the latter was governed by the Spartan party; this was not merely a consequence of its political system, by which the reciprocal dependence between the more extended commerce of the rich, and the trades and crafts of the inferior members of the state, prevented the usual marked distinctions between the orders and the animosities they engendered, but also arose, in a great measure, from the hatred it bore to Athens; however, there is no doubt that even here oligarchy greatly preponderated over democracy⁸⁵. After the Peloponnesian war there arose a counter-party, which brought about a defection from Sparta. Its leaders were Timolaus and Polyantbes⁸⁶. From that time a decided democracy, the chief support of which was Argos⁸⁷, existed in Corinth. After the victory of Agesilaus, and his arrival in the Peloponnesus, the Laco-nistæ⁸⁸ held occasional meetings, and aroused the suspicion of the adverse party, who formed the horrible project of murdering them. On the last day of the festival Eucleia, they were surprised and slaughtered, no quarter was granted, not even those who had taken refuge in the sanc-

⁸⁵ This is evident from Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 6.⁸⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 1.⁸⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 6, says of the oligarchs: αἰσθόμενοι ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὄρους (towards Argos) ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἀργὸς ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ μετέχειν, κ. τ. λ.⁸⁸ In Xenoph. 4. 4. 3, they are again called οἱ βέλτιστοι as well as οἱ πλείστοι (?). Xenophon's narrative of their cabals is a remarkable example of the manner in which history becomes distorted, when viewed through the medium of party feelings.

tuary being spared; a hundred and twenty perished in this butchery⁸⁹, five hundred escaped, and with the assistance of the Spartans made war upon their native city⁹⁰, which was defended by a garrison composed of Argives and other allies, and by the mercenary soldiers of Iphicrates; Lechæum was surprised and betrayed into the hands of the enemy⁹¹, who also temporarily occupied the Corinthian towns Crommyon, Epieicia, and Sidus, so that the territory of Corinth was now almost confined to the city itself. But the peace of Antalcidas does not seem to have secured Autonomia to these places, and it is probable that, through the aid of Sparta, the oligarchs again placed themselves at the helm, whilst the Argive garrison of Acro-Corinth was sent back to its own country.

6. THEBES.

Party feuds arose here immediately after the Peloponnesian war. The democrats were headed by Ismenias, the friend of Thrasybulus⁹², and by Androclides, who were afterwards joined by Pelopidas⁹³. The hostility of the Thebans to Athens subsided, and hatred to Sparta supplied its place. At the beginning of the Corinthian war, which had been promoted by the efforts of the above-mentioned chiefs⁹⁴, the ascendant of the democrats

⁸⁹ With Xenoph. ubi sup., conf. Diod. 14. 86, whose account, though shorter, is more satisfactory.

⁹⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 5, sqq.; 4. 5. 19.

⁹¹ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 4. 7. Still more explicitly Diod. 14. 86. To this refers *ἐν Λεχαιῶν προδοσία*. Plat. Menex. 245, E., Andoc. de Pac. cum Spar. 98.

⁹² See § 68. n. 15. Compare Schleiermacher, Plat. 2. 1. 537, and Socher (üb Platon's Schr.) on the Menon.

⁹³ Plut. Pelop. 5. Plutarch says *ἑταιρείαν—φιλελεύθερον ἄμα καὶ δημοκρατικὴν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν*.

⁹⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 1; Paus. 3. 9. 5; Plut. Lys. 27.

became firmly established. The constitution itself, which had always been adapted to a democracy, and which the dynasts alone had prevented from expanding into life and vigour, underwent no change. The dynasts found a suitable instrument for their designs in the Spartan Phœbidas, and the capture of the Cadmea was followed by the downfall of the democracy; Ismenias was executed⁹⁵, and Archias, Leontiades, Philip, and Hypates⁹⁶ now became the heads of the oligarchical government. Their character and proceedings were like those of the Thirty in Athens—despotic, lawless, avaricious, and cruel. Nor do the forms of the constitution seem to have been altered even now, as the regular offices of state, particularly that of Polemarch⁹⁷, were administered by the dynasts; but civil life and civil liberty were extinct in Thebes.

Sparta likewise set up dynasties⁹⁸ in those places, which the provisions of the peace of Antalcidas had separated from Thebes, e. g., Thespiæ, etc. The constitution of Orchomenus seems to have been remarkable for oligarchical stability.

Of the other states which were dependent upon Sparta, Hermione, Trœzen, and Halieis maintained their hereditary and firmly-rooted aristocracy, whilst Sicyon and Achaia adhered to the oligarchy introduced by Sparta. No exact particulars are known of Tegea and Phocis.

But in all the states on which oligarchy had been forcibly obtruded, the despots acknowledged no

⁹⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 25. 36.

⁹⁶ Plut. Pelop. 5. 11; Xenoph. 5. 4. 2; 7. 3. 7.

⁹⁷ Leontiades was already Polemarch when Phœbidas took the Cadmea. Xenoph. 5. 2. 30. Archias and Philip held the office afterwards. Plut. Pelop. 7.

⁹⁸ Xenoph. 5. 4. 46.

other law than that of force, while Sparta afforded her countenance and support to the outrages they committed⁹⁹. Hence, the warmest lovers of liberty among the citizens and demagogues sought safety in flight, whilst the refugees assembled in large numbers, and looked forward with impatience to the moment for assailing their domestic tyrants and Sparta; many towns were deserted by more than half their citizens. It was natural that despotisms such as these should fall, immediately they were attacked.

III. THE INTERIOR OF SPARTA.

§ 70. The passage of Thucydides cited above¹, furnishes us with an appropriate motto for the ensuing exposition: "Permanent usages are suited to a peaceful state, but those which are compelled to engage in vast undertakings, require a corresponding degree of inventive power." Now Sparta had quitted the beaten path of ancient custom, and entered upon a more extensive field of enterprise, to which she had been stimulated by Alcibiades the stranger, and in which success could only be ensured by qualities like his, not by the ancient Spartan virtues; moreover, the inevitable result of the novel and untried experiment of a naval hegemony was the destruction of the old Spartan supremacy.

The above remark is the more applicable to Sparta as the intrinsic essence and substance of the citizenship rapidly and alarmingly declined,

⁹⁹ The Athenian Autocles, Xenophon. Hell. 6. 3. 8:—*τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελείσθαι οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἀρχῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βίᾳ κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις.* Conf. Diodor. 15. 5.

¹ Thuc. 1. 71. See above, § 55. n. 5.

while every assault from without shook to their centre, those forced and unnatural relations which existed in her internal system, and which the lapse of centuries had been unable to consolidate. An attempt was indeed made to supply the deficiency in the ranks of the citizens, by raising inferior classes of inhabitants to the enjoyment of superior rights; but, as was observed, in treating of the nature of the various classes of persons chosen for that purpose², these were not endowed with the full and entire rights of citizenship, which alone formed the basis of the institutions of Lycurgus, and by which alone he intended that they should be represented and maintained. As the citizens of ancient extraction decreased, the regulations affecting landed property, which had constituted one of the main props of the Lycurgan citizenship, fell into disuse. The law concerning heiresses gave rise to a very unequal distribution of property; the estates of the ancient citizens who had been swept off by war were not bestowed upon new citizens, in accordance with the ancient principles of the constitution, and through a mean-spirited jealousy of the naturalized citizens, the state would not act up to the spirit of the law, by taking the surplus property into its own hands, and redistributing it amongst deserving individuals. Hence, the accumulation of private property was encouraged to a degree before unknown; a great part of it came into the hands of females³, who grew more licentious, noisy, and importunate as their wealth increased⁴, whilst the neglect of female continence with which

² See § 66.

³ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 11.

⁴ Ibid. 2. 6. 7. Conf. Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 28; Plut. Ages. 31.

Lycurgus appears to have been unjustly charged⁵, gained ground with the disregard of legal enactments. But in the time of Agesilaus an incurable wound was inflicted upon the laws for the regulation of property by the enactment of the Ephor Epitadeus, by which persons were authorized to make a donation of their landed property to whomsoever they pleased⁶, whereby the state was wholly deprived of the little power it had still retained of rewarding the merits of new citizens by grants of land, and property entirely diverted from its legitimate objects. This stood in close connection with the equally injurious permission to introduce the precious metals⁷ in any quantity, which an oracle declared to be the most destructive of all the evils that befel Sparta⁸. After Sparta had assumed the maritime supremacy once possessed by Athens she levied the contributions which had been exacted by that state, and which brought her in an annual revenue of upwards of a thousand talents⁹. Lysander and Agesilaus brought home abundance of treasure which they had acquired in war; the latter dedicated a hundred talents to the Delphic Apollo, as the tenth part of his Asiatic spoil¹⁰. This impaired the manhood and courage of individuals, the confidence they inspired, and the moral force of the law,

⁵ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 5.

⁶ Plut. Agis. 5: ἐξείναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλῆρον, ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι, καὶ ζῶντα δοῦναι, καὶ καταλείπειν διατιθέμενον. Conf. on this law Manso, Sparta, 1. 2. 152; 3. 1. 263, sqq.; Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 660. n. 94; Müller, Dor. 2. 194, sqq.

⁷ Plut. Lysand. 17. But it must be observed, that there were gold and silver in Sparta before Lysander brought home the treasure he had collected in war.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 623: ἡ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν δλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν.

⁹ Diod. 14. 10.

¹⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 4. 3. 21.

without increasing the effective power of the state. It did not even furnish it with the means of purchasing the services of strangers; for in spite of its large revenue the public treasury was by no means well filled¹¹, which must be chiefly attributed to the inability of the public officers to adapt the financial system to the new order of things, and above all to the total absence of public honesty. Gylippus was the first who sullied the lustre of his exploits by his notorious peculations¹². What availed the law forbidding private individuals to possess the precious metals¹³? At first, those who possessed silver or gold, through fear of punishment, deposited their treasures in foreign countries, and particularly in Arcadia¹⁴; the state itself was not long before it sanctioned their possession by imposing heavy fines, for instance, no less a sum than a hundred thousand drachmas on Phœbidas¹⁵. The love of gain was accompanied by an increased passion for pleasure and dissipation. This operated upon the public discipline still more injuriously than the general avarice itself, and sapped the very foundations of the citizenship. During a protracted residence in foreign countries the warrior had ample opportunities of indulging in illicit pleasures; whilst the restrictions caused by the necessity of outwardly observing the laws, gradually estranged the minds of the citizens from their true spirit; the effect of this was, that while they securely revelled in luxury abroad, they pur-

¹¹ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 23, who indeed might affirm this with still more truth of his age.

¹² Plut. Lys. 16; Diod. 13. 106.

¹³ Plut. Lys. 16.

¹⁴ Athen. 233, F.

¹⁵ Plut. Pelop. 6; conf. Müller, Dor. 2. 210. 211.

sued it with equal avidity in secret at home¹⁶. Add to this that the laws gradually lost their security and sanction, the relation of political life to religion became powerless, and faith and confidence were extinguished. The Spartans deliberated at a meeting at Delphi concerning a peace, without consulting the oracle¹⁷. Agesilaus, the favourite hero of the pious Xenophon, did not neglect to consult appearances it is true, but he made his devotion yield to his policy¹⁸, and his policy to his passions.

Amidst this general decline of morality and national feeling, it was natural that the discordances which had arisen in the legal position of the various members of the commonwealth, should produce constantly-increasing exasperation and animosity. The remnant of the ancient citizens still continued to engross all political power, and to assert the most arrogant pretensions. The Ephors stretched out their Briarean arms, crushed every attempt at independent agency in a functionary, and suppressed all freedom of opinion and speech, on the abuses by which the public system was disgraced. Ephors themselves or their deputies, accompanied the general to the field, or went thither to examine his conduct as before¹⁹. But notwithstanding the power they possessed, they did nothing to fill up the chasm which divided the conflicting elements

¹⁶ Aristot. Pol. 2. 6. 16. It is impossible not to recognize an allusion to the change in the condition of Sparta in Plat. de Repub. 8. 547. 548.

¹⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 27: — τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν κοινῶσαντο — αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλευόντο.

¹⁸ Agesilaus had received just such a response as he desired from the oracle in Olympia; the Ephors ordered him to consult that in Delphi too; he asked whether the son considered advisable what the father did. Plut. Apophth. 6. 773.

¹⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 2. ubi sup.

of the state, and to bring worth, services, and civil rights, into just harmony and proportion. Hence, the indignation of such as had been oppressed and shut out from preferment became ungovernable; Cinadon declared that they detested the Homoioi to such a degree, that they could devour them raw²⁰. Resistance was made in various quarters to the encroachments of these degenerate representatives of the privileged orders. First and foremost by those brave men who had worked their way from an humble station by their talents and courage, and had not been endowed by the state with rights proportioned to the important services they had rendered it, on which account they were eager to break down the barriers which excluded them from rank and privilege. Secondly, by the original chiefs of the government, the kings, whose power was entirely broken, and who were subjected to frequent and bitter mortifications from the overbearing insolence of the Ephors, who even went so far as to try them for their lives²¹. Nevertheless, the third Agis was the first king who attempted a restoration of the ancient constitution. Amongst the first class above described we may number Brasidas, though he had neither the inclination to plot against the constitution, nor the same causes for dissatisfaction as the new citizens; the same may be observed of Dercyllidas, who was as crafty and scheming²²

²⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 3. 20: — οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.

²¹ The attacks upon the kingly power began before the Persian war; and they derived strength from the cabals of the kings and the royalists. Hence the long lists of insulted princes: Demaratus obliged to fly, Leutychidas in exile at Tegea, Olymp. 77. 4, Pleistoanax banished, Olymp. 83. 4, his son Pausanias condemned to death and forced to fly to Tegea, Olymp. 96. 2.

²² Ephor. ap. Ath. 11. 500. C.: ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ Λακωνικὸν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ πανούργον, κ. τ. λ.

as the other was bold and energetic. A more decided hostility to existing institutions was displayed by Lysander, who had nothing of the Spartan character, but its abstinence from sensual pleasures and its perfidy²³, and whilst he followed the steps of Alcibiades in his attempts to accustom the Spartans to the sea, he introduced all sorts of dangerous innovations, and corrupted the minds of the people who confided in him, as long as they needed his assistance. Pausanias justly declares, that with all his victories he rather injured than benefited his country²⁴. Formed by nature to be the flatterer of the great²⁵, he prevailed upon the youthful Cyrus to grant him considerable subsidies: but Sparta degraded herself; and the noble indignation of Callicratidas at the haughtiness with which that prince (a Barbarian) treated him (a Greek) the commander-in-chief and representative of his nation²⁶, shows how low Sparta had sunk. Besides this, after their necessities were supplied, they began to feel a rapacious craving for riches, which all the treasures of Persia were not able to satisfy. Still, in spite of the corruption of the people, and the benefits he had conferred upon his countrymen by enabling them to maintain their hegemony, Lysander could not succeed in removing those constitutional impediments by which he was excluded from the chief direction of affairs at home; they accepted his gifts, contented themselves with the old establishments, and soon grew weary

²³ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 12. 543. B. Manso, Sparta, 3. 2. 44, sqq.

²⁴ Pausan. 9. 33. 6. ²⁵ Plut. Lys. 2: *θεραπευτικός τῶν δυνατῶν*.

²⁶ See the admirable description in Plut. Lys. 6; conf. Xenoph. 1. 6. 6. 7, who, indeed, only mentions the order of Cyrus, that Callicratidas should wait two days, but this is sufficient.

of the presumption of the haughty donor. Hence resulted collisions between the chiefs of the state and Lysander; his endeavours were counteracted by king Pausanias²⁷, and with still greater effect by Agesilaus, who with the galling ridicule and insolence which a Spartan so well knew how to employ, subjected him to various mortifications, and reduced him to the level of a common citizen²⁸. Lysander is said hereupon to have conceived the design of subverting the constitution²⁹, or at any rate of facilitating access to the kingly office. On the other hand, Cinadon an ancient Spartan in virtue and courage, was inspired by loftier aims than Lysander; he strove to obtain for himself and his companions the full rights of citizenship, and resolved not to occupy a lower position in the political scale than those who had not performed more than himself. But he had the misfortune not to belong to the Homoioi. Wherefore leaguings with those who laboured under like disabilities with himself, he determined to extort by force that which was unjustly withheld; but, before the plot was ripe was for execution, Cinadon and his companions were discovered and condemned to die an ignominious death³⁰, Olymp. 95. 4; 397. B. C.

These two were opposed by Agesilaus, at that time the apparent champion of the constitution, and for more than a quarter of a century the main-spring of the political system. Trained up in the ancient Spartan discipline, he rigidly adhered to the

²⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 29.

²⁸ Plut. Lys. 23; Ages. 8. Agesilaus made him his *κρηδαιτής*.

²⁹ Plut. Lys. 24. 25. 31; Ages. 20; Lacon. Apophth. 5. 796. 797; Diod. 14. 3.

³⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 5. 11: *μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγοντο*.

external observances enjoined by the laws³¹; which, added to his personal bravery, military talents, affability to inferiors, and a prudent pliancy towards the Ephors³², gained him the favour and attachment of all ranks of the community. In less than a year after his accession he quelled the conspiracy of Cinadon, and then began to counteract the designs of Lysander. Lysander's staunchest adherents were without Sparta amongst the Decarchs, some of whom had gone so far as to raise altars and offer up sacrifices to him³³, and so long as Sparta thought fit to assert the more extended circle of her hegemony, she could not dispense with the aid of Lysander and his creatures. But Agesilaus ought to have endeavoured to replace the Spartan system upon its former secure basis; instead of this, he opposed the schemes of Lysander in the hope of being able to occupy that place which the personal qualities of the latter enabled him to fill, on which account he strove to maintain the foreign empire of the state, and even went beyond Lysander in his efforts to extend it.

The calamities which resulted to Sparta from the measures of Agesilaus, were but ill-disguised beneath the tinsel and glare of his victories. The chief effect of his military virtues, which blinded the judgment of Xenophon, was to tempt a state in need of internal reform and invigoration to embark in enterprises, which could only end in total exhaustion. To gratify his passion for war, his thirst of fame, and above all, his hatred to Thebes, he

³¹ Plut. Ages. 3. 19.

³² Plut. Ages. 4.

³³ Plut. Lys. 18 from Duris. This must merely be referred to heroic worship, like that of a *κρίστης*, as in the case of Brasidas, and the *πρώτη* — *ἐκείνη* — *ὡς θεῶ* must be limited accordingly.

conducted Sparta, who now began to quit the substance for the shadow, and had grown insensible to the importance of fortifying herself by the virtues of her citizens at home—by a path of blood and treachery, to a height where the ground sunk from beneath his feet. His conduct at home was by no means free from reproach, and he differed from Agis at a later period, who firmly resisted all encroachments upon the royal dignity. He truckled to the Ephors, in order to deter them from throwing obstacles in his way³⁴, and he was punished by them for courting the favour of the citizens³⁵. Nevertheless, popular opinion was so entirely with him, that contrary to all precedent, he was entrusted with the command of the fleet³⁶. That he had a party against him, may be collected from various passages in the ancient writers³⁷. Upon the occasion of his campaign to compel the Phliasians to receive back the oligarchs they had expelled, many persons declared that it was impolitic to make war upon a city containing five thousand inhabitants, for the sake of a few refugees³⁸. Antalcidas likewise judiciously observed, when Agesilaus had been wounded in an engagement with the Thebans, that he now reaped the fruits of the instructions, which he had given them in the art of war by his campaigns³⁹. Nevertheless, he had the multitude on his side, and was supported by the spirit of his age. Thus by entangling

³⁴ Aristotle probably refers to him when he says, Pol. 2. 6. 14, *δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς* (the Ephors) *ἡναγκάζοντο καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς*.

³⁵ Plut. Ages. 4. 28.

³⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 27; Plut. Ages. 10.

³⁷ See at large Plut. Ages. 26.

³⁸ Xenoph. 5. 3. 16.

³⁹ Plut. Ages. 26: *Ἡ καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς μὴδ' ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας*. Conf. Lacon. Apophth. 6. 801.

Sparta in quarrels and rash enterprises, he exposed her to a series of violent shocks, which at length so enfeebled her, that after having beheld the downfall of her foreign despotism, she began to tremble for the existence of her power at home. And yet this very Agesilaus declined the command of the army after the liberation of the Cadmea, lest it should be said that he had involved the state in disputes, by assisting the dynasts ⁴⁰!

B. The victory of Democracy over the Hegemony and Oligarchical system of Sparta.

I. THE NEW DEMOCRACY OF ATHENS FROM ITS RESTORATION TO THE TIME OF PHILIP.

§ 71. We left Athens under the tyranny of the Thirty. The refugees and exiles having assembled in large numbers, the boldest amongst them, under the command of Thrasybulus, attacked and defeated the soldiers of the Thirty, took up their position in the Piræus, repulsed the assaults of the enemy, and killed Critias and others of their chiefs¹. This disheartened the tyrants and restored courage to the people, who now openly revolted. The Thirty, with the exception of Phidon and Erasthenes², escaped to Eleusis, from whence, and from Salamis, three hundred of the most independent inhabitants had been led out and put to death³. Democracy, however, was not immediately restored, but on account of the numerous parti-

⁴⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 13:—εὐ εἰδώς, ὅτι, εἰ στρατηγὸν, λέξιαν οἱ πολῖται, ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσει τοῖς τυράννοις, πρᾶγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχει.

¹ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 1—19.

² Lysias adv. Eratosth. 420.

³ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 8—10; Diodor. 14. 32; Lysias adv. Eratosth. 418; adv. Agor. 450.

sans of the oligarchs and the apprehensions entertained of Sparta, the supreme power was confided to ten men, called Decaduchi⁴, who had been chosen from the ten Phylæ⁵, and in this respect might be compared with Strategi or other officers of the former democracy, and who moreover called themselves the sworn enemies of Critias; these, however, very soon proved that they were resolved to form a decarchy, upon the same principle as those of Lysander. One of them, Phidon, had belonged to the Thirty⁶. They did not, it is true, carry on a correspondence with that body in Eleusis, but applied to Sparta and to Lysander for assistance. It has been already stated, that king Pausanias and the Ephors who accompanied him, felt no inclination to maintain the adherents of that chief, instead of which, they interposed and brought about a reconciliation, between those in the Piræus and those in the city. None were considered enemies of the state but the Thirty in Eleusis, together with the Eleven and the Ten from the Piræus, who appear to have followed them⁷. The Thirty now armed, but their leaders soon fell into the hands of the Athenians, who put them to death⁸.

⁴ Harpocr. δέκα, from Androtion and Lysias.

⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 2. 24.

⁶ Lysias adv. Eratosth. 420.

⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 38. The ten Decaduchi, and the ten officers in the Piræus during the government of the Thirty, are confounded with each other. Corn. Nep. Thrasyb. 3, says,—ne qui præter triginta tyrannos et decem, qui postea prætores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio, etc. But against this we have the authority of Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 38:—ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πειραιεὶ ἀρχόντων δέκα. Amongst the grammarians Harpocration is in error in v. Μόλπις—ὁ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἱ δ' ἄρα μετὰ τοῦς τριάκοντα δέκα ἀρχοντες ἦρχον ἐν Πειραιεὶ, κ. τ. λ., as well as Photius in v. Μόλπης, conf. Bekk. Anecd. 235, in which passages the real sense requires κατά, for after the Thirty there were no decemvirs in the democratic Piræus, see Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 25, sqq. The error is pointed out by Taylor, Vit. Lys. 136. 137; Morus ad Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 1; Wyttenb. ad Eclog. Hist. 410, sqq.

⁸ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 43.

Through the exertions of Thrasybulus⁹ and his counsellor Archinus¹⁰, an amnesty was now proclaimed, from which none were excluded but the persons above mentioned, and those only in case they refused to give an account of their conduct¹¹; that the Athenians were capable of exercising such command over themselves, considering the exasperation of the numerous victims of the oppressions and misuse of the dynasts, and the vindictive character of the Greeks generally¹², is, indeed, a circumstance calculated to call forth all the surprise and admiration which the ancients testify in narrating it¹³. A very honourable feature in the conduct of the victors was, that the amnesty was extended to the children of the Thirty, who were, accordingly, permitted to remain in the town¹⁴. It was then enacted that the Bule should refuse to receive any endeixis or apagoge relating to past events; a clause to this effect was appended to the oath of the Buleutæ¹⁵. The judges took a similar oath¹⁶. Those who had served in the cavalry of the Thirty were compelled to refund their pay¹⁷, and tables containing their names were publicly exhibited¹⁸. The demus afterwards considered it a gain to send them to the army in

⁹ Corn. Nep. Thrasyb. 3.

¹⁰ Taylor, Vit. Lys. 6. 141. 142.

¹¹ Andoc. de Myster. 43, has the ὅρκος: Καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά (Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 38, has the δέκα besides, see above, and this must be added; conf. Ullrich. Four Dialogues of Plato, 260)· οὐδὲ τούτων, ὅς ἂν ἐθέλοι εὐθύναι δίδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥς ἤρξεν.

¹² Critias, ap. Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 32, declares, Καὶ εἰσι μὲν δῆπον πᾶσαι ἐταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι.

¹³ See the passages in Taylor, Vit. Lys. 143. n. 11.

¹⁴ Demosth. adv. Boeot. de Dot. 1018. 4. 5;—οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν τριάκοντα νῦν φυγαδεύσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἠξιώσατε.

¹⁵ Andoc. ubi sup.; καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ (e conj. Reisk.) πείσομαι· ψηφισῶμαι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους.

¹⁶ Lysias adv. Mantith. 574; conf. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 269.

¹⁷ Lysias de Evand. Dokimas, 795.

Asia¹⁹. In order to prevent sycophancy from defeating the provisions of the amnesty, Archinus had caused a resolution to be passed, which secured to the accused peculiar advantages in conducting his defence²⁰; but this could not subdue the passion of the Athenians for litigation; a number of lawsuits soon proclaimed the inefficacy of the amnesty; prosecutors even appeared against the former Four Hundred²¹, and it was one of the charges against Socrates, that he had been the instructor of Critias²².

THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY.

*The Archonship of Euclid*²³.

Even before the total overthrow of the oligarchs and the declaration of the amnesty, Archons had been chosen²⁴, Euclid being Eponymus, Ol. 94. 2; 403. B. C. The archonship of Euclid forms a most important epoch in the civil annals of the Athenians, as its effects were perceptible in every object of public life, from the constitution and laws down to the very alphabet; every thing bears the impress of regeneration, and whatever was not stamped afresh fell into disuse. The order of things before Euclid, and that which subsisted after him, are contrasted as the old and new time²⁵.

¹⁹ See § 68. n. 29.

²⁰ Isocrat. adv. Callim. 618; νόμον ἐθεσθε, ἂν τις δικάζεται παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐξεῖναι τῷ φεύγοντι παραγράφασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας περὶ τούτου πρῶτον εἰσάγειν, λέγειν δὲ πρότερον τὸν παραγραφάμενον, κ. τ. λ.

²¹ Lysias adv. Nicom. 844.

²² Æschin. in Timocr. 169.

²³ Compare at large Taylor, Vit. Lys. 140, sqq.

²⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 2. 4. 43. The final reconciliation appears to have been effected in the month Boedromion; see Plut. de Gloriâ Ath. ap. Taylor, Vit. Lys. 139.

²⁵ 'Απ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος, Demosth. in Macart. 1067. 14, sqq., required, in strictness, to be added to every law. On the period before Euclid as the

The oligarchs had disorganized the whole social system, and the re-establishment of the democracy was a task by no means easy of accomplishment; the adherents of the oligarchy were still numerous, and sought to preserve as many of the oligarchical institutions as they possibly could, in order to avert the dangers they apprehended from democratic commotions. Hence Phormisius proposed, that none but landholders should be admitted to a share in the government. This measure, which would have excluded five thousand citizens from participation in the administration, was rejected²⁶. On the other hand, the psephism proposed by Tisamenus, for appointing twenty men, invested with provisional authority, to determine upon the plan of administration²⁷, was adopted; a Bule was then elected, and five hundred Nomothetæ appointed to restore, or, in case of need, to remodel the constitution and laws of Solon. These ordinances were hereupon revived with all the democratic additions which had been made to them by Clisthenes and other legislators. The psephism of Demophantus was designed to strengthen the democracy, by awarding the punishment of death to any one who should be declared guilty of aspiring to tyranny²⁸; and this was rendered still more solemn and emphatic by the oath of the Phyletæ and Demotæ to kill the culprit²⁹; it was also

old time, see Æschin. in Tim. 65; *καὶ ἔστω ταῦτα ἄκυρα, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐκλείδου*. Conf. Demosth. in Timocr. 741. 29; *τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρὸς Εὐκλείδου ἄρκοντας ἐὼ, καὶ τοὺς σφόδρα παλαιούς*.

²⁶ Dionys. Halicarn. de Lys. § 32. p. 271. Tauchn. Lysias wrote a speech against it. At the same time a distribution of land was possibly made to those who had been compelled to fly, to indemnify them for the loss of their estates which had been confiscated by the dynasts. Isocrat. de Big. 620.

²⁷ Andoc. de Myst. 39. 40; conf. Poll. 8. 112; *οἱ Εἰκοσι*.

²⁸ Andoc. ubi sup. 47; conf. 13.

²⁹ Andoc. ubi sup. 47. 48.

declared capital to retain possession of any office beyond the appointed term³⁰. On the other hand, to guard the laws against the effects of popular caprice, it was enacted, that no unwritten ordinance should be used, and that no psephism of the council or the body of the people should be paramount to the law³¹. To the same head must be referred the protection afforded to personal liberty by the statute, enacting, that no decree against a private individual should have force, until it had received the assent of six thousand citizens, who were to vote secretly³², which, in some measure, operated as a revival of ostracism. But the chief of these restorative laws was that of Diocles, which appears to have been passed the year after the archonship of Euclid³³, declaring that all the laws antecedent to the time of Euclid, which had not been framed by the oligarchs, and in the next place, those of the archonship of Euclid, should have effect without exception; but that those passed subsequently to that period were only to commence operation from the day of their enactment, unless a particular day should have been specified for that purpose³⁴. However, the orators no less frequently call all the ordinances of the new democracy Solon's laws, than they omit the words "from the archonship of Euclid."

Nicomachus, who had already been a kind of archive-keeper before the government of the Thirty³⁵, was appointed Antigraphus of the Solonic,

³⁰ Andoc. 47; conf. Lycurg. in Leocr. 225.

³¹ Andoc. ubi sup. 42.

³² Andoc. ubi sup.

³³ Petit v. d. Att. Ges. p. 196. ed. Wessel.

³⁴ Demosth. in Timocr. 713; conf. Meier de Bon. Damn. 71. n. 233.

³⁵ Lysias adv. Nicomach. 847.

Draconic, and other laws of the new democracy³⁶. He was also instructed by the state formally to introduce the Ionian alphabet³⁷, which it was proposed to render general, by using it in drawing up the laws. Nicomachus was allowed four months to perform his task, but took six years to complete it³⁸, and was accused of various falsifications, particularly by inserting several expensive holidays³⁹ in the table of festivals.

What effect these organic changes, in which the foundations of the constitution had been laid anew, produced upon the public system in Athens during the ensuing period, cannot, from the defectiveness of our sources, be stated with any degree of accuracy. Lysias and Andocides only stand, as it were, upon the threshold. Xenophon, in treating of Grecian history, was not disposed to say much of the interior of Athens; the treatise on the republic of the Athenians relates to this period of history, it is true, but its contents are still more suspicious than the name of its author; whilst the insipid Diodorus had neither perspicacity nor vigour enough to delineate a political system. The state of public affairs till the commencement of Philip's career, during which interval Athens did not, even in its external relations, occupy a prominent position, may be characterized upon the whole as fluctuating between good and evil; the revival of democracy did not restore the purity and strength of the national character; the few noble-minded citizens who had escaped the corruption of the age and

³⁶ Lysias ubi sup. 837, sqq.

³⁷ See citat. ap. Taylor, Vit. Lys. p. 141; besides which, compare Suidas, Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος.

³⁸ Lys. adv. Nicom. 839. 854.

³⁹ Lys. adv. Nicom. 864.

rose superior to the vices of the multitude, endeavoured to arrest the career of demoralization, but in vain, and, at the beginning of Philip's age, we behold Athens fast sinking into moral and political extinction. Exact particulars of this interval can only be collected from the actual changes which were effected in the constitution; but the following period presents ampler materials for a survey of political life in all its bearings.

PERSONAL RANK.

In the course of the Peloponnesian war a variety of base ingredients had been mixed up with the citizenship. One of the earliest laws during the archonship of Euclid, was that proposed by Aristophon, the Azenian, whereby all persons not born of a female citizen⁴⁰ were declared illegitimate, in pursuance of which Aristophon himself was afterwards prosecuted as the father of spurious citizens. It is probable that the genuine citizens were not very numerous; but there is no doubt that the pride of Autochthony was common to all whose families had held the citizenship for three generations (*ἐκ τριγονίας*). One description of new citizens were still called Plataeans⁴¹. This is certain, that the inhabitants of the demolished Plataeæ, for some time after the Peloponnesian war, resided in Athens, whither they had probably fled upon the capture of their own city by Scione, or after their fruitless attempts to rebuild it. The speech of Lysias against Pancleon contains several particulars, which enable us to form a notion of the

⁴⁰ Athen. 13. 577. B.; conf. Meier de Bon. Damu. 72.

⁴¹ Conf. § 64. n. 16.

footing upon which the Platæans in Athens stood⁴². After the peace of Antalcidas, when they had rebuilt and repopled their city, they doubtless continued in the relation of Isopoliteia until their second expulsion took place, when they once more found a refuge and citizenship in Athens⁴³. This relation afterwards caused the words, "a citizenship like that of the Platæans," to be used in a larger, and, at the same time, in an inaccurate sense, somewhat in the same manner as the position of the Cærites in Rome gave rise to Cæritic law in a more general sense. Anaxandrides, a poet of the middle comedy⁴⁴, complains that slaves still continued to obtain the citizenship surreptitiously. Cleruchiæ still subsisted⁴⁵, but for a short time only, as upon the new alliance between the sea-states and Athens, Ol. 100. 4; 377. B. C., it was expressly stipulated, that no Athenian should till land without Attica⁴⁶ (that is to say, in the capacity of a Cleruchus); still the inhabitants of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros, continued to be looked upon as Athenian citizens; this was also the case at the peace of Antalcidas.

With regard to the higher orders, it is scarcely necessary to state, that after the bitter experience which the demus had had of the tyranny of the oligarchs, a feeling of jealousy was harboured against all, who were distinguished by birth, property, or military honour, whilst the safety of the last imperatively demanded that they should remove all cause for suspicion, by placing themselves as nearly as possible upon a

⁴² Lys. 728—738. The Platæans assembled on the first of every month by the green cheese, p. 731.

⁴³ Diodorus inaccurately says, 15. 46, τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἔτυχον; conf. Meier de Bon. n. 165. 166.

⁴⁴ Athen. 6. 263. C.

⁴⁵ Diodor. 15. 23.

⁴⁶ —μηδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων γεωργεῖν ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς; Diodor. 18. 29.

level with the bulk of the people. Hence examples of cabals on the part of the oligarchs, and disturbances proceeding from the jealousy of the multitude, are much rarer than before. The privileges of the family-nobility continued to be annexed to the priesthoods till the latest ages of the republic. But in civil life, no other distinction of classes was recognised than that, which was based upon the principle of the census. The loss of the sovereignty of the sea was followed by general poverty, and the above-mentioned proposal of Phormisius proves, that not only many thousands of citizens were wholly destitute of landed property, but that most of their other resources were also exhausted. The valuation of Solon, which must have become inoperative as soon as a period of prosperity, power, and opulence arrived, could not be revived upon the return of poverty and indigence, for the necessities and demands of the age, and the relative value of money, had become widely different; under the archonship of Euclid, though not expressly abolished, his valuation does not appear to have been restored, but his distribution of the classes was not suppressed⁴⁷. A new valuation was introduced by Nausinicus, Ol. 100. 3; 378. B. C., who, at the same time, appointed Symmoriæ⁴⁸. But its chief operation seems to have been confined to fiscal matters; its influence on civil rank was probably very slight. The lower orders still retained the right of eligibility to the archonship⁴⁹, which had been conceded to them by Aristides, and the notion of freedom and equality constantly assumed greater latitude of

⁴⁷ Conf. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 42, sqq.

⁴⁸ See Böckh, 2. 50, sqq.

⁴⁹ Lys. de Impot. 749.

meaning. But in proportion as the distinctions which birth and the census had formerly conferred fell into neglect, extraordinary testimonies of respect, crowns, statues⁵⁰, etc., grew more frequent; on the other hand, Atimia became more common.

The condition of the Metœci, Isoteles, and slaves, seems to have undergone no change. The insolence of the last is censured by the author of the work on the Republic of the Athenians⁵¹.

THE DEMUS AS THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWER.

The pay for attending the popular assembly was raised by Agyrrhius to three obols⁵² in Olymp. 96. 3; 394. B. C., a sure pledge that the meetings would neither be rare nor thinly attended. But this neither served to ennoble the hearts nor to expand the minds of the citizens. The assembly had ceased to be the stage on which the most enlightened and the bravest men in the state sought to display their virtues and their wisdom; the turmoil of the crowd grew irksome to many of them, who satisfied their political cravings in the retirement of private life, by soaring into the regions of speculation, by meditating on states and laws, and dedicating themselves to the development of abstract theories; or who quitted the land of their fathers, pursued the stirring career of arms, and found a home among the mingled hordes of the camp. This accelerated the corruption of

⁵⁰ See above, § 56. n. 38. On the presentation with a crown, see in particular Taylor's *Introduct. to Demosthenes de Coronâ*.

⁵¹ Xenoph. (?) 1. 10.

⁵² Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* 1. 247; Schömann, *de Comit.* 65, sqq.

the multitude. Whilst it is the object of wisdom to impart stability to civil and domestic life, and the law of the state must be pronounced her noblest monument, the antagonist principle is beheld in the restless, ever-varying spirit of popular caprice. The latter predominated in Athens. The checks upon its excesses provided by the laws were too weak; the operations of the Bule were greatly restricted, the probuleuma often being altogether omitted⁵³; and though the psephism of Tisamenus empowered the Areopagus to watch over the laws⁵⁴, that body seems rarely to have intervened with energy and effect⁵⁵. The regulation for the annual Nomothesia still remained in force⁵⁶, and that formality was seldom dispensed with in the enactment of regular laws; but the psephisms of the popular assembly multiplied to such an extent as to endanger the laws, and through the accumulation of ordinances it became more difficult to inspect them, and this alone sufficed to promote the decline of the annual Nomothesia⁵⁷. That the tribunals still laboured under their old defects may be gathered from occasional hints⁵⁸, but in the age of Philip there is positive evidence that such was the fact. The business of the law courts had assumed a new aspect, owing to the loss of revenue caused by the dismemberment of the naval empire, and the diminution of litiga-

⁵³ Comp. Tittmann, *Griech. Staatsv.* 144. 177. 178.

⁵⁴ Andoc. *de Myster.* 40.

⁵⁵ Conf. Schömann, *de Comit.* 268, sqq. In the age of Philip these abuses had attained their acme.

⁵⁶ Andoc. *de Myster.* 40, and Demosth. in *Timocr.* 708.

⁵⁷ Schömann, *de Comit.* 272, thinks that extraordinary Nomothetæ were likewise chosen. There is no positive evidence either for or against this opinion.

⁵⁸ Aristoph. *Plut.* 1166, animadverts upon the fraudulent conduct of a man, who obtained letters for several courts.

tion, which was a consequence of it. This, however, did not lessen the inclination of the Athenians for acting in the capacity of judges, to which they continued to devote the same assiduity as before. But having no interests of magnitude and importance to engage their attention, their love of intrigue and chicane manifested itself in a narrower sphere, viz., in cabals against their fellow-citizens, quarrels with their neighbours, etc.; while with a dereliction of all greatness and dignity they occupied themselves in investigating the most worthless and insignificant matters⁵⁹. But their cruelty was as great as ever; judicial murders were frequent, and the execution of Socrates shows the avidity of the Athenians for capital prosecutions. And yet this resulted less from the moral depravation of the demus and its estrangement from the principles of law and justice, than from the pernicious influence of the sycophants. After the death of Socrates, the Athenians felt the bitterest remorse for their conduct; the Palæstras and Gymnasia were closed, several of his accusers expelled, and Meletus put to death⁶⁰.

THE MAGISTRATES.

Those magistracies were restored which had existed under the last democracy; the offices of the Hellenotamiæ, Episcopi, and others which had been connected with the maintenance of the naval empire⁶¹ ceased. The influence of the magistrates became daily more confined in con-

⁵⁹ Conf. § 64. n. 53.⁶⁰ Diog. Laert. 2. 43.⁶¹ Προβραρχος, the commandant of the Athenian garrison, Inscript. ap. Böckh, Thes. p. 110.

sequence of the inclination of the people at large to interfere in every branch of the administration, their jealous watch over the proceedings of their superiors, and the ingratitude with which they repaid their services. The observation of Nicias⁶², that when an enterprise miscarried the blame was laid upon the few, but when it succeeded the people claimed all the merit⁶³, is still more adapted to this period than to the age in which it was made. Ostracism was no longer customary, but the sycophancy of the law courts increased to a fearful extent. The demus turned its rage against itself, and successively deprived itself of every prop and support; envy was more powerful than the sense of favours received⁶⁴; and the Athenians, in the words of Isocrates, were more willing to hear praise bestowed on persons with whose very names they were unacquainted, than upon such as had done them real benefits⁶⁵. Hence, notwithstanding the demus upon the whole was still capable of choosing able men to fill public offices, and especially that of Strategus, we find that many of those whom it had chosen, and who were well qualified for the posts they held, such as Iphicrates, Timotheus, and Chabrias, were afterwards prosecuted criminally. Upon the same principle the Rhetors, at the very commencement of Philip's career, succeeded in ridding themselves of Timotheus and Iphicrates. This period likewise presents examples of outrages perpetrated against commanders under the form of law, similar to that which took place after the battle off the Arginusæ;

⁶² Thucyd. 7. 14.⁶⁴ Demosth. Epist. 1481.⁶³ Xenoph. Repub. Ath. 2. 17.⁶⁵ Isocrat. Evag. 306.

the Athenians beginning to grow jealous of Thebes and afraid of Sparta, the generals who had marched to the assistance of the former with the concurrence and consent of the people were publicly impeached, when one of them was put to death and the other banished⁶⁶; but the conduct of Iphicrates in bringing soldiers into the court who significantly put their hands to their swords, would not have passed unpunished in an earlier age⁶⁷.

THE DEMAGOGY.

The opposition alluded to above⁶⁸ between the legally constituted magistrates and those non-official and irregular agents who wrought in the midst of the people existed as before, while the line of distinction from day to day grew broader, between the brave men who wielded their swords in defence of their country abroad, as Strategi, and the heroes of those bloodless battles in which words were the weapons of warfare, so that civil administration (*πολιτεύεσθαι*) and military command (*στρατηγεῖν*) were formally opposed to each other. That there were some exceptions may easily be supposed. Some of the distinguished Strategi were not deficient in the talents of the demagogue; a portion of these issued from the schools of the philosophers, as Chabrias and Phocion from the Academy⁶⁹; Timotheus from the school of Isocrates⁷⁰, etc. Iphicrates, too, who ordered Lysias to write a speech for him⁷¹, and

⁶⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 19.⁶⁷ Polyæn. 3. 9. 15; 3. 9. 29.⁶⁸ See section 64.⁶⁹ Plut. Colot. 10. 629. Concerning the aptness of Timotheus for the doctrines of the Academy, conf. Ælian, V. H. 2. 10. 18; Plut. Symp. 8. 734; Athen. 10. 419, C.⁷⁰ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orator. 9. 330.⁷¹ Ps. Plut. ubi sup. 326.

was ridiculed for practising oratory⁷², frequently made pointed and witty remarks, and was not destitute of a certain vigorous energy of expression⁷³. But none of the great commanders swayed the internal affairs of the state, as Themistocles and Cimon had once done; the latter obtained riches by their victories, and as long as there was a prospect of gain, the people readily lent themselves to their purposes; but though they had ceased to be warlike, they were as avaricious as before. None of the generals of this age succeeded in replenishing the exhausted coffers of the state, and from this fact alone, we may infer that their interference in the civil administration was not of much importance. Iphicrates would almost appear to have been jesting, when he recommended a tax to be levied on those persons, whose houses projected too far into the streets⁷⁴. But the influence of the Poristæ, who obtained riches for the demus, prevailed over that of the military commanders, who required money to defray the expenses of war, and very rarely, like Timotheus⁷⁵, understood or practised the art of carrying on war by means of war itself, without entailing expenses upon the state. When the insolence and profligacy of the demus had at length exceeded all bounds, a noisy declaimer like Chares had more influence than well-trying heroes like Iphicrates, etc.

The demagogy presents no trace of that opposition of political principles and opinions which had existed in the earlier age, or of an aristocratic

⁷² Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 238.⁷³ Ibid. 9. 199; Demosth. in Timoth. 1287. 6. Conf. Wytttenb. ad Plut. 1093; Ruhnck. H. Or. Gr. LVII.⁷⁴ Polyæn. 3. 9. 30.⁷⁵ See Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 316.

and democratic party; nor are there any grounds for the opinion, that because Iphicrates was of humble origin, he was therefore the opponent of Conon's son Timotheus⁷⁶. The so-called Laconistæ indeed still existed, but they were mere fashionable coxcombs⁷⁷. The efforts of Athens to maintain her position as the third power of Greece, prepared to decide between Sparta and Thebes by her mediation or active co-operation, and her jealousy of Thebes induced her several times to ally herself with Sparta; but this was very far from being attended by the introduction of Spartan manners or discipline. But though there was no longer any division of parties as before, every thing was effected by riotous assemblages of the people. The mob obeyed the call of the demagogues and sycophants, and then denounced all who were opposed to them as oligarchs and Laconistæ⁷⁸. Less injurious, though not less depraved, were the associations which may be compared to the clubs of the present day, and which transferred the frivolous jests and railleries of Bacchus and Comus into the serious business of political life. Finally, it has already been observed that the Rhetors did not form an exclusive body⁷⁹, nor was it in a joint capacity that they attained their actual importance; but vicious indeed must have been that state of society, in which oratory had power enough to cause those who possessed it, to be looked upon as a separate and distinct order of citizens.

⁷⁶ Demosth. in Timoth. 1187. 5.

⁷⁷ See, concerning them, above, § 64. n. 25; Plut. Gorg. 515, E.; Protag. 342, and Heindorf, *ibid.*; Demosth. de Coronâ, 1267; Plut. Phoc. 10; Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 84.

⁷⁸ Isocrat. de Antidos, 600.

⁷⁹ Vol. i. 374. 375.

THE DEMAGOGUES SINGLY.

The depravation of the people and that of their leaders did not keep pace with one another; the former by far outstripped the latter. There is no truth in the assertion that the demagogues grew more corrupt with every generation⁸⁰; the period under consideration presents some triumphant examples of the contrary.

Thrasybulus and Archinus were pre-eminently the restorers of democracy by boldly making head against the oligarchs. The conduct of the former, both before and after the archonship of Euclid, was far from being irreproachable⁸¹; but his demagoguery, upon the restoration of the democracy, commands unqualified admiration. He afterwards dedicated his life to the career of arms, rendered important service to his country in the naval wars⁸², revived democracy in Thasus⁸³, Byzantium⁸⁴, etc., and lost his life at Aspendus in Cilicia, Olymp. 97. 3; 390. B. C.⁸⁵. The merits of Archinus, in the re-establishment of the popular government, were eclipsed by those of Thrasybulus; he was by no means deficient in military talents, but was more exclusively connected with the internal administration than Thrasybulus⁸⁶. Numerous accounts in the ancient writers attest his activity and influence. The proposition for the amnesty emanated

⁸⁰ e. g. Heyne, Opusc. 4. 402: *deteriores in dies deterioribus loco cedere*.

⁸¹ Lysias adv. Ergocl. 819, sqq.

⁸² Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 25—30.

⁸³ Demosth. in Lept. 474. 26; Aristid. Panath. 112, ed. Jebb.

⁸⁴ Xenoph. ubi sup.

⁸⁵ Xenoph. ubi sup.

⁸⁶ Demosth. in Timocr. 742. 25, sqq.: *Μυρωνίδης, ὁ Ἀρχίνου υἱός, τοῦ καταλαβόντος φυλὴν καὶ μετὰ γε τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτιωτάτου ὄντος τῆς καθόδου τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πεπολιτευμένου καὶ ἱστραγηκότος πολλάκις*. Conf. Dinarch. in Demosth. 54.

no less from him than from Thrasybulus⁸⁷; he caused the introduction of the Ionian alphabet⁸⁸; and much of the Panegyric of Isocrates is said to have been borrowed from a funeral oration delivered by him⁸⁹. When Thrasybulus infringed the law, by proposing to crown one of his companions, he was accused by Archinus⁹⁰.

We may also class together Aristophon, the Azenian (*Ἀζηνιεύς*), and Cephalus, the old (*ὁ παλαιός*⁹¹ or Colyttian⁹², who at the end of their active career contested the palm of merit⁹³. The character of Aristophon, however, would not bear comparison with that of his rival. In the restless and unceasing activity of a political life of nearly seventy years in duration⁹⁴, he was perhaps his superior, but his activity lacked the integrity of real patriotism. When one of the Four Hundred he had been sent by that body as their envoy to Sparta⁹⁵, and upon the restoration of the democratic government, he introduced the law respecting spurious citizens, the provisions of which he himself infringed; in his contest with Cephalus he boasted that he had been prosecuted seventy-five times for unconstitutional measures⁹⁶; and the fact that his authority sustained no diminution in consequence of these numerous accusations, leads us to conclude, that he must have employed his tongue with great

⁸⁷ Æschin. de Fals. Legat. 338.

⁸⁸ Suid., Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος.

⁸⁹ Phot. Myriobl. Cod. CCXL. Comp. Plat. Menex. 234.

⁹⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 584.

⁹¹ Æschin. ubi sup. 583: ὁ παλαιός ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι. Neither Cephalus, the father of Lysias, nor Lysias himself was a citizen. Concerning this Cephalus, as well as the one mentioned above, conf. Taylor, Vit. Lys. 103, sqq.

⁹² Dinarch. in Demosth. 54.

⁹³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 583.

⁹⁴ His embassy to Sparta falls in the year 411, his impeachment of Timotheus about the year 354.

⁹⁵ Thucyd. 8. 86.

⁹⁶ Æschin. ubi sup.

ingenuity and skill to extricate himself from so many dilemmas; at a very advanced age, Olymp. 106. 3; 354. B. C., he and Chares accused Iphicrates and Timotheus⁹⁷, and caused the latter to retire from his native city which was, indeed, unworthy of him. He supported the motion of Leptines⁹⁸. In his foreign policy he belonged to the Boeotian party⁹⁹. A second Aristophon, the Colyttian (*Κολυττεύς*)¹⁰⁰, was partly contemporary with him and partly with Philip of Macedon; he was likewise an influential demagogue, and is not always accurately distinguished from the other by the ancient writers¹⁰¹. Cephalus, an eminent rhetorician, said to have been the first composer of proemia and epilogues¹⁰², was by far more renowned than Aristophon; all writers are unanimous in his praise; but perhaps the most honourable testimony to his character is, that in his contest with Aristophon, he could with truth affirm that he had never once been prosecuted for illegal measures¹⁰³. He likewise belonged

⁹⁷ Dinarch. in Philocl. 100; Isocrat. de Antidos. 75. Orella; conf. Diod. 16. 21; Corn. Nep. Tim. 3; Polyæn. 3. 9. 29. Timotheus said to him: ὁ ἱκανὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τούτω γε αἰσχρὸν οὐδέν. Ælian, V. H. 14. 3.

⁹⁸ Demosth. in Lept. 501. 24.

⁹⁹ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 532: πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζεν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν.

¹⁰⁰ He is only thus designated once, Demosth. de Coron. 250. 18; Reiske in the Ind. Hist. entertains doubts on the subject, because he is called Proedros in the prytany of Hippothoontis, but as a Colyttian, belonged to Aiantis. But that difficulty is removed by the discovery which has since been made of the difference between the Proedri *contributes* and *non contributes*. See Schöm. Comit. 83, sqq.; conf. Böckh, Thes. Inscr. p. 130. 143. In the inscription, *ibid.* p. 129, perhaps the Colyttian himself is referred to.

¹⁰¹ Æschines seems to have been his clerk, (Vit. Anon.) Æsch. p. 10. But the passage, Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orator. 9. 358: Ἀριστοφῶντος δ' ἡδὲ τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆρας καταλιπόντος καὶ χορηγὸς ἐγένετο (ὁ Δημοσθένης), must be referred to the Azenian, not (with Ruhnken, Hist. Or. Gr. XLIV.) to the Colyttian. Hyperides said of his power (Schol. Plat. apud Ruhnken, Hist. Or. Gr. XLVI.): οἷδε γὰρ αὐτῷ δεδομένην ἄδειαν καὶ πράττειν καὶ γράφειν ὅ τι αὐτῷ ἐμβραχὺ βούληται. See the passages of the orators Append. viii.

¹⁰² Suid. Κέφαλος.

¹⁰³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 583: conf. Demosth. de Coron. Dinarch. in Demosth. 30.

to the Boeotian party; in Olymp. 100. 2; 379. B. C., he drew up the psephism for sending succours to Thebes¹⁰⁴; and appeared as the enemy of Sparta as early as Olymp. 96. 1; 965. B. C., when he was bribed by the Persians¹⁰⁵.

Amongst the democratic refugees at the time of the Thirty was Epicrates¹⁰⁶, whose character both in youth and age was tainted with dishonesty. When Sakesphorus he is mentioned amongst the fops of that age¹⁰⁷; as an Antilacon he received some of the Persian money of Timocrates¹⁰⁸, and obtained a still richer harvest on his embassy to the great king¹⁰⁹; correspondent to his readiness to receive a bribe was the effrontery, with which he boasted to the people of the advantages attending such missions; notwithstanding the favourable manner in which they received his proposition¹¹⁰ for appointing poor citizens, instead of the Archons, ambassadors to the great king, he could not pass his accounts, and fearing to be condemned to death for peculation during his embassy, he was obliged to fly, and died in exile¹¹¹. Still more dishonest was the successor of Thrasybulus in the command of the navy¹¹², the Poristes Agyrrius¹¹³, of whom not a single praiseworthy action has been recorded¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁴ Dinarch. in Demosth. 31. See a proposition which he made respecting the Parian Phanoeritus, who had contributed to the victory at Naxos, Ol. 101. 1, in the Inscript. Böckh, Thea. Inscript. p. 123.

¹⁰⁵ Pausan. 3. 9. 5; comp. above, § 68. n. 39.

¹⁰⁶ Demosth. de Fals. Legat. 430. 4. 5: *ἀνὴρ — σπουδαῖος καὶ πολλὰ χρήσιμος τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Περσικῶς καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἄλλως δημοτικός.*

¹⁰⁷ See above, § 64. n. 84.

¹⁰⁸ Pausan. 3. 9. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Plut. Pelop. 30; conf. Hegesander ap. Ath. 6. 251. B.

¹¹⁰ Plut. ubi sup.: *ἐγέλασεν ὁ δῆμος.*

¹¹¹ Demosth. de Fals. Legat. 430. 2. 3.

¹¹² Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 31; Diod. 14. 99.

¹¹³ See concerning him, Böckh, Pub. Econ. I. 246.

¹¹⁴ The praise of Demosth. in Timocr. 742. 17. 18: — *ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ δημοτικὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον πολλὰ σπουδάζαντα*—is not wholly impartial.

The most celebrated amongst the orators of that age was Callistratus, the son of Callicrates of Aphidna¹¹⁵, joint commander with Timotheus and Chabrias, Olymp. 100. 4; 377. B. C.¹¹⁶, and Archon, Olymp. 106. 2; 355. B. C.; he was afterwards twice condemned to death¹¹⁷ and each time escaped, but returning at length without permission he was executed¹¹⁸. He was the friend of Iphicrates¹¹⁹, and appeared with him as the accuser of Timotheus¹²⁰. His attentions was more particularly directed to the external relations of the state; he recommended the occupation of Thasus¹²¹, and a short time before the battle of Leuctra, endeavoured to bring about a peace with Sparta¹²², whither he went as ambassador himself¹²³. It was at his suggestion that troops were sent to the Peloponnesus, who afterwards fought in the battle of Mantinea¹²⁴. His pacific dispositions towards the Thebans are attested by the speech which he made, when, Olymp. 103. 3; 366. B. C., Oropus had been wrested from the Athenians by the Eubœan Themison with the co-operation of Thebes¹²⁵, and which produced a deep impression on the youthful mind of Demosthenes¹²⁶.

Less renowned than the preceding, and some of whom are only known to us by name, were: Melanopus, an unworthy antagonist of Callistratus¹²⁷,

¹¹⁵ See Ruhn. Hist. Or. Gr. LVIII.; Böckh, Pub. Econ. I. 246.

¹¹⁶ Diod. 15. 29.

¹¹⁷ Demosth. in Polycl. 1221. 18.

¹¹⁸ Lycurg. in Leocr. 198.

¹¹⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 2. 39.

¹²⁰ Demosth. in Timoth. 1187. 7.

¹²¹ Xenob. Prov. 4. 34.

¹²² Xenoph. 6. 3. 10; conf. Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1353. 19.

¹²³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 3. 3. 10. Concerning his meeting with Epaminondas there, see Dodwell, Ann. Xenoph. a. XXXIX. and Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 231.

¹²⁴ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1353.

¹²⁵ Diod. 15. 76; Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 1, where see Schneid.

¹²⁶ Plut. Demosth. 5; Gellius, Noct. Att. 3. 13.

¹²⁷ Plut. Dem. 13.

from whom, however, he had the meanness repeatedly to accept money¹²⁸; Leodamas, the Acharnian, the accuser of Callistratus¹²⁹, as well as of Chabrias¹³⁰, and himself accused by Thrasybulus; a pupil of Isocrates¹³¹, and according to the judgment of Æschines, upon which, however, we cannot place implicit reliance, a more powerful orator than Demosthenes, to whom he upon the whole preferred him, and likewise in the Theban interest¹³²; Androtion, the scholar of Isocrates¹³³, who was already of advanced age when Diodorus accused him in the speech of Demosthenes¹³⁴. Autocles¹³⁵, Cephisodotus, Archedemus, Callias the Daduchus, Thrasybulus the Colyttian¹³⁶, Demostriatus, the son of Aristophon, Aristocles, Lycanthus and Deinias, (*Ἐρχιεύς*), are, for the most part, mentioned as having belonged to the embassy which was sent to Sparta to conclude peace¹³⁷; Autocles had the reputation of possessing great tact and skill¹³⁸; Cephisodotus afterwards drew up the terms of the confederacy between Athens and Sparta¹³⁹, and is, Ol. 106. 2, recorded as Syndicus at the proposal of laws¹⁴⁰; Deinias supported the law proposed by Leptines, together with the Azeonian Aristophon, Leodamas and Cephisodotus¹⁴¹.

¹²⁸ Plut. ubi sup.¹²⁹ Aristot. Rhet. 136. ed. Schwick.¹³⁰ Demosth. in Lept. 501.¹³¹ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orator. 330.¹³² Æsch. in Ctesiph. 531.¹³³ Suid. *Ἀνδροτίων*.¹³⁴ Demosth. in Androt. 613. 24.¹³⁵ Autocles has a fleet under his command, Olymp. 103. 1, see Diod. 15. 71.¹³⁶ Dem. in Timocr. 742. 12; Æschin. in Ctesiph. 531.¹³⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 3. 2.¹³⁸ Xenoph. ubi sup. 6. 3. 7: *μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι ῥήτωρ*.¹³⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 12.¹⁴⁰ Dem. in Lept. 501. 24. See the proposal of Cephisodotus, for showing some mark of respect to Straton king of Sidon, in return for a present, Inscript. Böckh, 101—103; Thes. p. 126; (Bipont, 101—103.)¹⁴¹ Demosth. in Lept. 501. 25.

2. THE DEMOCRACY OF THEBES AND ITS CONTEST WITH SPARTA.

§ 72. Xenophon, in accordance with his Spartan predilections, entitles the government of Sparta, after the subjugation of Thebes, well-constituted and secure¹; and yet, according to his own showing, seven men managed to overturn it². The capture of the Cadmea, through its consequences to Sparta, became, according to the Greek proverb, a Cadmean victory. Theban fugitives filled the surrounding towns and villages, which were no less ready to receive them, than to expel their own inhabitants. Athens especially displayed her hospitality which was so inexhaustible a theme of panegyric to the orators, and Pelopidas and his friends in Athens formed the project of liberating Thebes from the yoke of the oligarchs and of Sparta³. Pelopidas was descended from one of the noblest families in Thebes⁴; but his motives, in the glorious conspiracy which he headed, were free from all taint of aristocratic pride or party-spirit. Having in the silence of the night attacked and overpowered the profligate Archias, the violent Leontiades, Hypates and Philip, Ol. 100. 2; 379. B. C., he was joined by vast numbers of associates, who were inspired by the noblest feelings of courage and patriotism; the townsmen assisted him in driving the Spartans from the Cadmea,

¹ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 3. 27: *παντάπασις ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἰδόκει αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσθαι*.² Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 1. However, there were forty-eight conspirators in all. Plut. Pelop. 9.³ See in general, besides Xenophon, Diodor. and Corn. Nep., Plut. Pelop. and de Gen. Socr.⁴ Plut. Pelop. 8.

and supplies came from the neighbouring places in Bœotia⁵. In Athens, Cephalus was the author of the decree for sending succours to the patriots⁶. Some Theban horsemen intercepted and put to flight a body of Plataeans, who were marching to the relief of the citadel⁷. The garrison of the Cadmea was chiefly composed of the allies of Sparta, who felt no inclination to expose themselves to danger to maintain her supremacy, and evacuated the citadel without waiting till they were vigorously attacked⁸. Flushed with success, the conquerors in the first moment of victory sacrificed numerous victims to their vengeance; not even the children of the Laconistæ were spared⁹, and an amnesty was not upon the whole so formally declared as in Athens. The oligarchs took refuge in Orchomenus, whence they made several fruitless efforts to effect their return¹⁰.

No organic changes appear to have been effected in the constitution of Thebes after the downfall of the oligarchy. Certain permanent forms, which had not even been abolished by the oligarchs, who had endeavoured to incorporate their own authority into them, now resumed all their former importance, such as the office of Polemarch¹¹, etc.; but the democratic character, from that time forth, decidedly predominated. The liberators, says Xenophon, strove to satisfy the *demus*, and determined to die for the constitution, rather than again be expelled¹². But the personal authority of those high-minded men,

⁵ Diod. 15. 26.⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 10.⁶ Ibid. 5. 4. 11; Plut. Pelop. 13.¹⁰ Diod. 15. 79.¹² Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 6.⁶ Din. adv. Demosth. 31.⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 12.¹¹ See § 69. n. 95.

Pelopidas, Epaminondas, Gorgidas, Pammenes, (to whose superintendence Philip of Macedon was afterwards entrusted¹³), Ismenias, Mellon, Charon, etc., by no means superseded the constitution; but they infused into it another spirit, the body politic became animated by a new soul, and this chiefly contributed to regenerate Thebes¹⁴. Military institutions, as before, formed the basis of the public system; and, as in Athens, the chief dignity connected with them, viz. that of Polemarch, or what was at that time the same thing—the Bœotarchy¹⁵, greatly preponderated in the internal administration. The sacred band (*ἱερὸς λόχος*) formed by Gorgidas¹⁶, consisted of three hundred chosen citizens, and was supported by the community at large¹⁷ as the garrison of the citadel; they who composed it were united by patriotism, and like the men of Sparta in former times, by the love which indissolubly connected individuals¹⁸. They maintained in full vigour the virtues and glory of Thebes, till the battle of Chæronea. Nothing certain is known concerning their relation to the constitution. There can be little doubt that they were chiefly attached to Gorgidas, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, etc.; and their patriotism may be inferred from the circumstance, that notwithstanding the Cadmea was in their power, they never at-

¹³ Plut. Pelop. 26. On the other hand, Diod. 16. 2, names Epaminondas.¹⁴ Had Lysis, the Pythagorean of Tarentum, the master of Epaminondas (Corn. Nep. Ep. 2), a great share in the political elevation of Thebes?¹⁵ Schneid. ad Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 2, from Dodwell. *Ἀρχοντες* occur, Xenoph. 7. 3. 5, besides the *βουλή*.¹⁶ Plut. Pelop. 18. 19; Polyæn. 25. 1; Xenoph. 7. 1. 19, seems to refer to them when he uses the word *ἐπιλέκτους*.¹⁷ Plut. Pelop. 18: — *ἡ πόλις οἴκησιν καὶ δαίταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδευομένους παρίχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐκ πόλεως λόχος ἱκαλύντο*.¹⁸ Plut. Pelop. 18.

tempted to establish a dynasty. Nor was this powerful body exempt from the control of the laws; there was also a party against them headed by Meneclidas, who himself plotted against the constitution¹⁹. These, possibly, instigated the proceedings against Epaminondas²⁰, the issue of which, however, reminds us of the triumph of the elder Scipio over the unworthy party-cabals of Cato²¹. But we are informed that upon another occasion, in order to mortify Epaminondas, he was compelled to accept the mean office of a Telmarch²². A Theban legislator called Diagondas (Pagondas?) abolished all nocturnal festivals²³; did this occur at this period?

The rest of the Bœotian towns had become independent of Thebes, by the stipulations of the peace of Antalcidas. Orchomenus, where an equestrian order had maintained itself²⁴, now supported the cause of oligarchy against the democratic Thebes: it was garrisoned by two Spartan moras²⁵. Plataeæ had been rebuilt; its aversion to the oligarchy imposed upon it by Sparta was, in all probability, no less powerful than its hereditary hostility to Thebes; but when the increased prosperity of the last had widened the breach between that state and Athens, Plataeæ again attached itself to Athens, in consequence of which,

¹⁹ Plut. Pelop. 25.

²⁰ Corn. Nep. Ep. 8. See the other Citat. Wyttenb. ad Plut. Apophth. 1114.

²¹ Liv. 38. 50.

²² Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 232: φθόνῳ καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀποδειχθεὶς τελέαρχος, where we must probably read τέλμαρχος, from τέλμα a puddle, for Plut. describes the τελεαρχία as περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐκβολῆς κοπρίων καὶ ρευμάτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιμέλειαν τινα.

²³ Cicero de Legg. 2. 15.

²⁴ Diod. 15. 79: τοὺς τῶν Ὀρχομενίων ἱππεῖς ὄντας τριακοσίους seems to refer to a limited number, as in Elis, Argos, etc.

²⁵ Plut. Pelop. 16.

three years before the battle of Leuctra, Ol. 101. 4; 373. B. C.²⁶, it was once more destroyed by the Thebans; whereupon the citizens again found an asylum in Athens. Thespiæ had likewise been governed by dynasts under the protectorate of Sparta, and had risen in arms upon the fall of the dynasty in Thebes²⁷; its aversion to that state led to the dissolution of the community, as in Plataeæ²⁸. Orchomenus was compelled to yield; it was taken in Olymp. 104. 1; 364. B. C., when the men were slaughtered and the women and children reduced to slavery²⁹. Thus Thebes ruled over Bœotia more despotically than ever.

During the long and severe struggle which Thebes was obliged to sustain against Sparta for her independence, when she was compelled to proclaim democracy for the purpose of forming a confederacy, the nations of Greece did not, as formerly, divide themselves into two opposite parties, as the respective supporters of oligarchy and democracy; but Athens was induced to raise the democratic banner, in the hope, as Sparta had ceased to be formidable, of securing herself against Thebes, and maintaining such a position as would enable her, either by compact or by force, to decide the conflict between the other two in any manner that might be most conducive to her own

²⁶ Pausan. 9. 1, ad fin. Diod. 15. 46, who fixes this under the archonship of Socratides, Olymp. 101. 3; Xenoph. Hell. 6. 3. 1.

²⁷ Plut. de Gen. Socrat. 8. 318, where it is stated as having happened three days earlier.

²⁸ Diod. 15. 46. Ælian, V. H. 11. 6, relates a story of an adulterer who was led bound over the market-place, when his friends rescued him, and many lives were lost. Was that one of the outrages committed by the dynasts of the time?

²⁹ Diod. 15. 79. Paus. 4. 27. 5; 9. 15. 2, where it is asserted that this transaction took place during the absence of Epaminondas, who was excessively indignant upon learning it; 9. 35. 3. Comp. Müll. Orchom. 419—421.

interest. Sparta long remained insensible to the advantages, which were to be derived from a sincere reconciliation with Athens, and her conduct was marked by perfidy and deceit; the ill-concerted stratagem of Sphodrias for obtaining possession of the Piræus miscarried³⁰, and occasioned a temporary renewal of the alliance between Athens and Thebes, Ol. 100. 3; 378. B. C. A short time afterwards, Ol. 100. 4, the former succeeded in inducing the maritime states to enter into a new confederacy. This object was chiefly promoted by Timotheus. Even before the attempt of Sphodrias upon the Piræus, Chios, Mytilene, Byzantium, and Rhodes, which were subject to the Spartan-Persian hegemony, and were unable to obtain the liberty and independence guaranteed to them by the peace of Antalcidas³¹, had entered into a league with Athens³²; in a short time the confederate states amounted to seventy-five³³. It was stipulated that the Autonomia of all should be respected, the Athenians possessing the hegemony; that the Synedrion should be held in Athens, and that all the states, whether great or small, should have equal votes³⁴. To provide against the establishment of Athenian Cleruchiæ, the federal law above alluded to was enacted, whereby every Athenian was forbidden to hold land without the limits of Attica³⁵.

The allies of Sparta, at the beginning of the great Boeotian war, were the Arcadians, Eleans, Achæans, Sicyonians, Phliasians, the towns of the

³⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 20. 21.

³¹ Hence this is described as a defection from Sparta by Diod. 15. 28.

³² Diod. ubi sup.

³³ Æschin. de Fals. Legat. 247; Diod. 15. 33.

³⁴ Diod. 15. 28.

³⁵ Diod. 15. 29.

Actè (Hermione, etc.), the Corinthians, Leucadians, Ambraciots, Zacynthians, Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Acarnanians, and Olynthians³⁶. Amongst these Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, and Achaia, furnished ships³⁷. It is obvious that the despotism of Sparta, or the oligarchical constitutions which it had introduced and maintained, had the chief share in securing the co-operation of several of the above states. The victory obtained by the Athenian fleet under Chabrias, at Naxos, Olymp. 101. 1; 376. B. C.³⁸, may be compared to that gained by Conon at Cnidos; it once more destroyed the naval power of Sparta, and, this time, without the co-operation of the barbarians. This confirmed Athens in her policy of forming the third state. The antipathy she had borne to Sparta had been succeeded by jealousy of Thebes, whom she knew to be no longer in want of her assistance, and perhaps even suspected of being an over-match for her. She was moreover exasperated by the conduct of Thebes towards Plataeæ and Thespiæ; but before she could recover sufficient strength to oppose any effectual obstacle to the progress of her rival, she required an interval of peace. A treaty concluded between Athens and Sparta, Olymp. 101. 3; 374. B. C., was but of short duration³⁹; the negotiations of Athens and the other states were renewed in Sparta, Olymp. 102. 1; 371. B. C.⁴⁰. The terms offered by Athens provided, amongst other things, that Autonomia should be restored to the Greek

³⁶ Diod. 15. 31.

³⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 2. 3.

³⁸ Diod. 15. 34; Demosth. de. Syntax. 172. 27; in Lept. 480. 5, sqq.; Æschin. in Ctesiph. 635; Plut. Phoc. ap. Polyæn. 3. 11. 11.

³⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 2. 1, sqq.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 6. 3. 1, sqq.

states, and the Spartan Harmosts recalled ⁴¹. The pertinacity of Epaminondas, in insisting that Thebes should exercise the same rights over Bœotia as Sparta did over Messenia, and the angry vehemence of Agesilaus towards Epaminondas ⁴², frustrated the well-meant advice of the pacific Spartan Prothous, relative to the establishment of genuine Autonomia ⁴³; in consequence of which the battle of Leuctra was fought, only twenty days after the peace had been ratified by the other states ⁴⁴. The defeat Sparta then sustained effectually humbled her; she was now incapable of offering further opposition to the Autonomia stipulated by the peace of Antalcidas, and there were abundant means of checking any attempts on her part to recover the ascendant she had lost. Greece at length hoped to taste the long-desired blessings of peace; but the angry passions which had been aroused could not be allayed: victory did not lead to reconciliation, but was followed by spoliation and revenge; and the ill-fated Greeks were destined to enjoy no respite from the fatal calamities which assailed them.

In recounting the struggle of Thebes to obtain the hegemony, we have sustained an irreparable loss in Plutarch's biography of Epaminondas. Xenophon's partiality to Sparta led him to speak of the exploits of that great man with extreme brevity, not so much as even naming him at the battle of Leuctra, and keeping him in the back ground as much as he possibly could, upon every other occa-

⁴¹ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 3. 18. 19.

⁴² Plut. Ages. 27. 28.

⁴³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 2: ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκείνον μὲν φλναρεῖν ἡγήσατο· ἡδὲ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤγεν.

⁴⁴ Plut. Agesil. 28.

sion. Epaminondas, great as he was as a citizen, ranks still higher as a general. He must have been one of the chief promoters of the measures of Thebes against Sparta and her Symmachia; but it is upon this part of his public conduct that the mind dwells with least satisfaction. Pelopidas was the worthy fellow-soldier of Epaminondas, and no less distinguished as a citizen. In their operations connected with the external policy of the state, they pursued opposite directions; Pelopidas turned his views towards the north; Epaminondas towards the south. The great qualities of these two men served for a time to gloss over some of the most notorious of the faults by which the Thebans had signalized themselves. It is by no means probable, however, that their character, even during this period, inspired attachment and respect; but there is no doubt that the hatred of the Athenians exaggerated their defects. The policy of Thebes reveals occasional glimpses of a nobler feeling; as for instance, when Pelopidas, conscious that he was fighting in a good cause, marched against Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, at a time when he was in alliance with Athens, and Sparta sent succours to Dionysius of Syracuse⁴⁵. Thebes must not be blamed for following up her successes after the battle of Leuctra. Was she to remain inactive until Sparta should renew her attacks? From Agesilaus' love of war, and his implacable animosity, no dependence could be placed upon the continuance of peace. After the battle of Leuctra, Thebes was, indeed, said to have transferred to the Achæans the power of arbitrating in the internal

⁴⁵ Plut. Pelop. 31.

wars of the Greek states⁴⁶; but the statement is too vague to be depended upon. We may safely assume, that after the battle of Leuctra, military enthusiasm became predominant in the minds of the Thebans⁴⁷. But no sooner did Thebes stretch out her athletic arms over the surrounding country, than her lust of territorial aggrandizement displayed itself in various acts of aggression and violence, and in a total estrangement from the spirit of wisdom and moderation.

Sparta suffered more from internal exhaustion than from any apparent want of external support⁴⁸; but neither neighbours, kindred states, nor those which were rendered dependent upon her authority by the nature of their constitutions, testified steady and faithful attachment to her interests; the Peloponnesian confederacy, her natural bulwark and defence, was shaken to its centre, and her allies now only consisted of those whom the hopes or fears, inspired by the fluctuating politics of the day, induced to espouse her cause; such were Dionysius and his son, who were most desirous of establishing an influence in the mother-country, and who several times sent her bodies of Celts and Iberians⁴⁹. The design of Athens in remaining neuter till the moment arrived for turning the scale of victory in favour of either of the combatants it might suit her purposes to support, was not ill-judged in itself, it is true; but she could not devise or follow up any

⁴⁶ Strab. 8. 384: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ Λεύκτροις μάχην ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτοις τὴν διαίταν περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

⁴⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 23:—καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ.

⁴⁸ See in Xenoph. 6. 4. 17, 18, the imperfect list of the confederates who furnished quotas of men for the continuation of the war. Conf. on Epidaurus, 7. 1. 25, and others, 7. 2. 2.

⁴⁹ Diodor. 15. 70; Xenoph. 7. 1. 20, 28; 7. 4. 12.

regular or consistent course of policy for the attainment of her object. For instance, if Xenophon is to be believed, Athens, after the battle of Leuctra, in order still more effectually to weaken Sparta⁵⁰, made an attempt to dissolve the confederacy of the Peloponnesus, and to draw over its members to her own; with this view she sent a message to those states, inviting them to carry out the provisions of the peace of Antalcidas, by asserting their Autonomia and entering into the Athenian confederacy. According to Xenophon, all (??) the states, except Elis, whose Autonomia the Marga-neis, the Scilluntians, and the Triphylians refused to recognise, subscribed to the Athenian confederacy⁵¹. But Athens reaped very little advantage from their co-operation; the relations of the Peloponnesus were shortly destined to undergo a total revolution, in consequence of the important part which one section of its inhabitants was about to perform, as well as from the effects of foreign invasions.

The renown of Sparta, as well as the terrors of her name, and the attachment she had inspired amongst her neighbours and ancient allies, had long ceased, and the Arcadians felt the will and the power to follow the example of Thebes. The townships of which Mantinea had once been composed, and which had hitherto been annexed to

⁵⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 1:—ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι—οὐπω διακείμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν—that was no longer the policy of Athens, who already began to fear Thebes; hence it would not have suited her purpose now to revenge herself on Sparta.

⁵¹ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 3. According to Diodor. 15. 62, after the establishment of the Arcadian league by this confederacy, in conjunction with Argos and Elis, ambassadors were sent to Athens to propose an alliance, but she declined the offer. Both statements may be true.

Sparta by the bands of her oligarchical supremacy⁵², shook off the detested yoke and rebuilt the walls of the common capital, Elis contributing three talents to the expenses of the undertaking⁵³. Disturbances now broke out in Tegea; Callibius and Proxenus, in concert with Mantinea, proposed to establish an Arcadian league⁵⁴, which was opposed by the Lacon Stasippus; a tumult ensued, in which the Laconistæ were overpowered with the help of the Mantineans, and a great number of them slain, while the remainder, to the number of eight hundred, escaped to Sparta⁵⁵. The project of a state which should comprise the whole of the Arcadians was resumed, and, with the aid of Thebes, there seemed a probability of carrying it into effect. The noble Mantinean, Lycomedes⁵⁶, now directed all his energies to the realization of this object. The Arcadians hereupon coalesced with the Thebans, to whom a way was now opened into the Peloponnesus.

At this juncture, Jason of Pheræ, Tagus of the Thessalians, came from the north with a numerous army, similar to that which Gelon had once commanded, but chiefly composed of mercenaries, in the hope of acquiring power in Greece; his premature death relieved the Greeks from any apprehensions from that quarter, though his tyranny⁵⁷

⁵² See § 69. n. 76, even after the battle of Leuctra: ἐπρωμένως—ἐκ τῶν κομῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 18.

⁵³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 4. 5. According to Pausan. 8. 14. 2, it was accomplished by Epaminondas;—ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήγαγεν αὐθις πόλιν. This only means by his encouragement and advice.

⁵⁴ According to Pausanias, ubi sup. this was likewise done at the suggestion of Epaminondas.

⁵⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 6—10.

⁵⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 23; Pausan. 8. 27. 2. Diodor. 15. 62, who before, 15. 59, inadvertently makes Lycomedes a Tegean.

⁵⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 27—32.

was probably never very oppressive. But this did not prevent the warlike races of the north from marching under the banners of Thebes into the Peloponnesus, which was now overrun by the northern tribes in the same manner as at the time of the Doric migration. But destitute of the creative power which had been exhibited by their predecessors, they did not, as they had done, expand, quicken, and invigorate the energies of Grecian life; revolution and destruction now marked their desolating progress.

The Thebans were accompanied on their expedition to the Peloponnesus by the Phocians, who served by compulsion⁵⁸, the Locrians of both districts, Malians, Acarnanians, (probably more correctly Ænians)⁵⁹, Thessalians, Heracleotæ⁶⁰, and Eubœans; on their arrival in the Peloponnesus they were joined by the Argives, Arcadians, and Eleans. The first two irruptions into the Peloponnesus, Olymp. 102. 3; 370. B. C., and Olymp. 102. 4., had highly important effects upon its whole political constitution.

1. The Arcadians, who, according to Diodorus, had already been united before the arrival of Epaminondas in the Peloponnesus⁶¹, now formed a closely cemented military confederacy (κοινόν, τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν.) In spite of the collisions which arose during their deliberations, and the actual hostilities

⁵⁸ Xenoph. 6. 5. 23: ὑπήκοοί γεγεννημένοι.

⁵⁹ In this case too we may apply to Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 23, what was remarked above, § 68. n. 39. The Acarnanians had concluded peace with Sparta, Olymp. 97. 2; 390. B. C., Xenoph. Hell. 4. 7. 1. Diodor. 15. 31, reckons them amongst her confederates.

⁶⁰ According to Diodor. 15. 57, Jason of Pheræ destroyed the town of Heraclea in the year in which the battle of Leuctra was fought. According to Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 27, he only razed the walls; the community continued to subsist.

⁶¹ Diodor. 15. 59.

carried on by Orchomenus and Heræa against Mantinea⁶², they succeeded in appointing a general council. The deliberative and executive assembly of the collective Arcadians⁶³ was henceforward composed by the Murioi, whose name does not express the precise number of its members, but merely indicates the bulk of warriors contained in it. Before the close of the year in which the battle of Leuctra was fought, the want of a fortified capital becoming apparent, they began to build⁶⁴ Megalopolis, and a thousand chosen Thebans, commanded by Pammenes⁶⁵, kept guard during its erection⁶⁶; its fortifications were not completed till after the *tearless battle*, Olymp. 103. 1; 367. B. C. Several tribes were now transplanted thither; force was employed towards some of them who had, till then, enjoyed but a very inconsiderable degree of independence, such as the Mænalians, Eutrasiens, Ægyptians, Parrhasians, and Cynurians. Amongst the townships which were either entirely or partially dissolved at the time, we may name Pallantium (?), Eutæa, Tricoloni, Lycæum, Aliphera, Gortys, Alea, Orestasium⁶⁷, Dipæa, Parorea, Acaesium, Methydrium, and Tripolis⁶⁸. The inhabitants of Trapezus refusing to quit their ancient seats, some of them fell victims to the exasperation of the Arcadians, while the remainder escaped from the Peloponnesus to the town of the same name

⁶² Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 11; Diodor. 15. 62.

⁶³ According to Diodor. 15. 59, they were to ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ τοῦ πόλεως καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευέσθαι.

⁶⁴ Pausan. 8. 27. 2.

⁶⁵ Pausan. 8. 27. 6.

⁶⁶ This is the construction which must probably be put upon Diodor. 15. 72, who places the erection in Olymp. 103. 1.

⁶⁷ One half of the town was called Ὀρεστιάς, the citizens Ὀρεστῖοι, Steph. Byz. Μεγάλη.

⁶⁸ Pausan. 8. 27. 3; comp. Müller, Dor. 2. 448, sqq.

on the Pontus⁶⁹. Lycosura, whose citizens likewise resisted the attempt to transplant them, was spared, in consideration of the sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina⁷⁰. But the Pallantians also occur as a distinct community in the year of the battle of Mantinea⁷¹. It may, upon the whole, be observed of the erection of this common capital, that it by no means abolished the separate and distinct interests of the several communities, and least of all, those of Tegea and Mantinea. Orchomenus, from which several communities, such as Thisoa, Methydrium and Teuthis, detached themselves, in order to remove to Megalopolis⁷², seems to have still subsisted, and to have continued hostile to Mantinea. This was likewise the case with Heræa⁷³, which, till a short time before the battle of Leuctra, had consisted of several villages, whose inhabitants were then collected into a city by Cleombrotus, king of Sparta⁷⁴. The magistrates of Megalopolis appear to have been of a twofold description: those for the community as such, and those for the armed confederacy; the latter composed a federal council, wherein a majority of votes decided⁷⁵, and which may be compared to the Hellanodicæ of Elis, but certainly did not consist exclusively of Megalopolitans. Megalopolis, upon the whole, rather seems to have borne the character of a place dependent upon Tegea and Mantinea, than to have possessed the honour and

⁶⁹ Pausan. 8. 27. 4.

⁷⁰ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 5. 5.

⁷¹ Xenoph. 6. 5. 22.

⁷² Strab. 8. 232; conf. Böckh on the inscription, Thes. Inscr. p. 27.

⁷³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 6;—ὅτι νικῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων. Xenoph. 7. 4. 33, the chiefs of the confederacy are named ἄρχοντες, the magistrates in Mantinea πρόσταται.

⁷⁴ Pausan. ubi sup.

⁷⁵ Pausan. 6. 27. 3.

authority appertaining to the chief town of a district or confederacy. Its particular constitution will form the subject of our consideration in the following chapter. Distinct from the Murioi as a collective body, and the Megalopolitans as an individual community, were the Epariti⁷⁶, a federal force⁷⁷, which was paid by the confederate towns⁷⁸, and comprised five thousand soldiers, whose headquarters were, however, probably in Megalopolis. As belonging to the league, they might, when necessary, be employed against any single state included in it⁷⁹. It may not be superfluous to remark, that this body of men received pay⁸⁰; for few Arcadians were able to maintain themselves, even during a campaign; their pay was for some time defrayed out of the Olympic spoil; but when Mantinea felt remorse at this appropriation of the holy treasures, and forbade it for the future, such of the Epariti as could not afford to serve without pay, deserted, whereupon high-minded Arcadians entered the band, and thereby strengthened it and secured its fidelity⁸¹. Besides these Epariti, there were doubtless bodies of soldiery in the several townships, who probably stood in the same relation to them, as local militia do to troops of the line in modern times. The first efforts of the Murioi were marked by uncommon energy and determi-

⁷⁶ The dissertation of Bejot, sur les Eparotes in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrit. p. 32, has not obviated the necessity for a new and comprehensive investigation of this subject, which is merely glanced at in the text.

⁷⁷ Hesych. Ἐπαρόητοι—τάγμα Ἀρκαδικὸν μαχιδώτατον· καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀρκάσι δημόσιοι φύλακες, which must be considered identical. Steph. Byz. Ἐπαρίται speaks of an ἔθνος, whose city could not be discovered!

⁷⁸ Diodor. 15. 62. 67. He calls them τοὺς καλουμένους ἐπιλέκτους; they were so, it is true, but they were not called so.

⁷⁹ e. g. Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 33. ⁸⁰ Xenoph. Hell. ubi sup.

⁸¹ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 34: ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἴεν.

nation; their exploits⁸² remind us of the heroic victories of the men of Appenzell on the Speicher, the Stoss and the Wolfshalde.

2. Messenia was restored⁸³, Ol. 102. 3; 370—69. B. C., in the two hundred and eighty-seventh year after the fall of Eira. Immediately after the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas had summoned the Messenians, who were scattered over Italy, Sicily, Cyrene, etc., to return to the Peloponnesus⁸⁴. Messene was erected and made the capital of the country. This was a heavy blow to Sparta, from which the originally Arcadian district of Sciritis was at the same time disjoined⁸⁵.

Amidst so many disasters that enfeebled state could not hope for lasting benefit or support from external aid, which could only keep off for a time the inroads of its impetuous assailants. Athens, however, now entered into a league with Sparta, on condition that they should assume by turns the command by land and sea⁸⁶. Selfishness and perfidy now began to actuate the policy of Thebes, who scrupled not to employ the most unworthy means to augment her power, and with this view turned her eyes towards Persia. Ambassadors were sent to the great king to remind him of their ancient friendship, and to crave his assistance⁸⁷. These were soon followed by Arcadian, Argive, Athenian, and Elean ambassadors, amongst whom Pelopidas and Ismenias refused to disgrace

⁸² Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 25: ὅπου δὲ βουλευθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νόξ, οὐ χειμών, οὐ μήκας ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὕρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτούς· ὥστε ἐν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ πολὺ ᾤοντο κράτιστοι εἶναι.

⁸³ Diodor. 15. 66: Pausan. 4. 27. 5, sqq.

⁸⁴ Pausan. 4. 26. 4. ⁸⁵ The Sciritæ are mentioned together with Sparta, Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 24; 5. 4. 52. After the Theban invasion, Sciritis is treated by Sparta as a hostile country, Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 21.

⁸⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 1—14; Diod. 15. 67. ⁸⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 33. 34.

the Grecian character by humiliating themselves before the barbarian despot⁸⁸; and the bold Arcadian Antiochus gratifies us by his blunt patriotism and decision of character. The king, he reported to the Myrioi, had bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters, in abundance, but no men who could fight with Greeks; that moreover great delusion existed as to his vast riches; for the far-renowned golden *platanus* was not large enough to give shadow to a cricket⁸⁹. But, on the other hand, one of the Athenian envoys, Timagoras, suffered himself to be bribed in the most flagrant manner, in consequence of which he was, on his return, put to death⁹⁰. Thebes trod in Sparta's footsteps; she published the contents of a letter from the great king, which declared that Sparta should renounce all claim to Messenia, and ordered Athens to dismantle her navy⁹¹. Thus his commands were still more peremptory than at the peace of Antalcidas. But Thebes was not formed to intimidate her adversaries, nor could she so far ingratiate herself with her neighbours as to attain the rank of chief town of the district; the answers to this summons were unsatisfactory⁹². The third incursion of the Thebans into the Peloponnesian territory was deficient in alacrity and spirit, but it was nevertheless followed by the establishment of democracy in Achaia, and the consequent acquisition of that province, as well as by a peace with Corinth and Phlius⁹³. Nor was Thebes able to obtain a firmer footing in the north, which she so ardently desired

⁸⁸ Plut. Pelop. 30; Artax. 22.⁸⁹ Xenoph. 7. 1. 38.⁹¹ Xenoph. 7. 1. 36.⁹³ Xenoph. 7. 4. 4—12.⁹⁰ Plut. Artax. 22.⁹² Xenoph. 7. 1. 38, sqq.

to add to her dominions. Pheræ was the capital of Thessaly, and its tyrant Alexander was in alliance with Athens. Thebes united to her dominions Larissa, etc. In the expedition which she undertook against the treacherous and cowardly Alexander⁹⁴, the Thebans lost their brave hero Pelopidas, for which the league they eventually concluded with the tyrant was but a poor compensation; nor, indeed, did Thebes derive any solid advantage from it, as the sequel abundantly proves.

Whilst the three chief states of Greece, Athens, Thebes, and—after the Periœci and Helots, who had revolted when Epaminondas invaded Laconia, had been again reduced to obedience⁹⁵—Sparta, present the spectacle of unity, most of the other states, which took part in the wars between the former, were harassed by intestine distractions, which more especially applies to Arcadia and Elis. This added to the rancour and exasperation of the general war. Some Arcadian refugees having taken from the Eleans the frontier town Lasium⁹⁶, a war broke out between Arcadia and Elis; an Arcadian party in Elis took possession of the citadel of that place, whilst an Arcadian army invaded Pisatis, and plundered the sanctuary of the Olympic Zeus⁹⁷. This once more disengaged the Eleans from their confederacy with Thebes⁹⁸, and reunited them with Sparta. At the same time the Arcadian league became divided into two conflicting portions, one composed of such as felt remorse

⁹⁴ Diod. 15. 67, sqq.; Plut. Pelop. 26, sqq.; Paus. 9. 15. 1.⁹⁵ All the inhabitants of Caryæ were put to the sword. Xenoph. 7. 1. 28.⁹⁶ Diod. 15. 77; Xenoph. 7. 4. 12—18.⁹⁷ Diod. 15. 82. Conf. Xenoph. 7. 4. 19, sqq.⁹⁸ Xenoph. 6. 5. 3; 7. 1. 18; 7. 5. 1.

for this act of impiety and sacrilege, and wished to make atonement for it by restoring the plunder; the other, of those who refused to surrender any part of it. The Mantineans belonged to the former, and the Tegeans to the latter⁹⁹. The Theban commander in Tegea having soon afterwards detained for some time in custody the ambassadors of the better-disposed Arcadians¹⁰⁰, Epaminondas, little to his honour it must be confessed, opposed the proposal for their liberation, and at the same time uttered menaces against the Mantineans and their friends¹⁰¹. This renewed the exasperation of the Peloponnesians. Mantinea, Elis, and Achaia entered into an alliance with Sparta and Athens¹⁰². Thus Epaminondas, upon his fourth expedition to the Peloponnesus, only had the Argives, Megalopolitans, Aseatians, Pallantians, Tegeans, and Messenians¹⁰³ on his side. Amongst the northern states Phocis had refused to perform military service. The battle of Mantinea, Olymp. 104. 2; 362. B. C., which was not decided in the field, could not unravel the confusion in which the political relations of Greece were involved. From the question which Epaminondas, a few minutes before he expired, addressed to those around him, viz., whether Iollidas and Daiphantus had fallen or not, and from the advice which he gave them upon being informed that they had, namely, that they should immediately make peace¹⁰⁴, we may perceive how entirely Thebes was indebted for her aggrandizement to a few distinguished individuals, and how

⁹⁹ Xenoph. 7. 4. 33, sqq.¹⁰¹ Xenoph. 7. 4. 40.¹⁰² Xenoph. 7. 5. 1—3.¹⁰⁴ Plut. Apophth. 6. 733; Ælian, V. H. 12. 3.¹⁰⁰ Xenoph. 7. 4. 36, sqq.¹⁰³ Xenoph. 7. 5. 5.

little she owed to the people at large. The extinction of Grecian independence was fast approaching; the glory of the Grecian arms descended with Epaminondas into the grave; and with the battle of Mantinea¹⁰⁵ the historians Xenophon, Philistus, and Anaximenes, significantly close their labours.

3. THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE OTHER STATES WHICH TOOK PART IN THE STRUGGLE.

§ 73. The variations in the public system of those states which took part in the conflict between Sparta and her foes, were for the most part modified and determined by that conflict itself. But at the same time the political fermentation within was marked by increasing virulence and bitterness; revolutions followed each other more rapidly, and were more impetuous; factions became wilder and less conscious of an aim; their denominations no longer corresponded with their intrinsic essence and nature. Oligarchy, however, still universally bore the character of an unnatural form of government, and during the hegemony of Sparta was looked upon as a despotism solely kept up by external force; the notion of *Politeia* became perverted from its original signification and narrowed into a designation for democracy¹; while the *demus* itself, in consequence of the vast number of its members who had raised themselves to the rank of dynasts, had become disorganized and utterly careless of legal order and civil prosperity.

¹⁰⁵ Diod. 15. 89.¹ Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. 195. 20; comp. Meier, de Bon. n. 1. This, it must be confessed, is not its meaning in the philosophical vocabulary of Aristotle.

Hence, in its reckless excesses, it was continually split into new divisions and new factions, which were alternately victorious and vanquished.

Even before Athens once more took the field in the Corinthian war, and before the naval operations of Conon were attended by such important results, the Decarchs of Lysander had been deposed in many of the towns, but democracy was not formally re-established after their expulsion². Conon's fleet no sooner appeared than Rhodes fell off from Sparta, Olymp. 96. 1; 395. B. C.³, whereupon a democratic constitution was established there⁴. The defeat which the Spartan fleet sustained at Cnidos was followed by the defection of several maritime states from Sparta, and by the subversion of their oligarchies. Thus democracy arose in Cos⁵ and Chios⁶, and, though they are not expressly enumerated, most probably in Mytilene, Erythræ, Teos, etc. It was apparently at this period that the Chian Onomademus gave to his countrymen the prudent and philanthropic advice not to expel the whole of their adversaries, lest dissensions should break out amongst friends⁷. Isocrates⁸ is said to have regulated the constitution and magistracy in Chios upon the model of those of Athens, but whether at this period, or during the new naval league, it does not appear. Thrasybulus, supported by a popular party headed by Ecphantus, set up demo-

² Xenoph. Hell. 3. 4. 7: ἄτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολι-
τειῶν καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὐσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρ-
χίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου. Comp. § 69. n. 11. 12.

³ Diod. 14. 79.

⁴ Xenoph. 4. 8. 20.

⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 1.

⁶ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 11, seems to speak of the dissolution of the oligarchy of that period.

⁷ Plut. de capiend. ex Host. util. 6. 342; Ælian, V. H. 4. 25.

⁸ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 329.

cracy in Thasos⁹ and Byzantium¹⁰, Ol. 97. 3; 390. B. C. But it was in Byzantium only, where Archebius and Heraclides were the leaders of the people¹¹, that it became permanently established; in Rhodes the demus only maintained itself till Olymp. 97. 2; 390. B. C.¹²; the demagogy there was of the most vicious character; salaries were given to those who attended the popular assembly(?), persons were exposed to unjust and vexatious prosecutions, etc¹³. Immediately after their fall the dynasts had sent to request assistance of Sparta¹⁴; in the same year they succeeded in overpowering the demus and expelling its chiefs. A similar spectacle was presented in Cos¹⁵.

Thessaly, like Athens and Argos, signalized itself amongst the states of the main-land by democratic commotions. Its political relations underwent a thorough change after the victory of Lycophron at Pheræ over the Larissæans, Ol. 94. 1; 404. B. C.¹⁶. The demus of the Thessalian states had for some time been refractory against the dynasts; after that victory the power of the latter in Larissa, Pharsalus, Crannon and Scotussa, consequently that of the Aleuadae and Scopadae, appears to have been broken. When Agesilaus came from Asia to the Corinthian war, the inhabitants of these towns, with the exception of the refugees, were hostile

⁹ Demosth. in Lept. 474. 26; Aristid. Panath. 112. ed. Jebb.

¹⁰ Demosth. ubi sup. 475. 3; Xenoph. Hell. 4. 8. 27.

¹¹ Demosth. ubi sup.

¹² Diod. 14. 97.

¹³ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 2: μισθοφορὰν τε γὰρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπὶ ὀρίζον, καὶ ἐκώλουν ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐπιφε-
ρομένας δίκας ἠναγκάσθησαν σύσταντες καταλύσαι τὸν δῆμον. Conf. 5.
2. 5. 6.

¹⁴ Xenoph. 4. 8. 20. 24.

¹⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 4. 1: — ἡ δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρῶν ἐγγενομένων
δημαγωγῶν.

¹⁶ Xenoph. 2. 3. 4.

to him¹⁷. Amongst these fugitives was probably Hellenocrates of Larissa, who had some time before sought refuge¹⁸ with Archelaus of Macedonia, (reigned 413—400. B. C.) whom he had probably instigated to endeavour to establish an influence in Thessaly¹⁹. It was possibly about this time that Larissa appointed Demiurgi as magistrates, who were so liberal in dispensing the franchise, that Gorgias called them *manufacturers of Larissæans*²⁰. Other towns, which, much to their honour, felt a desire for reconciliation, elected a mediatory archon (*ἀρχων μεσιδίας*)²¹, a transcript of the ancient Æsymnete. Such, probably, was Lycophron of Pheræ. There was in Larissa, Ol. 96. 2, a dynast called Medius, who waged war against Lycophron²²; was this, perhaps, the mediatory archon, who was chosen by the Aleuads to settle their disputes in the party-divisions of Simos, and who, having obtained the government²³, conquered Pharsalus, which was occupied by a Spartan garrison²⁴? Pharsalus, which had endured severe calamities, appointed to this post Polydamas, who had administered the public revenue with zeal and integrity; he governed, Ol. 101. 1; 376. B. C.²⁵, citizens being chosen to deliberate with him²⁶.

¹⁷ Xenoph. 4. 3. 3.¹⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 8. 12.¹⁹ To this head must be referred a passage in a speech of the sophist Thrasy-machus, preserved in Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. 624. C.: Ἀρχελάω δουλεύσομεν, Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρων.²⁰ Aristot. Pol. 3. 1. 9. Gorgias was still living in Jason's time. Paus. 6. 17. 5.²¹ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 9.²² Diod. 14. 82.²³ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 9.²⁴ Diod. 14. 82. The mercenaries of Medius were afterwards slain in Pharsalus, and Aristotle says (Hist. An. 9. 31), that the ravens even came there from Attica and the Peloponnesus to feed upon their corpses. Herewith commences the new constitution of Pharsalus, which must be referred to Polydamas.²⁵ Xenoph. 6. 1. 2.²⁶ Sisypheus, 387.

But the Thessalian demus was not destined to attain political liberty or moral dignity, and Thessaly soon became one of the most luxuriant hotbeds of tyranny²⁷.

The peace of Antalcidas, as was above remarked, renewed the preponderance of oligarchy; this species of authority was now likewise forced upon states which had not accepted it after the fall of Athens. Revolutions became more frequent after the deliverance of Thebes, and particularly after the battle of Leuctra. Thebes was no sooner delivered from her tyrants, than she made the diffusion of democratic constitutions one of the main objects of her external policy. Her efforts to obtain the hegemony alarmed the jealousy of Athens, and disposed that state to make common cause with Sparta, whereupon all previous connections were dissolved, parties were deprived of their customary rallying-points and supports, and the impetuosity of Thebes increased the general disorder. The vicious and tyrannical nature of her interference in the constitutions of the surrounding states is proved by her ruthless proclamation commanding the extradition of all fugitives²⁸, a proceeding which she adopted in imitation of Sparta²⁹. All the worst errors and vices of the Grecian policy, in seeking the support of barbarians, framing the peace of Antalcidas, etc., were destined to be renewed, while bad examples were everywhere eagerly followed. Euphron the tyrant of Sicyon, not exactly one of the worst among

²⁷ See § 75.²⁸ —τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίδων. Xenoph. 7. 3. 11.²⁹ § 68. n. 14.

them, was also supported by Thebes³⁰. However, it is obvious from the league between Athens and Sparta that the parties for or against Thebes and Sparta could not always be found in conjunction with the particular constitutions represented by these states; in some of them the animosities which broke out were solely occasioned by the difference of opinion as to their external point of support; as, for example, in Eubœa for Thebes or Athens³¹. Xenophon, indeed, takes pleasure in designating the Laconistæ the best, as in Sicyon³² and Elis. Nevertheless Athens still continued to be the main pillar of democracy, which she had exhausted to the very dregs in its successive gradations through which her constitution had passed; and Demosthenes³³ still in his day asserted that her policy required her to support democratic institutions; but she had lost the influence she had once possessed over the internal condition of her confederates, and her authority was not now, as formerly, necessarily followed by the overthrow of democracy. From this total absence of solidity and fixity in the interior of communities, it must not excite surprise if, in enumerating those states in which revolutions took place, we can no longer continue to observe the division which was adopted above, namely, into oligarchical and democratic states, and if their classification should henceforward appear to be almost arbitrary.

After the subversion of oligarchy in the Peloponnesian war, Argos continued strictly democratic;

³⁰ Xenoph. 7. 1. 44; 7. 3. 1, sqq.

³² Xenoph. 7. 3. 4.

³¹ Diod. 16. 7.

³³ Dem. de Syntax. 168.

at the time of the peace of Antalcidas it was the retreat of the expelled partisans of democracy in the neighbouring states³⁴. The licentiousness and aggressions of the demagogy now rose to such a pitch that they roused the wealthier orders to plot against the democracy; but the conspiracy being discovered, the rage of the multitude broke out into the most brutal and infuriated excesses, during which they massacred twelve hundred of the rich and their adherents; this butchery was entitled the Scytalismus (fustuarium)³⁵. Horror-struck at this appalling outrage, which seemed to surpass in enormity every thing that had gone before, the Athenians caused their market-place to be consecrated³⁶, lest they should share with their guilty allies the vengeance of the offended Nemesis. But even after this massacre the troubles among the Argive demus did not subside; however, we are only acquainted with the turbulence of its general character³⁷: the particulars of its excesses are not recorded³⁸.

Corinth beheld the blood of its citizens twice flow in the feuds of the oligarchs and the exasperated multitude. The massacre which took place on the eve of the festival Eucleia, Olymp. 96. 3; 393. B. C., has already been alluded to³⁹. It does not appear whether the Laconistæ, who returned at the peace of Antalcidas, expelled their antagonists or not; but during the great Bœotian war, Olymp. 101. 2; 375. B. C., whilst Corinth

³⁴ Diod. 15. 40.

³⁵ Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 243.

³⁶ 'Αργεία φορά, Diogen. Prov. 2. 79. Conf. Müller, Dor. 2. 146.

³⁷ Diod. 15. 58, concludes his narrative of the Scytalismus with the words—

εἰς τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν εὐνοίαν ἀποκατέστη (!).

³⁸ § 69. n. 6.

³⁹ Diod. 15. 57. 58.

was the faithful adherent of Sparta, some Corinthian fugitives endeavoured from Argos to obtain possession of Corinth, but being frustrated in their attempt they killed themselves in despair⁴⁰. These must have been Antilacones, and in all probability democrats, for Corinth was governed by an oligarchy at the time, which, however, like the former, appears to have been of a very moderate character⁴¹. Corinth could shortly afterwards boast of possessing among its citizens the purest republican of that age, Timoleon, whose rigid virtue did not even spare his own brother Timophanes, who, with the help of four hundred mercenaries, Olymp. 103. 3; 366. B. C., had seized upon the government⁴².

In Sicyon the constitution introduced by Sparta during the Peloponnesian war maintained itself till the great Boeotian war; Olymp. 101. 2; 375. B. C., an anti-Spartan and democratic party made an attempt to subvert it⁴³, but being overpowered they were put to death. These dissensions, however, still continuing with unabated violence, one of the dynasts called Euphron, soon afterwards overthrew the oligarchy, and made himself tyrant⁴⁴.

Elis. The oligarchy, which was forced upon this state by Sparta, began to totter after the Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus. A democratic party tampered with the Arcadians, and en-

⁴⁰ Diod. 15. 40.

⁴¹ Plut. Dion. 53:—τοὺς Κορινθίους ὀλιγαρχικώτερον τε πολιτευομένους καὶ μὴ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῇ δῆμῳ πράττοντας. Add to this, that the criminal proceedings against Timoleon were conducted in the council (Diod. 16. 65.), and that Timoleon was afterwards sent by the council to Syracuse (Diod. 16. 81.).

⁴² Plut. Timol. 5. Conf. Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 7; Diod. 16. 65.

⁴³ Diod. 15. 40, who, it is true, in this chapter only speaks of oligarchical intrigues, but erroneously reckons the Sicyonian amongst the number.

⁴⁴ Xenoph. 7. 1. 44; 7. 3. 4.

deavoured to obtain possession of the citadel of Elis; but this scheme was frustrated by the Three Hundred and the Knights (who were probably identical with the before-named⁴⁵ Four Hundred), and these were then backed by the Achæans of Pellene. The Pisatans now revolted, and laid claim to the presidency at the Olympic games, but the Eleans also succeeded in resisting their pretensions⁴⁶. Plato's scholar Phormio is reported to have limited the democratic council (afterwards?)⁴⁷.

After the beginning of the great Boeotian war troubles broke out in Achaia. It is not improbable that the fugitives who were dragged from the temple of Poseidon in Helice⁴⁸, belonged to a democratic party. It has already been stated that Helice and Bura were soon afterwards destroyed by an inundation and earthquake⁴⁹. One of the objects of Epaminondas' third campaign was to reduce Pellene, the strong-hold of the Spartan faction, which he accordingly effected; he at first made no change in the constitution, but soon afterwards established a democracy there⁵⁰, which not being properly supported, Pellene, if not the whole of Achaia, shortly afterwards assisted the dynasts in Elis⁵¹.

Messenia enjoyed but for a short time the democratic constitution which Thebes had assisted

⁴⁵ See § 59. n. 3.

⁴⁶ Xenoph. 7. 4. 15, sqq.

⁴⁷ Plut. adv. Colot. 10. 629; Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 213.

⁴⁸ Paus. 7. 24. 5.

⁴⁹ Vol. i. p. 3. n. 17, with which must be compared Paus. ubi sup.

⁵⁰ Xenoph. 7. 1. 41—43. In Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Harl. ed. 2. 36, Pagondas is enumerated amongst the Grecian legislators, and described as having made laws for Achaia (from Theodoret. Curat. Græc. Eff. IX.): the name is Boeotian (Thuc. 4. 91). Must we refer him and his labours to this period?

⁵¹ Xenoph. 7. 4. 17.

in establishing⁵²; its chief magistrates were Timuchi⁵³.

Phlius. The restoration of the oligarchical party which, as we have seen, was effected by Sparta⁵⁴, notwithstanding the moderation which attended the establishment of the new constitution, was followed by emigrations. Some Phliasian fugitives assembled in a fortress⁵⁵, hired mercenary soldiers, gained a victory over the townsmen, and killed three hundred of them; but afterwards, through the treachery of their guards, they were surprised, more than six hundred of them were put to the sword, and the survivors escaped to Argos⁵⁶. Phlius, though constantly assailed from Argos, Sicyon, and Arcadia, remained staunch to the Spartan interest⁵⁷ till the third invasion of Epaminondas⁵⁸; this proves that the fugitives in question belonged to the anti-oligarchical party.

Arcadia. Even before the battle of Leuctra there had been a democracy in Phigalia; Olymp. 101. 2; 375. B. C. the Laconistæ, who had occupied the fortress Heræa, suddenly fell upon the people who were assembled in the theatre, slaughtered them, and escaped to Sparta⁵⁹. From the time of its defection from Sparta and the formation of the confederacy, it may be assumed that democratic institutions were general, except

⁵² Polyb. 7. 10.

⁵³ Suid. 'Επικούρος.

⁵⁴ § 69. n. 5.

⁵⁵ Diod. 15. 40:—ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας φρούριον ὀχυρόν, can be no other than Tricaranon; Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 11.

⁵⁶ Diod. ubi sup.

⁵⁷ Concerning the peace with Thebes see Xenoph. 7. 4. 9. 10.

⁵⁸ Xenoph. 7. 2—a chapter written in praise of Phlius on that account.

⁵⁹ Diod. 15. 40.

in Orchomenus. Tyronidas and Pyrias⁶⁰ are recorded as law-givers in Tegea; do they belong to this period? The Platonist Aristonymus is said to have been the legislator of the Arcadians⁶¹; Cercidas of Megalopolis is also renowned for the excellence of his enactments⁶²; but the accounts are inaccurate and suspicious; the last is probably identical with the partisan of Philip, who will be mentioned hereafter.

Megara. Diodorus narrates⁶³, that in Olymp. 101. 2; 375. B. C., some oligarchists made an ineffectual attempt to overthrow the democracy. The democratic institutions of that place must still have been in their infancy; for they certainly were not in existence before the liberation of Thebes, and even at the period of Agesilaus' campaign to Bœotia, Olymp. 100. 3; 378. B. C., Megara still paid obedience to Sparta⁶⁴. Isocrates speaks in favourable terms of the subsequent condition of Megara⁶⁵. The Three Hundred, as they were called, are described as a superior court of justice⁶⁶.

Eubœa. The benefits resulting from its defection from Athens were but short-lived, and there is reason to suppose that oligarchies were introduced under the hegemony of Sparta. Upon the liberation of Thebes, Sparta lost her influence in Eubœa, about which time it is probable that Heracleodorus set up democracy in Oreos (Histiaea)⁶⁷. Other towns of Eubœa, particularly Eretria, were soon afterwards under the domination of tyrants.

⁶⁰ Paus. 8. 48. 1. Conf. vol. i. p. 180.

⁶¹ Plat. Colot. 10. 629.

⁶² Steph. Byz. Μεγάλη. Conf. Phot. Cod. CXC.

⁶³ Diodor. 15. 40.

⁶⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 41.

⁶⁵ Isocrat. Panegy. 292. 293.

⁶⁶ Demosth. de Fals. Legat. 435. 29: Περίλαος ἐκρίνετο—ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις.

⁶⁷ Aristot. Pol. 5. 2. 9.

Corcyra. In the great Bœotian war, Olymp. 101. 3; 374. B. C., an oligarchical party applied to Sparta for assistance⁶⁸; hereupon the Spartan Mnasippus appeared with a fleet, and the town made an obstinate resistance until it was relieved by an auxiliary squadron from Athens⁶⁹. But in Olymp. 104. 4, Chares arrived with an Athenian fleet under his command, by the aid of which the wealthier class possessed themselves of the government⁷⁰.

Zacynthus was during the same period agitated by political disturbances. The Laconistæ expelled the adverse faction, probably the partisans of democracy, who had plucked up courage upon the appearance of an Athenian fleet in those seas; the latter obtained assistance from Timotheus⁷¹.

Among the eastern islands Samos and Corinth were doubtless democratic; Menedemus is said to have been appointed by Plato to legislate for Pyrrha in Lesbos⁷²; in the time of Isocrates a tyrant called Cleommis ruled in Methymna⁷³. Oligarchy was not precipitated in Cnidos till a little before Aristotle's time⁷⁴, when a new constitution was framed by the great Eudoxus⁷⁵; in Rhodes the oligarchy was maintained by the Carian dynast Mausolus, and by Artemisia, who succeeded him⁷⁶; a common capital, upon the model of Rhodes, was erected in Cos⁷⁷, Olymp. 103. 3; 366. B. C., after which the community became rich and powerful,

⁶⁸ Diod. 15. 46. Xenoph. 6. 2. 4, sqq., in narrating the expedition of Mnasippus makes no mention of factions in Corcyra.

⁶⁹ Xenoph. 6. 2. 10, sqq.

⁷¹ Diod. 15. 45; Xenoph. 6. 2. 2. 3.

⁷² Isocrat. Ep. 7. 748.

⁷³ Plut. Colot. 10. 629; Diog. Laert. 8. 89.

⁷⁶ Argum. Dem. de Libert. Rhod.

⁷⁰ Diod. 15. 95; Æn. Poliorc. 11.

⁷² Plut. Colot. 10. 629.

⁷⁴ Aristot. 5. 5. 3. 11.

⁷⁷ Diod. 15. 76.

but we are not informed whether the spirit in which the *συννοικισμός* was effected was democratic or not.

4. THE NATIONALITY OF THE GREEKS IN GENERAL AFTER THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

§ 74. Those master-passions of the Grecian mind, selfishness, avarice, and lust, contentiousness, cruelty, and revenge, which found such abundant aliment during the Peloponnesian war, lost none of their baneful force during the period by which it was succeeded, as even in peace the pernicious interference of Sparta in the internal regulations of the states dependent upon her authority, banished from them all internal concord, civil order, and stability, while they were exposed to violent and uninterrupted shocks from without. The ethico-religious basis of political and international law can no longer be recognised in the spirit and the customs of the Greeks¹; the education of youth was neglected, the paternal and the hereditary were disregarded, native ordinances and institutions lost their most effectual foundation and support; citizens ceased to be shielded by the laws—fugitives to find protection in the sanctuaries—the defenceless to inspire pity and respect. Hence resulted two remarkable characteristics of the age, viz. expulsion and emigration. The former, with very

¹ Ἡ ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιά became proverbial. Demosth. de Pac. 63. 25. The story in Diod. 15. 78, that in the war between the Eleans and the Arcadians, the Eleans and Pisatans fought for the presidency of the Olympic games, whilst the other Greeks, crowned with garlands, looked on and applauded, sounds rather improbable.

few exceptions, was a consequence of every victory²; even when a reconciliation did take place it was seldom permanent or sincere, and when the first outburst of passion passed over without violence or outrage, it was not long before fresh disturbances arose, as was the case in Phlius, or hostile factions sought a vent for their animosity in the machinations of sycophancy. Without compulsion, however, emigration was a natural consequence of the growing indifference of the citizens towards their impoverished and joyless country, and prohibitory laws either did not exist at all, or had become inoperative; selfishness and avarice found it to their advantage to have as few citizens as possible, by which means those who maintained their ground could the better consult their own profit and convenience. States were insensible to the importance of keeping together and concentrating their energies. From these two causes of expatriation flowed two fresh phenomena. The fugitives (*φυγάδες*)³, who had been expelled by force, or had fled in consequence of misuseage or oppression, arrayed themselves against their respective cities, with the firm resolution of leaving neither violence nor stratagem unemployed to effect their return. They mostly took up their position in a town or village near their native city, fortified

² As in the case of Timotheus in Corcyra: οὐ μέντοι ἡνδραποδίστατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν, οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 4. 64.

³ The words *φυγάδες*, *φεύγοντες*, from the constant recurrence of the transactions to which they relate, attained a sort of technical impost in the political vocabulary, and were often employed for the sake of convenience, instead of more determinate expressions, the political conflicts of the age being seldom unattended by expulsion and flight; e. g. Xenoph. Hell. 7. 4. 1: ὁ Ὀρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη; more accurately, Diod. 15. 76. says, Themison the tyrant of Eretria, who was probably accompanied by fugitives. There are objections against assuming with Schneider that Xenophon refers to a second capture.

some place of strength in its vicinity, and from hence made war upon it. Such were Thrasybulus, Pelopidas, the fugitives of Chios, Phlius, Phigalia, Corinth, etc. Those, however, composed a very different class who, having no inclination for the tranquil pursuits of citizenship, grew weary of their country, and quitting their homes, sought to gratify their roaming disposition in the excitement of adventure abroad. But instead of evincing any inclination for civil life and permanent settlements, by attempting to found colonies, they wandered about from place to place acknowledging neither country nor kindred. Now very few of them devoted themselves to the itinerant arts of peace; but beside the calm duties of civil life at home, there arose a new political vocation, viz., the performance of military service for hire, which thousands of the Greeks embraced with eagerness, in consequence of its inherent strength and boldness, whilst the other was in a great measure supplanted by it. This constitutes a main branch of our enquiry here, not, however, in a military point of view, but solely in its relation to citizens and citizenship.

Cretans⁴, Carians⁵, and Arcadians, had fought for pay in the earliest ages. The first had become gradually estranged from the political system of Greece, and were moreover of barbarian original. The Cretans were connected with the other two almost entirely in their character of mercenaries; the Arcadians were Greeks by extraction, took part in the political quarrels of the mother-country,

⁴ Vol. i. p. 41. n. 9.

⁵ Vol. i. p. 188. n. 10.

and were induced by their natural predilection for the career of arms and by the ruggedness and sterility of their native mountains, to forsake peaceful occupations and embrace the profession of mercenaries. This gave rise to the proverbial expression, (*Αρκάδας μιμούμενοι*)⁶. We read with regret that a body of Arcadians went to Xerxes and offered to serve for hire⁷. The mercenary soldiers in the pay of the tyrants, Pisistratus and his sons Polycrates, Gelon⁸, etc., do not appear to have been genuine Greeks; it is probable that the greater part of them were barbarians. After the great Persian war it became usual to pay the civic force; and when during the Peloponnesian war one state allowed its own troops to serve another for pay, it must not be supposed that these were always genuine mercenaries, as they were frequently furnished in conformity to the provisions of a confederacy; the essential mark of which species of obligation was that the force designed to serve for pay was furnished by the state, and continued dependent upon the same. In this light must probably be regarded the Peloponnesians in the Corinthian pay⁹, as well as those who followed Brasidas¹⁰. Auxiliary forces of this nature, supplied conformably to the conditions of a confederacy, were first designated by the word *Ἐπικούροι*: the same name was afterwards applied to auxiliaries who received pay, and at last to real mercenaries¹¹.

⁶ Vol. i. p. 91. n. 11, on which compare, Diogen. Prov. 1. 29.

⁷ Herod. 8. 26.

⁸ Thucyd. 6. 55; Herod. 3. 39; Diod. 11. 67. 72, etc.

⁹ Thucyd. 1. 60.

¹⁰ Thucyd. 4. 80.

¹¹ Herod. 5. 63: οἱ Πεισιστράτιδες — ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην: ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφί συμμάχῃ πρὸς αὐτούς. Hence must be explained the word in the passage, 1. 64: — Πεισιστράτης — ἐβρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα

But during the Peloponnesian war we likewise find that individuals served as mercenaries, without the concurrence or participation of the states to which they belonged; e. g. some Arcadians were in the pay of Tissaphernes¹². Some Orchomenian fugitives hired the services of Peloponnesian (Arcadian?) mercenaries¹³; strangers served for pay on board the Athenian fleet¹⁴, as did also a body of Cretan archers¹⁵. This practice was doubtless greatly promoted by the conduct of Athens in disarming the Nesiotæ, as she was thereby obliged to take other troops into her pay to supply their place, whilst the young islanders were compelled to seek employment in foreign service on their own account. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war the mercenary system had gained ground to such an extent as to endanger the very existence of citizenship; the prospect of an obol more, was sufficient to induce whole ships' crews to desert from one fleet to another. The band of mercenaries which the younger Cyrus succeeded in assembling, affords a signal proof of the fearful degree of corruption at which the Grecian political system had arrived,

ἐπικούροις τε πολλοῖσι, κ. τ. λ. The notion of serving for pay was not necessarily implied by the word; Herod. 3. 45. says, *ἐπικούροι μισθοῦται*. It seems as if they were desirous of retaining the old word even after the degradation of the practice itself, and we are almost induced to believe that the mercenary called himself *ἐπικούρος* and not *μισθοφόρος*. Thucydides, 2. 70, uses it of the foreign garrison in Potidæa, which must probably be considered an auxiliary force from the Peloponnesus; again, 3. 34: *ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων τε καὶ βαρβάρων*, where both are meant; in the same manner, 2. 30, the Acarnanian Euarchus *ἐπικούρους* τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο; the Mytilenæan fugitives' hire ἐκ τε Πελοποννήσου ἐπικουρικόν, καὶ αὐτὸθεν ξυναγείραντες. Tissaphernes has, Thucyd. 8. 25, a *ξενικὸν ἐπικουρικόν*. Lysimedes is praised by Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 23: ὡς, ἐπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεῖεν τινες, οὐδένας ἠροῦντο ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. Hermipp. ap. Athen. 1. 27. F. mentions amongst the peculiar productions of the Grecian provinces ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκადίας *ἐπικούρος*. The word *ξένοι* was frequently used instead of *μισθοφοροῦντες*, and *ξενιτεύομαι* contains a significant allusion to the severance of the ties between the mercenary and his country. See Harpocr. *ξενιτενομένους*.

¹² Thucyd. 3. 34.

¹⁴ Thucyd. 1. 121.

¹³ Thucyd. 4. 76.

¹⁵ Thucyd. 6. 25.

and it must chiefly be ascribed to the pernicious influence of the Peloponnesian war that they were so numerous. But the assertion of Isocrates¹⁶, that they quitted their country because of their depravity, has no foundation in truth; his Grecian pride endeavours to palliate the fact that so many thousand able-bodied Greeks had resigned themselves to the will of a barbarian, instead of which he ought to have taken into consideration the spirit of adventure by which they were actuated. Agesilaus too, like the Athenians before him, encouraged this practice when he allowed the Greeks of Asia Minor to provide substitutes¹⁷. Soon afterwards the Peloponnesian allies of Sparta used to furnish money instead of troops for expeditions which were distant, and particularly for those beyond the sea¹⁸. Conon engaged corps of mercenaries with Persian money, and these have attracted the particular attention of the ancients. This arose from the astonishment which so considerable a body of men must at that time have excited upon the continent of Greece, as well as from the noble bearing, admirable discipline and brilliant achievements by which the peltasts now signalized themselves. They first attract attention at the beginning of the Corinthian war, and being generally stationed at Corinth, were usually denominated the Xenicon in Corinth¹⁹. Iphicrates and Chabrias were their most noted commanders²⁰. In the same war Agesilaus brought with him on his

¹⁶ Isocrat. Panegy. 40: — οἱ διὰ φανλόγητ' ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶοιτ' ἦσαν ζῆν.

¹⁷ Xenoph. 3. 4. 15.

¹⁸ Xenoph. 5. 2. 21; 6. 2. 7.

¹⁹ Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Aristoph. Plut. 173 and Schol.; Harpocr. Phot. Demosth. Phil. 1. 46. 19.

²⁰ Harpocr. Phot. Ξενικόν.

return from Asia, a body of mercenaries under the command of Herippidas²¹. After the first ardour had subsided, the war was carried on more by means of mercenaries than by armies composed of natives of the belligerent states²².

At a time when the mercenary system prevailed to such an extent as to absorb all the strength and substance of the Grecian states, and the native military rapidly decreased, our attention is attracted to a new feature in the age; namely, the organization of select bands of citizens, to whom were pre-eminently confided the career of arms and the highest duties connected with the same. This acted in some measure as a revival of the military order of the olden time. As early as the Peloponnesian war such bodies had been formed in Argos, Elis, and Athens, and as equestrian rank was once essential to aristocracy, so these institutions were generally combined with oligarchy. But we afterwards occasionally find that the military character exclusively predominated without any reference to the notion of an order. The sacred legion in Thebes, the Epariti in Arcadia, and the Epilecti in Phlius²³, were chosen bands of this description.

Besides these bands, the militia composed of the citizens of Sparta, Thebes, etc., still displayed the ancient Grecian valour, it is true, but this was the last glare of the expiring taper; the effects of the mercenary system, which attained its zenith in the time of Philip, began to be sensibly felt in many states, and particularly in Athens. The

²¹ Xenoph. 4. 3. 15.

²² Xenoph. 4. 4. 15: στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαιναντο — μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἑκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐβρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.

²³ Xenoph. 7. 2. 10. On the φρουροὶ in Thurii, see below, § 75. n. 72.

number of citizens who bore arms perceptibly decreased, they daily grew more remiss in arming for the common cause, and the calculations of profit as much injured the military operations of the Greeks themselves²⁴ as they promoted the custom of serving for pay; a portion of the best strength of the Grecian states came into the hands of their hereditary foes, the wealthy barbarians. To this must be added the real privation caused by the increasing impoverishment of their native country²⁵, while life was as much exposed to danger in civil feuds, and from the intrigues and snares of sycophants at home, as in the field of battle, where men could at least wield their swords in their own defence. Hence the disposition to enlist in this species of service daily gained ground even among the better and more respectable members of the community; large bodies of mercenaries were easily assembled²⁶, and able commanders placed themselves at their head. These felt little inclination to have native troops under their command; the more dissimilar the ingredients of which their armies were composed, the more likely they were to be attached to the camp and the general, and to devote themselves singly and exclusively to the career of arms. It was natural that armies thus constituted should be indifferent to the cause they fought for²⁷, and thus the pledges for the

²⁴ Isocrates complains, Areopag. 246: τῶν δὲ περὶ πόλεμον οὕτω κατη-
μελήσαμεν, ὥστε οὐδ' εἰς ἐξετάσεις ἵεναι τολμῶμεν, ἢ μὴ λαμβάνωμεν
ἀργύριον.

²⁵ Isocrat. ubi sup. Comp. Demosth. de Symmor. 186. 25—29. Con-
cerning Argos, see Aristoph. Plut. 601 and Schol.

²⁶ Isocrat. Ep. 9. 762: — μείζους καὶ κρείττους συντάξεις στρατοπέδων
γίγνομενας ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων.

²⁷ On the subject of the mercenaries who served for and against Persia, see
Diod. 16. 42. 44.

freedom, independence, and security of a state, existing in the patriotism and affection of its citizens, were gradually destroyed, while their strength was measured by the wavering standard of riches alone²⁸. At the same time it was a very slight mitigation of the evil, that certain states, like Athens, endeavoured to secure the zeal and fidelity of the mercenary hordes in their pay, by appointing native warriors to command them. Iphicrates, though assuredly a virtuous citizen, introduced the custom of inscribing the name of the general upon the spoil, instead of that of the state only as before²⁹. Moreover, the services of various distinguished generals, who commanded legions of mercenaries, were not dedicated to their native cities only; Chabrias and Iphicrates took mercenaries to Egypt on their own score³⁰. Again, examples are not wanting to prove that the commanders of these itinerant bands sometimes made attempts to attain sovereign power³¹. Lastly, this venal soldiery, as may easily be supposed, did not fail to commit frequent outrages on the peaceful inhabitants of the places where they resided³².

While the effects of emigration and flight conspired with the increasing degeneracy of those who remained in their own country to promote the general and rapid decay of citizenship, public economy, and constitutions, and to render them incapable of renewing themselves from within, and from their own roots, as it were, certain lofty spirits

²⁸ Demosth. in Phil. 4. 139. 17, seqq.

²⁹ Plut. Ages. 32; Diod. 15. 41.

³⁰ Dem. in Aristocr. 665. 25. On Abydos, see Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 9;
Isocrat. Ep. 2. 724.

³¹ Isocrat. Paneg. cap. 33; Ep. 9. 762.

VOL. II.

³² Suidas, Ἰφικράτης.

soared into the regions of speculation, and endeavoured to discover an antithesis to the corruption of the real world in the ideal theory of a perfect state. Coincident in order of time with the diffusion of the mercenary profession, were the development of political theories in the schools of the philosophers and the commencement of political authorship. It cannot, indeed, be affirmed, that this retirement from the duties of public life deprived Greece of the mental aid and co-operation of those thinkers, in the same proportion as the mercenary system exhausted her physical substance and support; but while the ancient sages had held public offices, occupied themselves with the active duties of the administration, and directed and applied their principles to existing institutions, the present philosophers busied themselves with speculations concerning the best state abstractedly considered, and neither shared in the public administration themselves³³, nor immediately deduced their political principles from any actual system. The sophists in an inferior sphere had formed the transition from the political wisdom of a Thales, Solon, Demonax, Damon, to that of the present schools; they had inculcated general political maxims, which were, however, for the most part borrowed from institutions in actual being, and had aimed at little more than imparting dexterity in the arts of political life, and especially in eloquence, the most influential of them all; they rarely devoted any attention to the cultivation of political feeling, the investigation of the nature of law,

³³ Aristot. Pol. 2. 5. 1: 'Ἰππόδαμος—Μελήσιος—πρῶτος τῶν μὴ πολιτευομένων ἐνεχείρησέ τι περὶ πολιτείας εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης.

public education, etc. This was, on the contrary, the course pursued by their antagonist Socrates, who, superior to them in their own arts and subtleties, and utterly regardless of preferment or reward, rose up as the instructor of his fellow-citizens. But he differed from the ancient sages, inasmuch as he never held any post in which he could create original institutions, and abstained from all personal participation in the regulation of the Athenian constitution. Still he did not withdraw himself from the world like a mere teacher of the wisdom of the schools, but embraced every opportunity of acting upon public life by practically instructing those around him. His influence was, however, exclusively directed to individuals; he strove to meliorate the state through the citizens. So far the school of Pythagoras was revived in the circle of his associates. Nor did the agency of his pupils altogether differ in direction and tendency from that of the Pythagoreans. But rational speculation was too far advanced, ideal theories and reality had become separated by too wide a gulf, and circumstances upon the whole were too unfavourable for the modern political theories to be realized by the mere personal agency and sway of those who occupied state offices, as had been the case with the Pythagoreans. Hence, the universal principles of political science were conceived abstractedly, and put in contrast, as it were, with what was in actual existence, the only effect of which was, it must be confessed, to exhibit in a stronger light the difference between things as they were and as they ought to have been. But the pupils of Socrates by no means

despaired of carrying their theories into practice, as may be perceived from the conduct of Plato and Aristotle. Both formed the conception of a perfect political society, and both endeavoured to realize their conceptions. Xenophon deemed the perfection of the state to consist in the supremacy of a virtuous prince; his principles are embodied in the *Cyropædia*; in the real world the Spartan state came nearest to his standard of perfection; and as he was not at liberty in this field to draw from the stores of his own mind, he became the eulogist of the Spartan constitution, and fought at the side of the Spartan heroes. Plato³⁴, like Xenophon, judged that the supreme felicity of a society depended upon the government and personal influence of a beneficent king, trained up to virtue, and deeply imbued with its spirit: such he endeavoured to render Dionysius the younger; but his hopes were as delusive as they were ardent. His exertions were attended with better success in the education of his confidential associates and pupils; Dion, the Syracusan, is one of the loftiest specimens of his school. The fame of Plato's political doctrines was widely diffused; the Cyrenæans requested him to make laws for them³⁵; his scholars, Phormio, Aristonymus, and Menedemus have already been mentioned as legislators. But we are informed that some of them attempted to make themselves tyrants, as Euagon in Lampsacus, Chæron in Pellene, and Timæus in Cyzicus³⁶. Aristotle, however, was most successful in the

³⁴ On the youth's predilection for the military profession, see Ælian, V. H. 3. 27.

³⁵ Plutarch ad Princip. inerudit. 9. 117.

³⁶ Athen. 11. 508. E. sqq.

performance of a task requiring a rare conjunction of wisdom and activity, and afforded a triumphant example of the education of a prince by a philosopher³⁷; compared with which, his legislation in his native town Stagira scarcely deserves mention³⁸.

C. The new Tyranny, together with the Republics in the West.

§ 75. After the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ the leading states of the Grecian continent remained exempt from tyrants; Sicily was liberated from their domination later, and fell under their yoke again sooner than the mother-country. This new tyranny, which exceeded the ancient both in rigour and extent of power, swayed the Grecian political system in the west, and was not without important influence upon the fortunes of the mother-country. The Sicilian tyranny was the first to be revived. Nearly at the same time, in the extreme north, Panticapæum and the adjacent states on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, were under the dominion of tyrants who are commonly enumerated as kings; in Greece itself tyranny first reappeared in Thessaly. In the provinces in question, as well as in those of less importance, it arose now, as it had done before, from the dissatisfaction of the citizens with the existing order of things, and the animosity of contending factions; but their dissensions were no longer founded on the former substantial opposition between nobles and demus, which had been exclusively determined from within;

³⁷ Whether any of the legislators enumerated by Fabric. Bibl. Gr. 2. 28, sqq., ed. Harl., besides those named above, are to be referred to this period, as, for instance, Archias in Cnidos, I am not prepared to determine.

³⁸ Plut. Col. 10. 513. 629.

at the same time the latter had long lost their ancient attachment to kingly authority. Popular government had been established in almost every state except Sparta, and where it had been subverted by force, or restricted, there existed the most ardent desire to restore it. Public opinion was decidedly hostile to the tyranny, and not one of the later tyrants of purely Grecian states was looked upon as a king. But though the tyranny no longer possessed the affections of the *demus* in the same degree as formerly, it was effectually supported by the prevalence of party feuds, and by the help of mercenaries; at the same time no counterpoise could be easily opposed to its power, in consequence of the distractions and convulsions which had arisen in the ranks and orders of citizenship; add to this, that the political calculations of one state led it to contract alliances with the tyrants of others, so that through intercourse or treaty Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, by turns offered them an external point of support. By an analogous line of policy states did not scruple to solicit the favour and assistance of the barbarians, whom all despised and all courted. Whilst Sparta bestowed her favours upon the elder Dionysius, Lysias protested against the admission of his Theori at Olympia¹, and yet Athens afterwards erected a brazen statue to Alexander of Pheræ, as a public benefactor². This could not fail to influence the intrinsic nature of the new tyranny. The ancient tyrants, in consequence of the strength and solidity which still characterized the citizenship, and more especially through the favour of the *demus*,

¹ Diod. 14. 109; Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 326.

² Plut. Pelop. 31.

had not disdained to seek support amongst the citizens themselves, whence it happened that so many of them evinced paternal sentiments towards the communities which they governed; but the new tyranny partook of the corruption of its age. Having in many instances proceeded from the mercenary profession, and being unable to forget the wide gulf between this and the peaceful occupations of the citizen, it could not govern according to the established laws and customs of a country, and did nothing to encourage the arts of peace. The state was now looked upon as a mere camp; the mercenaries, who were by far more numerous than under the ancient tyrants, formed a state within a state, and their maintenance became an object of solicitude to the ruler, and a source of oppression to the people. Hence, then, the tyranny in many respects exhibited the last degree of that atrocity which drew upon it the indignant reprobation of the Greeks and Romans. Its general lineaments are found united in the character of the elder Dionysius, though he was far from being the most ruthless amongst them; Alexander of Pheræ, and Apollodorus of Cassandreia³, in the Macedonian times, though less violent were more bloody-minded.

I. THE TWO DIONYSII AND THE REPUBLICS IN THE WEST.

The account of this tyranny includes a survey of the surrounding republics of the Siceliots and

³ Dion, Chrys. 1. 100, classes Phalaris and Apollodorus together. Suidas' *βίαιοι* ranges under the same category: Phalaris, Dionysius, Echetus, (Apollodorus) the tyrant of Cassandreia, and—Lingis, the founder of Ilius (?).

Italians, which, though not all subject to it, were nevertheless within the range of its influence, or formed the objects of its policy; some of these were hostile to it, whilst others, by their friendship and support, conduced to its solidity and strength. Besides Syracuse, Rhegium and Tarentum demand particular attention. In reviewing the political system of the west we behold those hereditary foes of the Greeks, the Carthaginians, destroying flourishing communities by force of arms, and indirectly promoting the evils incident to their political revolutions. Whilst domestic tyrants and foreign foes thus conspired to accelerate the downfall of the Grecian states, their object was forwarded by the national degeneracy of the Sicelians and Italians themselves: the tree was withering at the root, whilst the storm was shattering its branches. The corruption of Syracuse had, it must be confessed, been promoted by the repeated mixture of the inhabitants. Genuine and united citizenship could not expand into maturity after the expulsion of the Gamorians. The same spectacle is, with little variation, presented by the other cities⁴; discord prevailed in the greater part of them, and lost none of its force, because their inhabitants were enervated by licentious pleasures.

After the destruction of the Athenian force before Syracuse, as already stated⁵, Egesta craved assistance from Carthage, Olymp. 92. 3; 410. B. C., and Selinus applied to Syracuse⁶. The towns of Selinus⁷ and Himera⁸ were in the same

⁴ Plut. Timol. 1.
⁵ Diod. 13. 43, sqq.
⁶ Diod. 13. 61, sqq.

⁸ § 67, sub. fin.
⁷ Diod. 13. 57.

year destroyed⁹ by the barbarians, in conjunction with the Sicilians from the interior of the island¹⁰. A similar fate befel the fair and flourishing Agrigento, which was betrayed into the hands of the Spartan Dexippus by the leader of its mercenary bands. The Grecian population rapidly decreased; those who escaped death knew not where to seek shelter and protection, and the few states which took compassion on them, could not render them quiet and orderly citizens. At this juncture Dionysius the elder first attracts attention. The endeavours of Syracuse to relieve the above-named towns had been frustrated by intestine discord, the expulsion of Hermocrates¹¹, etc.; but now its own safety was threatened, and Gela and Camarina were but feeble bulwarks against the invaders.

Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates¹², a man of eminent endowments, and a tried and approved warrior¹³, commenced the career of demagogy, like so many before him, by maligning the character of the public officers. He accused the generals who had been unsuccessful in their engagement with the Carthaginian army; upon being chosen general himself he continued the prosecution against his colleagues, became commander-in-chief with unlimited powers, and by means of a guard, and the assistance of fugitives and mercenaries, eventually established a tyranny¹⁴. To purchase

⁹ Diod. 13. 60. Comp. at large Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 37; 1. 5. 21.

¹⁰ Diod. 13. 91.

¹¹ See above, § 67. ad fin.

¹² Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 24, but without stating whether he was the renowned Hermocrates or not. He was probably a different person; but Dionysius certainly accompanied the former (see above, § 67. n. 76.), and when tyrant married his daughter, Plut. Dionys. 3.

¹³ According to Demosth. in Lept. 506. 21, he had once been a *γραμματεὺς*.
¹⁴ Diod. 13. 92—96.

a peace with Carthage, which was by no means unlike that of Antalcidas, and to induce her to recognise his tyranny, he abandoned to her many of the Grecian states¹⁵, and having thus secured his authority externally, had ample leisure to provide for its safety within¹⁶. Amongst those who co-operated in the foundation of the tyranny, the first place belongs to Philistus, its subsequent historian¹⁷ and panegyrist¹⁸; in the mother-country Sparta was the chief ally of Dionysius¹⁹. In his treatment of the neighbouring towns, he adopted the policy of Gelon; he had already transplanted the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina to Syracuse in the year before the peace with Carthage²⁰; he afterwards seized Catana and Naxos, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, laid the latter in ruins, and filled the former with mercenary soldiers²¹; Leontini, whither its former citizens, who had been settled in Syracuse, had returned, and which at a still earlier period had become the retreat of Agrigentan, Geloan, and Camarinæan refugees²², was reduced to submission, and received ten thousand mercenaries as inhabitants²³. Some fugitives from Naxos and Siculians now founded the town of Tauromenium²⁴. All this was accomplished in the first five years of the tyranny, Olymp.

¹⁵ Diod. 13. 114: the Carthaginians recovered Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera; Gela and Camarina were to remain unfortified, and pay them tribute; Autonomia was secured to Leontini, Messana, and the Siculians; and the Syracusans were declared subject to Dionysius.

¹⁶ Diod. 13. 91; 14. 8.

¹⁷ Diod. 13. 103.

¹⁸ Plut. Pelop. 34.

¹⁹ See above, § 68. n. 7. On the subject of the succours sent by Dionysius, see Xenoph. 5. 1. 26; 6. 2. 33; 7. 1. 20. 28: Diod. 15. 69. On the attempt of Athens to affect a disjunction between Dionysius and the Spartans consult Lysias, de Aristoph. Bon. 625.

²⁰ Diod. 13. 111.

²¹ Diod. 14. 4.

²² Comp. § 68. n. 53.

²³ Diod. 14. 15. 78.

²⁴ Diod. 16. 7.

93. 3; 406. B. C.—Olymp. 94. 3²⁵. The whole of the subsequent career of Dionysius is marked by unceasing activity; the restlessness of his character²⁶ impelled him to create opportunities for exertion and enterprise when they did not offer of themselves. But Syracuse, from the very first, was far from bearing the tyrant's yoke with patience, and broke out into open rebellion—first with the aid of some fugitives, and again when he was threatened by the squadrons and armies of Carthage²⁷. Philistus and the Spartans Aristus and Pharacidas, the former sent to his assistance by Sparta, the latter the commander of a detachment of mercenaries, assisted him in suppressing them²⁸. Some horsemen who had fled from Syracuse had occupied the town of Ætna, which was, however, speedily reduced²⁹. In Sicily Messana was the only place that was not in the hands of the tyrant; allied with Messana was Rhegium, which had granted a retreat to the fugitives from Syracuse³⁰, and disdainfully rejected Dionysius' application for the hand of one of its daughters³¹. Messana soon fell into the power of the tyrant³², who assailed the Italiots at the same moment that they were attacked by the Lucani; the Italiots³³ now formed

²⁵ The town of Adranus, near Mount Ætna, was founded by Dionysius I. Olymp. 105. 1, Diod. 14. 37.

²⁶ Διονύσιος—πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον, εἰ σχολάζει, μηδέποτε, εἶπεν, ἐμοὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει. Plut. an Seni. etc. 9. 165. Comp. the judgment of the great Scipio, Polyb. 15. 35.

²⁷ Diod. 14. 7. 8. 65, sqq.

²⁸ Diod. 14. 8. 10. 71.

²⁹ Diod. 14. 4.

³⁰ Diod. 14. 40.

³¹ Diod. 14. 107; Strab. 6. 258.

³² Diod. 14. 78. But according to 14. 57, it had previously been taken by the Carthaginians.

³³ According to Diod. 14. 91. 101. 102, all the Italiots (?). The alliance was immediately directed against the Lucani; in case a Grecian town should be attacked by these, the rest were to hasten to its assistance, and in the event of their army not being in marching order, the generals were to be punished with death. Diod. 14. 101. Concerning the more ancient panegyris at the temple of

a confederacy against him, Olymp. 96. 4; 393. B. C., whereupon he concluded a league with the Lucani³⁴. But the Italiots could not agree upon the measures to be adopted; Locri sided with Dionysius³⁵; the Lucani were victorious, Olymp. 97. 3; 390. B. C.; Dionysius conquered Caulon, Hipponium, and at length the strongly-fortified Rhegium³⁶, Olymp. 98. 2; 387. B. C., whereupon the inhabitants of Caulon were removed to Syracuse. The citadel of Crotona having been taken by stratagem³⁷, a part of its territory was given to the Locrians, but Dionysius' project of building a wall from the Scylletic to the Hipponiat gulf was defeated by the march of the other Italiots³⁸, whilst a storm at sea³⁹ frustrated his contemplated expedition against Thurii. Dionysius, now extending his views beyond the territories of the Italiots, formed the design of establishing settlements in the gulf of the Ionian sea, where he built Lissus⁴⁰, and concluded a treaty with the Illyrians in that quarter. Lastly, though his wars with Carthage brought him no certain advantages, and he is said to have been dissuaded by an oracle from prosecuting them with vigour

Here Lacinia, see vol. i. p. 158. After the accommodation which followed the persecution of the Pythagoreans a separate confederacy was entered into by Croton, Sybaris, and Caulon, (? but Sybaris was destroyed, and Thurii not yet built; and the previous rebuilding of Sybaris by Thessalus falls Olymp. 81. 4. See Heyne. Op. 2. 138; is *Σκυλλήτιον*, which lay between Croton and Caulon, perhaps meant here?) near a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios, the same who was worshipped in Achaia (vol. i. 171. n. 27). Polyb. 2. 39. A war between the Tarentines and the Thurians was prevented by the erection of Heraclea on the Siris, Olymp. 86. 4; 433. B. C.; this town afterwards became the seat of a federal assembly (Strab. 6. 280), probably of the league which was formed against the Lucani and Dionysius.

³⁴ Diod. 14. 91.

³⁵ Diod. 14. 107; Strab. 6. 261.

³⁶ Diod. 14. 106. 107. 110. 112.

³⁷ Strab. 6. 261.

³⁸ Diod. 15. 13. The Etym. M. in v. *Ἀδρία* makes mention of a town called Adrias, which Dionysius was said to have founded on the Ionian sea.

³⁹ Liv. 24. 3.

⁴⁰ Ælian, V. H. 12. 61.

and alacrity⁴¹, they increased the sufferings and the misery of the Grecian population of Sicily to a dreadful extent. His internal government was characterized by all the vices for which tyrannies have ever been notorious. In the debasement and systematic discouragement of citizenship he was second to none of the tyrants of Greece. At the beginning of his reign he emancipated the slaves, who were thereupon denominated Neopolitæ, granted lands to his adherents, as well foreigners as natives, gave dwellings to the populace⁴², and bestowed upon the Neopolitæ the daughters of ancient citizens in marriage⁴³. The removal of the inhabitants from town to town increased the mixture; the Syracusans could no longer recognise one another; no feeling of union could be kept up in the minds of the ancient citizens, dispersed as they were among strange and ill-assorted masses: many of the new citizens enjoyed special privileges and immunities; e. g. the Caulonians were exempted from the payment of taxes for five years⁴⁴. Still the tyrant did not mingle with the townsmen; mercenaries, forts⁴⁵, and the stores and implements of war surrounded him; the mercenaries consisted of a mixture of Grecian and barbarian nations, Lacedæmonians⁴⁶, Campanians⁴⁷, Iberians⁴⁸, and Celts⁴⁹; his suspicion⁵⁰ and distrust became proverbial; the Otacoustæ and Potagogides, from the time of Hiero⁵¹, were not sufficient for

⁴¹ Diod. 15. 74.

⁴² Polyæn. 5. 2. 20.

⁴³ Dionysius made extensive alterations in Syracuse by fortifying of Nasos, building the wall of Epipolæ, etc. Conf. Göller, de Situ et Orig. Urb. Syracusar. 1818.

⁴⁴ Diod. 14. 9. 15.

⁴⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 20.

⁴⁶ Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 3. Conf. *προσαγωγείς*, Plut. Dion. 2 and 28.

⁴⁷ Diod. 14. 7.

⁴⁸ Diod. 14. 106.

⁴⁹ Diod. 14. 58.

⁵⁰ Diod. 14. 75.

⁵¹ See Plut. Dion. 9, etc.

the system of *espionnage* which he carried on; there was a popular tradition that he himself listened at the opening in the acoustically-constructed dungeon called "the ear"⁵². His brother Leptines fell a sacrifice to his suspicion⁵³; his object in habituating his son to the most degrading occupations, and unfitting him for all elevation of thought, was to render him incapable of thwarting his purposes⁵⁴. No less notorious are his artifices, exactions, and cruelties; in the space of five years he obtained possession of all the property of the Greeks in his dominions⁵⁵; he plundered temples without remorse⁵⁶. His cruelty, however, rather resulted from the desire of intimidating those whom he feared, than from any natural pleasure at the sight of tortures; but his kindness, too, was solely the offspring of calculation. Finally, he shared with Nero the wish to be considered an artist; but this, instead of ministering to the gratification of those around him, was a source of torture to them; the poet Philoxenus was condemned to the *Latomia* for criticising the tyrant's bad verses⁵⁷.

Dionysius the younger succeeded his father, Ol. 103. 1; 367. B. C.⁵⁸. The lapse of thirty-eight years had firmly cemented the throne, and numerous bands of mercenaries kept watch around it⁵⁹; innumerable parasites awaited an abundant harvest from the continuance of the tyranny, and at the

⁵² Conf. D'Orville, Sicula, p. 180—182. and 194.

⁵³ Ælian, V. H. 13. 45.

⁵⁴ Plut. Dion, 9.

⁵⁵ Aristot. Pol. 5. 9. 3.

⁵⁶ Ælian, V. H. 1. 20.

⁵⁷ His *ἀπαγε* is well known. See Suidas, Φιλοξ. γραμμ.

⁵⁸ Diodor. 13. 75.

Plut. Dion. 14; Diodor. 16. 9; Ælian, V. H. 6. 12.

death of the elder tyrant no bold and ingenuous patriot raised his voice in the cause of freedom. Though the mind of the younger Dionysius had been neglected, it was not depraved⁶⁰; virtue and vice struggled within him for mastery: the latter was encouraged by the parasites, who had obtained an ascendant over him, and incited him to the most reckless dissipation⁶¹, to which number belonged Philistus⁶². Dion, brother of the Syracusan consort of the elder Dionysius, Aristomache (one of whose daughters, Sophrosyne, was married to the younger Dionysius, and the other, Arete, to Dion,) endeavoured to expand the seeds of virtue in his breast. Plato was summoned to impart to the young ruler the moral instruction which was to render him a good king⁶³. Plato, whose hopes of success in the task he had undertaken were most sanguine⁶⁴, was received with princely splendour and with cordial affection, and Dionysius immediately commenced his studies⁶⁵. But it was not long before Dion was banished; the love of the tyrant for Plato amounted to a species of enthusiasm, and the ruling passion of his soul was the jealousy with which he regarded Plato's attachment to Dion⁶⁶; never was the pernicious efficacy of courtiers and parasites, in corrupting the character of a ruler, more strikingly exemplified than in the case of Dionysius⁶⁷. The

⁶⁰ Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 338. D.: ὁ δὲ οὔτε ἄλλως ἔστιν ἀφύης πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μαυθάνειν δύναμιν φιλότιμός τε θαυμασῶς.

⁶¹ The younger tyrant passed ninety successive days in drinking, Plut. Dion. 7.

⁶² Plut. Dion. 11. Διονυσιοκόλακες Athen. 6. 249. F.: 10. 435. E.

⁶³ Plut. Dion. 10. 12.

⁶⁴ Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 434; Plut. Dion. 11.

⁶⁵ Plut. Dion. 13, sqq.; Ælian, V. H. 4. 18; Plin. Hist. Nat. 7. 30.

⁶⁶ Plut. Dion. 16.

⁶⁷ Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 445.

precepts of Plato⁶⁸, and the connection which he brought about between the Pythagoreans⁶⁹ and the tyrant, were all in vain. On his second visit to Syracuse, he narrowly escaped misuse⁷⁰. Meanwhile, the tyranny began to totter; Dion arose to deliver his country from the yoke under which it groaned, and the revolution was accomplished about the same time that violent commotions arose in the mother-country.

We are but imperfectly acquainted with the constitutions of the Italian states during the reign of the two Dionysii, but it may be assumed that democracy had universally attained maturity. The party-feeling in favour of Sparta probably lasted no longer than the Peloponnesian war. Under the democracy in Tarentum⁷¹, as under all the democracies of that age, Strategoi were the chief officers⁷²; and the same state is celebrated for having, seven times, confided the office of Strategus to its noblest citizen, the Pythagorean Archytas, the friend of Plato⁷³. He was also chosen generalissimo of the combined Italians⁷⁴. In Thurii⁷⁵ there was a law which provided that the same citizen could only be reappointed Strategus at intervals of five years⁷⁶. At the same time, it appears that a number of citizens had been especially selected for

⁶⁸ Ps. Plat. Ep. 3. 410.

⁶⁹ Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 454; Plut. Dion. 16.

⁷⁰ Ps. Plat. Ep. 7. 476; Plut. Dion. 19, relates that Aristippus likewise went to his court and opposed the efforts of Plato.

⁷¹ See § 59. n. 17.

⁷² Demosth. Erot. 1415. 9, describes Archytas (most probably in his capacity of Strategus) as τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν—καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διοικήσαντα.

⁷³ Diog. Laert. 8. 79; Æl. V. H. 7. 14; Strab. 6. 280.

⁷⁴ Suidas, Ἀρχ.

⁷⁵ See § 59. n. 12.

⁷⁶ Arist. Pol. 5. 6. 8.

military service, and denominated guards (φρουροί)⁷⁷. Some enterprising young men belonging to powerful families, ingratiated themselves with these, trampled on the laws, and by repeatedly obtaining the Strategia, eventually established a dynasty⁷⁸. Hereupon all the magistrates were appointed according to a valuation, at the same time that nearly all the landed property was in the hands of the leading families. Nevertheless, the people, who were inspired with confidence by the remembrance of what they had achieved, succeeded in overthrowing the dynasty and making a more equal distribution of property⁷⁹. In consequence of injudicious attempts to impart extreme exactness to the laws, they are said to have become insecure and wavering⁸⁰. Crotona retained its Achæan institutions⁸¹. In Rhegium, after the termination of the dissensions which had prevailed there, it is probable that the constitution of Charondas was revived, as was that of Zaleucus in Locri. In Heraclea on the Siris and Metapontum we are only acquainted with the names of magistrates belonging to a later period⁸². Equally scanty is our information respecting Cuma, Palæopolis and Neapolis, and Massilia. The former already began to be threatened by the Samnites and the Romans. It is probable that in the latter, the government of noble houses, whose oppressive effects were felt in

⁷⁷ Arist. ubi sup. These can hardly have been mercenaries.

⁷⁸ Arist. ubi sup.

⁷⁹ Arist. Pol. 5. 6. 6. Conf. Heyne, Op. 2. 148, who justly regards the fact narrated by Aristot. Pol. 5. 6. 6, as a consequence of that mentioned, 5. 6. 8. The observations of Schneider on 5. 6. 6, are less pertinent.

⁸⁰ Strab. 6. 260, from Ephorus.

⁸¹ Polyb. 2. 39.

⁸² The Tab. Heracleens. has an ἀλία, Ephors, a Polianomos, etc. A tyrant of Heraclea is mentioned in Parthen. Erot. 7. (from Phanias the Eresian.)

later times, was at this period in full vigour⁸³. On Lipara finally, there was a brave and virtuous Strategus, called Timasitheus⁸⁴, when the Romans sent a votive offering to Delphi after the conquest of Veii; but the island had once before fallen under the power of the Carthaginians, Olymp. 96. 1; 396. B. C.⁸⁵.

The nationality of the Siceliots and Italiots, which had shown evidences of debasement before the time of the Dionysii, became still more corrupted by their influence, though not every where in the same degree. The Syracusans are especially stigmatized for immorality, gluttony, and lust⁸⁶; Tarentum was probably not much better, and afterwards sunk still lower; it was remarkable for its drunkenness, gluttony, luxury in dress⁸⁷, etc. Lastly, the daughters of the once moral Locri were notoriously venal⁸⁸.

THE TYRANTS OF PHERÆ.

Pheræ, of little importance before the end of the Peisoponnesian war, raised itself by means of its tyranny above all the Thessalian states. This tyranny appears to have grown out of the powers of the mediatory Archon⁸⁹. Perhaps Lycophron him-

⁸³ Cic. de Repub. 74, Stuttg. where see Mago.

⁸⁴ Liv. 5. 28; Diodor. 14. 93; Plut. Camill. 8.

⁸⁵ Diodor. 14. 57.

⁸⁶ Σικελική τραπέζα, Athen. 12. 518. C. 527. C.; conf. Plat. de Repub. 3. 404; Epist. 7. 353. E. sqq. On the culinary art of Mithæcus, see Gorgias, 518. B.

⁸⁷ See Plat. de Legg. 1. 637; Theopomp. apud Athen. 4. 166. D. sqq.; Clearchus, apud eund. 12. 522. D.; Strab. 6. 280; Ælian. V. H. 12. 30; Plut. Pyrrh. 16; conf. Heyne, Opusc. 2. 224, sqq.; Heindorf, ad. Hor. Sat. 2. 4. 34. The number of barbarian words in use amongst the Tarentines is very remarkable (in Hesych. in A alone there are nearly thirty); from this we may infer that the Oscans and other adjacent nations were admitted in considerable numbers.

⁸⁸ Athen. 12. 516. A.

⁸⁹ Conf. §. 73. n. 21.

self was a tyrant. Jason, his son⁹⁰, the scholar of Gorgias⁹¹, and a brave soldier, succeeded him. He soon raised Pheræ above all the other Thessalian states⁹², and having concluded a treaty with Polydamas of Pharsalus, became Tagus of all Thessaly⁹³. This imparted the outward stamp of legitimacy to his power, in the exercise of which he displayed vigour and prudence, but was at the same time mild and humane⁹⁴. His authority extended beyond the limits of Thessaly; Alcetas acknowledged his sway in Epirus⁹⁵, and he entered into a treaty with Amyntas the Macedonian⁹⁶. He planned and executed his undertakings with surprising rapidity and decision⁹⁷. The mercenaries were the main support of the tyranny: Jason, as a soldier, set a higher value upon their services than upon those of the native troops⁹⁸, and he knew how to treat them⁹⁹; but he was totally regardless of the interests of citizens and citizenship. Still he was far from mixing the population in the same manner as the elder Dionysius had done; he regulated the tribute of the Periœci according to the scale established by Scopas, and the Penestæ continued upon the same footing as before¹⁰⁰. To govern was as necessary to him as his daily food¹⁰¹; he considered it lawful to commit injustice upon slight occasions, that he might be just in more important matters¹⁰², and even his own mother is said to have suffered from his exactions¹⁰³. In

⁹⁰ This may be inferred from Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 24, and from the fact, that one of Jason's sons was called Lycophron.

⁹¹ Paus. 6. 17. 5.

⁹² Xenoph. 6. 1. 6.

⁹³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 1. 4.

⁹⁴ Xenoph. 6. 4. 21.

⁹⁵ Ibid. ubi sup.

⁹⁶ Aristot. Pol. 3. 2. 6: 'Ιάσων ἔφη πεινῆν ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ.

⁹⁷ Plut. de Tuenda Sanitate Præcepta. 6. 514.

⁹⁸ Polyæn. 6. 1.

⁹⁹ Xenoph. 6. 1. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. ubi sup.

sensual indulgences he was moderate¹⁰⁴. He was murdered by seven young men belonging to the cavalry of the country, Olymp. 102. 3; 970. B. C.¹⁰⁵.

After his death his brothers¹⁰⁶, Polydorus and Polyphron, became tyrants of Pheræ and Tagi of Thessaly; the former was murdered by the latter after the lapse of a year, whereupon the Tageia assumed a more despotic character; the brave Polydamas in Larissa was killed, and many of the inhabitants expelled¹⁰⁷. Still greater atrocities were committed by Alexander, Polyphron's nephew¹⁰⁸ and murderer, who oppressed his own country and committed constant aggressions upon his neighbours for the space of eleven years¹⁰⁹. The Aleuads of Thessaly applied to Alexander of Macedon to assist them in repulsing him, after which he for some time possessed Larissa and Crannon¹¹⁰; they next had recourse to the Thebans¹¹¹; but it was not till these had marched at the head of a powerful army into Thessaly, to avenge the death of Pelopidas, that the tyrant was confined within the precincts of Pheræ, and his garrisons compelled to evacuate the territories of the Phthiotan Achæans and Magnesians¹¹². He ordered the inhabitants of the towns Scotussa and Melibæa to be sabred¹¹³; he caused his victims to be put to death amidst the most dreadful tortures¹¹⁴; he felt ashamed of the emotion which he

¹⁰⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 1. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Xenoph. 6. 4. 31. 32. The account of Diodor. 15. 60. is less accurate.

¹⁰⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 33.

¹⁰⁷ Plut. Pelop. 29.

¹⁰⁸ Diod. ubi sup.

¹⁰⁹ Diod. 15. 80; Plut. Pelop. 35.

¹¹⁰ Plut. Pelop. 29; Diod. 15. 75; Paus. 6. 5. 2.

¹¹¹ Plut. Pelop. 29: ζῶντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους κατάρτυεν, ἑτέροις δὲ δέματα συνὼν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων περιτιθεῖς καὶ τοὺς θηρευτικοὺς ἐπάγων κύνας διέσπα, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁰⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 34.

¹⁰⁸ Diod. 15. 61.

¹¹¹ Plut. Pelop. 26, sqq.

had testified at the representation of a tragedy¹¹⁵; and looked upon every one with suspicion and distrust¹¹⁶. He was killed by his wife, the daughter of Jason¹¹⁷, in concert with her brothers, Olymp. 105. 4; 357. B. C.¹¹⁸. The last, Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron¹¹⁹, possessed themselves of the government, Pitholaus as the eldest reigning first¹²⁰; the names of Lycophron and Pitholaus occur during the holy war¹²¹. No exact particulars have been transmitted respecting a tyrant of Crannon, called Denius, who had raised himself to despotic power from the condition of a fowler¹²².

3. THE TYRANTS ON THE PONTUS.

After the power of Miletus had been broken by domestic tyranny and Persian domination, its political influence amongst the colonies on the Pontus ceased; it is probable that tyrants soon arose in several of these states; their nationality was no longer purely Grecian, and democracy was nowhere sufficiently solid and matured. Hence, in this quarter the tyranny still retained the character of the kingship. On the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the dynasty of the Archæanactids subsisted forty-two years, from Olymp. 75. 1—85. 3; 480—438. B. C.¹²³, in Panticapæum, Phanagoria, etc. A

¹¹⁵ Plut. ubi sup.

¹¹⁶ Plut. Pelop. 28.

¹¹⁷ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 35, sqq.; Plut. Pelop. 35; Diod. 16. 14.

¹¹⁸ Plut. Pelop. ubi sup. The reading here is Πυθολάου, Diod. 16. 39; conf. 16. 52; Diodor. 16. 39 has Παιθολάου, conf. 16. 52.

¹¹⁹ Xenoph. 6. 4. 37.

¹²⁰ Polyæn. 2. 34.

¹²¹ Diod. 16. 39; conf. below, § 78.

¹²² Diod. 12. 31. See at large, Boze, in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.

t. ix.; Souciet's Dissertat. Par. 1736. Cary, Hist. des Rois de Thrace et de ceux du Bosph. Cimm. Par. 1752. Raoul-Rochette, Antiquités Grecques du

modern race, whose fame was recent, began with Spartocos¹²⁴, who governed from Olymp. 86. 4; 433. B. C.¹²⁵; he was succeeded by Seleucus¹²⁶, who reigned till Olymp. 87. 4. There is a blank¹²⁷ till the accession of Satyrus, who held the government from Olymp. 93. 2—96. 4; 407—393. B. C.¹²⁸, and who, like his father (Spartacus 2. ?) favoured the Athenians¹²⁹. His son and successor Leucon, who ruled from Ol. 106. 3; 354. B. C.¹³⁰, is known to us as the commercial ally and citizen of Athens¹³¹, and as the founder of Theodosia¹³²; besides which he is said to have been warlike¹³³ and generous¹³⁴; yet even he¹³⁵ was surrounded by mercenaries¹³⁶ and flatterers¹³⁷, and committed exactions. His successors do not come within the scope of our enquiries.

In Sinope there was, in the age of Pericles, a tyrant called Timesileus. The inhabitants deposed him in Olymp. 83. 4; 445. with the help of some Athenian Cleruchi¹³⁸.

Heraclea, which had from its first foundation been distracted by the feuds between the upper order and the demus¹³⁹, in Olymp. 104. 1; 364.

Bosphore Cimmérien. Par. 1822, with the critiques of P. v. Köppen (*Alterth. am Nordgestade des Pontus*. Wien, 1823) and v. Köhler.

¹²⁴ That this, and not Spartacus, is the proper orthography of the word is proved by inscriptions. See Böckh, *Thesaur. Inscr.* p. 147.

¹²⁵ Diod. 12. 31.

¹²⁶ Diod. 12. 36.

¹²⁷ Boze inserts Spartacus here, whose reign lasted twenty years.

¹²⁸ Diod. 14. 93; Lysias *pro Mantith.* 571.

¹²⁹ Diod. 16. 31.

¹³⁰ Demosth. in *Lept.* 466. 467. ¹³¹ Demosth. *ubi sup.*; Strab. 7. 309.

¹³² Polyæn. 6. 9. 3. 4. ¹³³ Plut. *de Stoicor. repugn.* 10. 314.

¹³⁴ Aeneas, *Pol.* 5. Concerning the Scythians, see Polyæn. 6. 9. 4.

¹³⁵ He said to a person of this description who had committed some crime: ἀπέκτεινα ἄν σε νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ τυραννὶς ἰδεῖτο. *Athen.* 6. 257. D.

¹³⁶ Polyæn. 6. 9. 1.

¹³⁷ Plut. *Pericl.* 20.

¹³⁸ Vol. i. p. 268. n. 77. See at large, Memnon, *ap. Phot. Cod.* 224, and the statements of other ancient writers in Orelli's edition of Memnon, pp. 119—124.

B. C., fell under the tyranny of Clearchus¹⁴⁰, a pupil of Socrates¹⁴¹, who had been appointed to the command of a body of mercenaries after the citizens had delivered themselves from the power of a faction¹⁴². The little value which he set upon the lives of others¹⁴³ corresponded with the suspicious solicitude with which he guarded his own¹⁴⁴; but in spite of his precautions he was assassinated, Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C.¹⁴⁵. His brother Sabyrus maintained the tyranny, as the guardian of his nephews. Timotheus died in the year of the battle of Chæronea; after a reign of fifteen years he was succeeded by Dionysius who ruled thirty-two years¹⁴⁶.

4. LESS POWERFUL TYRANTS.

After the first invasion of the Peloponnesus by Epaminondas, Sicyon was distracted by the quarrels of the partisans and opponents of Sparta and Thebes; in Olymp. 103. 2; 366. B. C., Euphron, by means of the demus and some mercenaries, effected a junction between Sicyon and Thebes, expelled forty Lacones (in Xenophon *βελτιστοί*), and made himself tyrant¹⁴⁷. But he was unable to maintain his position: the expelled citizens occupied the harbour and the town, whilst a Theban garrison was in possession of the citadel¹⁴⁸. Euphron went to fetch mercenaries from Athens, and

¹⁴⁰ Diod. 15. 81.

¹⁴¹ Isocrat. *Ep.* 7. 749.

¹⁴² Polyæn. 2. 30. 1; *conf. Aen. Pol.* 12.

¹⁴³ Theopomp. *ap. Athen.* 3. 85. A. B.

¹⁴⁴ Plut. *ad Princip. inerudit.* 9. 125: εἰς κίβωτόν ἐνδύμενος ὥσπερ ὄφις ἐκάθενδε.

¹⁴⁵ Diod. 16. 36.

¹⁴⁶ Diod. 16. 88. On his gluttony and corpulence, see *Athen.* 12. 549. A. B. His wife, Amastris, founded the city of the same name, *Strab.* 12. 544.

¹⁴⁷ Xenoph. *Hell.* 7. 1. 43—46; 7. 3. 8; *Diod.* 15. 70.

¹⁴⁸ Xenoph. 7. 3. 4.

then repaired in search of assistance to Thebes, where he was murdered by some of his adversaries from Sicyon¹⁴⁹. The demus honoured his memory¹⁵⁰. In Corinth Timophanes was enabled by means of his mercenaries to obtain the tyranny, Olymp. 103. 3; 366. B. C.¹⁵¹. Timoleon, his brother became the liberator of his native city. In Oeanthe, a town of the Ozolian Locrians, there was a tyrant called Phricodemus¹⁵², about Ol. 101. 4; 373. B. C. In Eubœa, Eretria and Oreus (Histiaea) were more especially the seats of tyranny; to the period which intervened before the island and its political system became dependent upon Philip, belong: Neogenes tyrant of Creas¹⁵³, Themison of Eretria who occupied Oropus, Olymp. 103. 3; 366. B. C.¹⁵⁴. Plutarch, in whose time the influence of Philip began to predominate¹⁵⁵, will be mentioned hereafter. There were also tyrants in Lesbos, but probably not before Philip's time, though they do not appear to have stood in any connection with his political operations; to these belonged Cleommes or Cleomenes in Methymna, of whom Isocrates speaks in terms of commendation¹⁵⁶; he, like Periander, ordered that all prostitutes should be drowned¹⁵⁷. Cammes reigned in Mytilene at the time of Demosthenes¹⁵⁸. It was afterwards governed by tyrants

¹⁴⁹ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 3. 4. 5.¹⁵⁰ Xenoph. 7. 3. 12.¹⁵¹ Twenty years before Timoleon's expedition to Sicily, Plut. Timol. 7. Hence must be corrected, Diod. 16. 65.¹⁵² Polyæn. 8. 46. This story, however, has rather a mythical air.¹⁵³ Diodor. 15. 30, where Oropus is also erroneously stated to belong to him.¹⁵⁴ Diodor. 15. 76. Conf. Wessel. and above, § 71. n. 119. Demosthenes de Coronâ, 259. 10, also alludes to the circumstance, but besides Themison mentions a Theodorus.¹⁵⁵ Plut. Phoc. 11.¹⁵⁶ Isocrat. Epist. ad Timoth. 748 (written after Olymp. 107. 1).¹⁵⁷ Theop. ap. Ath. 10. 442. F.¹⁵⁸ Demosth. adv. Boeot. de Dot. 1019.

who were dependent upon Persia¹⁵⁹. Such were probably Hecatomnus, Mausolus, Artemisia, Idrieus and Ada in Halicarnassus¹⁶⁰. Evagoras and Nicoles in Salamis on the island of Cyprus, must be excepted from the number of those tyrants who belonged to the state-system of Greece. In Cyrene, lastly, Ariston was, in Olymp. 94. 4; 401. B. C., at the head of a numerous party¹⁶¹; some Messenians arriving there from Naupactus an engagement took place between the hostile factions, after which a reconciliation was effected. Cyrene was governed by tyrants in the time of the Ptolemies, such as Magas, etc.

¹⁵⁹ Arrhian. 2. 1.¹⁶⁰ Concerning this dynasty, see Sainte-Croix in the Mém de l'Institut. class. d'Hist. t. ii.¹⁶¹ Diod. 14. 54.

COMPLETION OF THE INTERNAL CORRUPTION, AND SUBVERSION OF THE EXTERNAL LIBERTIES OF GREECE.

THE AGE OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

I. INTERNAL CONDITION AND EXTERNAL POLI- TICAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL.

§ 76. The history of this, like that of the preceding period, presents no union of a more intimate nature between the states of the mother-country and those of the west and the remote east. The first, whose connection was merely local, obstinately adhered to their former state of separation, and the more sensibly they felt the oppressive effects of those despotisms by which they had already been united, the more averse they became from forming larger and more general associations. The Grecian states of this period are too various in their character and policy to admit of that classification which historical investigation requires, whilst our chief attention is engrossed by the operations of Philip, their enemy and destroyer. Their interior, however, exhibits an equal degree of corruption in the gradual extinction of patriotism, strength, and virtue; on which account the states, whose political condition was not determined by the measures of Philip, must also be included in the ensuing survey.

When Philip of Macedon arose, Olymp. 105. 1; 360. B. C., the ethical and political ties of the Grecian states had grown relaxed, and they had lost

the nourishing and preserving strength of true citizenship. Military service for hire, debauchery, and venal treachery were the characteristics of the age. Though the military courage of the Greeks was by no means extinct, states had lost the power of assembling the great body of the citizens for their defence, while individuals had grown indifferent to the obligation of fighting for their country. Many thousand warriors had long been in the pay of the Syracusan tyrants, the great king, and his satraps; and after the battle of Mantinea, large bodies of the still-remaining soldiery dispersed in various directions. From the beginning of the holy war, Phocis had been one of their principal rendezvous. In Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C., Pammenes the Theban, led five thousand able-bodied soldiers to Artabazus, the Persian satrap¹, who was in rebellion against the great king. Agesilaus, Ol. 104. 3; 361. B. C., accompanied by thirty Spartan Symbuli, led a body of mercenaries to the assistance of the insurgent Tachus in Egypt². His example was followed by Chabrias³. Mentor the Rhodian quitted Egypt and joined the rebellious Phœnicians with four thousand Greeks, Ol. 107. 2; 351. B. C.⁴. On the other side, Artaxerxes Ochus was assisted in his expedition against Cyprus by Greek auxiliaries under Phocion⁵, a detachment of Thebans under Lacrates⁶, and a body of Argives under the Herculean warrior Nicostratus⁷. Even the Carthaginians

¹ Diodor. 16. 34.

² Plut. Ages. 36, where the disgraceful character of this expedition is well described. Conf. Diodor. 15. 92.

³ Plut. ubi sup. 37.

⁴ Diodor. 16. 42.

⁵ Diodor. ubi sup. 16. 43, and Wessel.

⁶ Diodor. 16. 44.

⁷ Ibid. ubi sup. 16. 48. Compare on the number of the Greeks who had quitted their own country, and were ready to sell their services to the various captains, see above, § 74. n. 24.

had Grecian soldiers in their pay⁸. By this means military honour departed from the civic banners; the number of citizens at musters⁹ and on marches (πολιτικαὶ δυνάμεις)¹⁰ had dwindled almost to nothing, whilst that of the mercenaries daily increased¹¹; it became more and more the policy of states to purchase the services of mercenaries for money; and the fact that a considerable portion of the public revenue passed into the hands of foreigners, operated alike injuriously to the public economy and to private interests. The craving for pleasure in the citizens was not a little promoted by the luxurious lives of the mercenaries, who, unlike men who fought for their own hearths and altars, and had a stake in the welfare of their country, spent the wages of blood in the purchase of present gratifications, not knowing how much time might be left them for enjoyment¹². The less capable the citizens became of wielding the sword in their own defence, the more deeply did they sink into the vortex of dissipation. The Athenians attained the most disgraceful celebrity by the manner in which they squandered the public revenue on festivals, pageants, and banquets¹³; but still more notorious for their gluttony and debauchery were the inhabitants of Byzantium, Chalcidion¹⁴, Zacynthus¹⁵, Syracuse, Tarentum¹⁶, etc.

⁸ Plut. Tim. 30.

⁹ See above, § 74. n. 22.

¹⁰ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 488. 537.

¹¹ Concerning Athens, see Isocrat. Symmach. 267; Æschin. de Falsa Legat. 249. 250.

¹² On the degeneracy of the Spartan king, Archidamus, in Tarentum, see Theopomp. ap. Ath. 12. 536. C.

¹³ Isocrat. Areop. 224. 225; Demosth. Phil. 1. 50. de Synt. 169; Athen. 4. 166. E.; Justin. 6. 9; Plut. Quæst. Symp. 8. 896. The subject is treated at length by Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 232, sqq.

¹⁴ Athen. 12. 526. E. from Theopomp.

¹⁵ Agatharcides apud. Athen. 12. 528. A.

¹⁶ See above, § 75. n. 81, sqq.

This indulgence in luxury and revelry, as unmanly and enervating as it was, did not, however, diminish their insolence or allay their animosity; the general extravagance and the poverty that resulted from it, made men reckless as to the means they employed to gratify their love of pleasure¹⁷; and amongst the most disgraceful, and, at the same time, the most calamitous of its effects, was their eagerness to betray their country into the hands of the dynasts, in order to obtain the gold they so liberally dispensed. Numerous lists of traitors have been handed down to posterity¹⁸. These were not like the contending factions of former days, impelled by the implacable spirit of political partisanship: they cared nothing for the state and its interests, and only thought of their own advantage. It was of little avail that individual states made occasional attempts to repress the evil, as for example, Corinth, when she interdicted her subjects from accepting the gold of the dynasts¹⁹. The few citizens who still retained the better spirit of the olden time, had lost all courage, and despaired of beholding the political system of their country renewed and invigorated from within. Isocrates, who looked with a jealous eye upon the growing power of Persia, was of opinion, that the only hope of salvation for his

¹⁷ Crates considered their feasting as a main source of discord, Plut. de Sanitat. tuend. 6. 478. These accounts remind us of the quarrels which arise out of the dancing, drinking, and gaming of modern times. But one of Pandora's gifts was still wanting, namely, the duel, by way of a "réparation d'honneur."

¹⁸ Demosth. Phil. 3. 125. 11; 126. 17. 28; de Corona, 241, sqq. 324; conf. Harpocration, Μύρτις; Diodor. 10. 53. 54; comp. Himerius, 34, Wernsd.: τὸ Μακεδόνων χρυσίον καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου φιλίαν νόμους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζουσι. The extenuation offered by Polybius (17. 14) is partial.

¹⁹ Plut. Apophth. 6. 672.

country was in the supremacy of a native prince; and such he considered Philip to be. And it must be confessed that that monarch not only knew how to purchase the services of corrupt citizens and venal declaimers, but also possessed so many brilliant qualities, that he might well inspire even upright and patriotic Greeks with confidence and hope, and the rather as they had wholly ceased to place any dependence upon themselves.

In such a posture of affairs it was impossible that the intercourse of the various states could be marked by amity or good faith. This was another source of advantage to Philip. The relative position of the belligerents after the battle of Mantinea became complicated and confused; but though the victory had remained undecided, it was self-evident, that no one of the states which had taken part in that engagement could henceforward attempt to assert a military supremacy over the rest²⁰. Though neither Sparta, Athens, nor Thebes evinced any desire to prolong the contest, with the view of obtaining a general hegemony, they had no sooner recovered from the effects of the great Boeotian war, than they severally began to exhibit their lust of power in a narrower sphere. Sparta once more endeavoured to establish a confederacy among the Peloponnesians under her own protectorate, and then assailed her old enemy Argos. Upon the defeat of the Argives at Orneæ²¹, Olymp. 106. 4;

²⁰ The reason which Ephorus assigns for the decay of the Theban power (ap. Strab. 9. 401.) is: τὸ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀλιγορῆσαι, μόνης δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς. On which Strabo remarks: τοῦτο (i. e. what the Thebans neglected) πρὸς Ἕλληνας μάλιστα χρησιμὸν ἐστὶ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς βαρβάρους βία λόγου κρείττων ἐστὶ.
²¹ Diod. 16. 34.

353. B. C., the Megalopolitans, Sicyonians, Messenians, and Thebans entered into a league with Argos²², which soon after concluded a truce with Sparta. The last, either impelled by her love of war, or by the hope of renewing those ties of affinity which had grown relaxed, still persisted in wasting her strength in the quarrels of the transmarine states; Gaisylus was despatched to Syracuse in order that, like Gylippus, he might assume the command, but was rejected by Dion²³; a detachment of auxiliaries was sent to Lyctus in Crete²⁴; at a subsequent period king Archidamus himself went to Italy and fell fighting for Tarentum against its barbarous neighbours on the same day, that the liberties of the mother-country received their death-blow at Chæroneia²⁵. The influence of Athens having prevailed over that of Thebes in the quarrels of the Eubœans²⁶, the former effected a new league amongst the maritime states, and soon began to pervert her power to the purposes of oppression and exaction. Cleruchiæ had been established in the Chersonese, Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C., and on Samos in Olymp. 107. 1, (if not as early as Olymp. 104. 4; 361. B. C.)²⁷; but the man whose oppressions and misuse chiefly served to make the name of Athens detested in all the islands and maritime districts was the broad-shouldered debauchee Chares²⁸, who possessed no single excellence becoming a commander, and whom Timotheus declared fit for no other

²² Diod. 16. 39.

²³ Plut. Dion. 49.

²⁴ Diod. 16. 62.

²⁵ Diod. 16. 88.

²⁶ Diod. 16. 7. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 88.

²⁷ See Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 460.

²⁸ Diod. 15. 95.

purpose than to carry the general's baggage²⁹. He was accompanied by several others as worthless as himself³⁰. The confederates put themselves in a posture of defence upon the approach of another general, Phocion³¹. The war which now broke out, Olymp. 105. 3.—106. 1; 357—355. B. C., is known by the name of the social war, and its result once more annihilated the Athenian power at sea. The towns of the Chersonese fell into the hands of the Thracian Cotys³². Thebes strove to extend her dominion over the adjacent states in the north, west, and east, but she could not succeed in subjecting to her authority either Eubœa or Thessaly; the wretched artifice of representing her allies the Locrians and the mountain-nations around Thessaly as Amphictyons, and thence endeavouring to borrow political importance, was one of the causes which led to the eruption of the (third) holy war, during which Bœotia itself was visited with severe calamities.

Thus no inconsiderable number of states were in possession of the independence guaranteed to them by the peace of Antalcidas; Messenia was free from the control of Sparta, Pellene severed from Achaia³³, the Periœci of Elis were enfranchised, the naval league of Athens dissolved, the supremacy of Thebes in Bœotia on the wane, Pheræ no longer possessed an undue preponder-

²⁹ Plut. an Seni Respub., etc. 9. 151; ἀκμάζοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ ῥωμύλεον, κ. τ. λ. Diod. 16. 85: οὐδὲν δέφερε τῶν τυχόντων ἰδιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ἐνέργειαν καὶ βουλήν. Conf. Theopomp. ap. Ath. 12. 532. C. D. Against this the observation of Dem. Ep. 1481. 5, that Chares was δημοτικός, has little or no weight.

³⁰ Æschin. de Fals. Legat. 250.

³¹ Plut. Phoc. 11.

³² Demosth. in Aristocr. 668. 8, sqq. See the continuation of these quarrels under Cotys' sons, Cersobleptes, Amadocus, and Berisades, Demosth. in Aristocr. 623. 17, sqq.; and 676. 24, sqq.

³³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 553.

ance in Thessaly, etc.; but whilst the mutual indifference of the nations, and the favour of circumstances in general had conduced to keep up separation and independence in the early age, and the various communities of Greece, though unwilling to coalesce, had formed so many compact and consistent wholes, Greece now resembled a body torn into many conflicting parts, which, incapable of subsisting singly, and unwilling to unite, exhausted their still remaining strength in attacks upon each other. States were less occupied with the task of ameliorating their own condition, than in devising plans for injuring one another, and animosity and discord universally prevailed³⁴. A disposition to revive ancient national associations is perceived in the efforts of Corinth alone, to recover the friendship and attachment of its colonies³⁵; and the interest which it testified in the fate of Syracuse was honourable to its feelings; but on the other hand, this division of the strength of the mother-country during the perilous stand she made against Philip was ill-timed and injudicious, and, as might have been expected, it produced no salutary fruits. Hellas was ripe for a foreign yoke. The relation in which she stood to Persia had long been wavering and unfixed through the effects of the mercenary system. This exempted the Persian monarch from the necessity of entering into regular treaties with states, and even when he did so, his object was merely to obtain permission from them to levy soldiers within their

³⁴ Demosth. de Coron. 231. 8:—ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος—παρὰ—ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή.

³⁵ Plutarch, Timol. 3. 23. 24. 53.

territories; but similar advantages were granted to rebellious satraps³⁶, so that the relation between Philip and the states of Greece was constantly fluctuating between friendship and enmity, like that which existed between Switzerland and France in the time of the emperor Maximilian; upon the whole, however, Thebes may be said to have been most closely connected with the great king³⁷, who afterwards entered into a coalition with Athens against Philip.

Philip of Macedon³⁸, whose lineage was accounted Grecian from Alexander, Philellen downwards³⁹, had been trained up in the manners and customs of Greece, and resided long enough in Thebes to know that the political condition of that country was past all cure. He ascended the Macedonian throne, Ol. 105. 1; 360. B. C., and having, in a short but severe struggle, established his authority over his paternal dominions and the adjacent provinces, he endeavoured to subject all Greece to his power by a series of attacks from without, and by skilfully availing himself of her corruption within. Few princes in history have exhibited that inflexible perseverance and unwavering fixedness of purpose which he did. As it is not my purpose, however, to make his policy in itself the principal object of inquiry,

³⁶ See above, n. 1, sqq.

³⁷ Thebes received subsidies for the Phocian war, Diod. 16. 40.

³⁸ Conf. Olivier, Hist. de Phil. 1740: 2. 8; Leland's History of Phil. 1761, A.; Valckenaer, Orat. de Phil. in the Opusc.; Weiske de Hyperbole Errorum in Hist. Phil. Commissar. Genitrice, 1818.

³⁹ —ἐκρίθη (by the umpires of the games at Olympia)—εἶναι Ἕλληνας. Herod. 5. 22. But Demosthenes, Phil. 3. 118, gives a very different account: οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντας, οὐδὲ προσήκοντας οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἐντεῦθεν, ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλίθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπονδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι. Conf. Olynth. 3. 35; de Symmor. 186; de Coron. 290.

however calculated it may be to throw light upon the picture of dissension, treachery, and imbecility presented by the Grecian states, I proceed to show how, on the one hand, the latter promoted their own degradation by voluntarily lending themselves to the crafty designs of Philip, and how, on the other, his plans encountered resistance from two opposite quarters, viz., from Athens and Phocis, both of which states were supported by numerous allies.

Philip's first message to the Athenians was well calculated to produce a favourable impression upon their minds. Having succeeded in humbling his opponent Argæus, to whom they had sent succours, he released the Athenian prisoners, saying, that he wished to be on friendly terms with their city⁴⁰. His attack upon Amphipolis took place when Athens was engaged in the social war, and whilst, however great might have been her inclination to assist that city, her interference could have availed but little, Olymp. 105. 3; 357. B. C. Moreover, her attention was still engrossed by the overgrown power of her hereditary foe in Asia; and the dangers to be apprehended from any other foreign power still appeared too remote to induce her suddenly to abandon a line of policy she had so long pursued. Isocrates, who may be looked upon as the representative of this opinion, still felt indignant at the disgrace which his country had incurred by subscribing to the conditions of the peace of Antalcidas. It was not till after the lapse of several years, and only in consequence of repeated aggressions from Philip, that the Athe-

⁴⁰ Diod. 16. 3; Demosth. in Aristoc. 660. 13, sqq.

nians became alive to the dangers which were to be apprehended from his designs ⁴¹. The easy credulity with which they hearkened to his promises and insinuations ⁴² during the siege of Amphipolis, were well adapted to inspire the wily monarch with sanguine hopes of future success. The Athenians had, moreover, lost their bravest champion ⁴³, Chabrias, in the social war, and had deprived themselves by their own imprudence of the services of the valiant Iphicrates and Timotheus ⁴⁴, so that they were constrained to make their choice between Phocion and Diopeithes, and Chares and Charidemus ⁴⁵, when unfortunately it generally fell upon the two last ⁴⁶. As the plans of Philip in this quarter were promoted by the social war, so he found a convenient handle for his designs upon the continent in the contentious character of the Thebans. The accusation brought by Thebes and the so-called Amphictyons ⁴⁷ against Phocis, viz., that it had tilled sacred ground, is ascribed by Pausanias to the inveterate hatred which the Thessalians bore the Phocians ⁴⁸. But it is the conduct of Thebes that we must more particularly examine.

⁴¹ See the warning of Dem. de Lib. Rhod. 197. 25, sqq.

⁴² Demosth. ubi sup. 659. 4:—ὅτε μὲν ἐπολιόρκει Ἀμφίπολιν, ἔν' ὧμιν παραδῶ, πολιορκεῖν ἔφη· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔλαβε, καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προσαφείλετο. The Athenians were much given to political forebodings: the prospect of secret concessions always had the greatest charm for them. Dem. Ol. 2. 19. 24:—τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν—τῷ τὸ θρυλλούμενον ποτε ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνο κατασκευάσαι, κ. τ. λ.

⁴³ Diod. 67. 7; Corn. Nep. Chab. 4.

⁴⁴ Diod. 16. 21; Ælian. V. H. 14. 3.

⁴⁵ See concerning this worthless wretch, between whom and the demagogue Charidemus I see no reason for drawing a distinction, Theopomp. ap. Ath. 10. 436, C.; and in particular Dem. in Aristocr. 669. 20, sqq. Comp. Rumpf de Charidemo Orita. Giessen, 1815.

⁴⁶ The proverbial αἱ Χαρήτος ὑποσχέσεις, Diog. 2. 1, is very expressive. The people seem in his case to have forgotten such an action as that against the betrayers of the demus.

⁴⁷ See Tittmann, v. d. Amphikt. 170, sqq.

⁴⁸ Paus. 10. 2. 1.

Phocis had refused to perform military service under that state in its war with Sparta, and to this must be ascribed the implacable hostility which it displayed. Little dependence can be placed upon the statement of Duris, that it was occasioned by the conduct of a Phocian who had carried off a Theban woman called Theano ⁴⁹; but Aristotle also alludes to a dispute concerning an heiress ⁵⁰. Hostilities broke out, Olymp. 106. 2; 355. B. C. Thebes was supported by the Locrians, Thessalians, Per-rhæbians, Magnesians, Ænians, Phthiotan Achæ-ans, Dolopians, and Athamanes ⁵¹. But amongst the towns of Thessaly, Pheræ must be excepted. Phocis had indeed once made war upon Jason, and according to the ancient practice of these hostile borderers (without sending a herald to give notice of its intention ⁵²); but Pheræ was now upon the side of Phocis. In spite of the dreadful character which the war assumed in consequence of the spoliation of the oracle ⁵³, Athens ⁵⁴ and Sparta made common cause with Phocis; they were both hostile to Thebes, the former in consequence of the apprehensions it entertained of a conjunction between Thebes and the Macedonian king, and the latter because it had been adjudged by the council of the Amphictyons to pay a fine for having occupied the Cadmea ⁵⁵; but although Phocis succeeded in bribing Deinicha, the wife of Archidamus ⁵⁶, Sparta did not take an active part

⁴⁹ Athen. 13. 560.

⁵⁰ Arist. Pol. 5. 3. 4; 5. 3. 3, and Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 280, appear to relate to different circumstances.

⁵¹ Diod. 16. 29.

⁵² Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 21.

⁵³ Diod. 16. 30.

⁵⁴ Diod. 16. 25. 57; Demosth. de Coron. 230. 28, sqq.; Paus. 3. 10. 4.

⁵⁵ Diod. 16. 29.

⁵⁶ Theopomp. ap. Pausan. 3. 10. 4; Diod. 16. 30.

in the war: the campaign which Archidamus made at the head of a small army effected nothing⁵⁷. Amongst the Bœotian towns, Coronea, Orchomenus, and Chæronea successively fell into the hands of the Phocians⁵⁸. The effective force of the Phocians themselves was inconsiderable, but the treasures of the oracle for some time enabled them to keep on foot large bodies of mercenaries. The dissensions in Thessaly brought about the intervention of Philip, who took the fortress of Ithome, Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C.⁵⁹, and thereby commanded the whole line of coast as far as Thessaly. Like Archelaus, Amyntas, and Alexander in former times, Philip was now called upon to assist the Aleuads of Larissa in their contest with Pheræ, the ally of the Phocians⁶⁰. The Phocians and Pheræans suffered repeated defeats, and all Thessaly eventually fell under the dominion of Philip⁶¹.

Meanwhile the attention of Athens had been turned to the Thracian coast and Eubœa, and in the events which ensued, we have ample opportunity to admire the greatness of Demosthenes, contrasted as it was with the utter imbecility of the people at large. Athens endeavoured to secure the passage of the Hellespont for her corn-vessels, by means of conquests in the Chersonese, and Chabrias took Sestos⁶², Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C.; the Thracian king Cersobleptes gave up to the Athenians the whole of the Chersonese

⁵⁷ Diod. 16. 58.⁵⁸ Diod. 16. 34; Demosth. Olynth. 1. 12. 28.⁵⁹ Diod. 16. 14. 35.⁶⁰ Diod. 16. 34.⁵⁸ Diod. 16. 33. 35. 39.⁶¹ Diod. 16. 35.

except Cardia⁶³. Philip thereupon prepared to attack Heræum in the vicinity of Byzantium; whereupon the Athenians became alarmed. But being informed that Philip was dangerously ill, and that his death was hourly expected, they gradually relaxed in their preparations, and seemed wholly incapable of availing themselves of the favourable conjuncture that presented itself. Too much impoverished by their luxury and extravagance to purchase the services of mercenaries, and too enervated personally to share in the toils and dangers of an expedition, they had not the courage to attack their enemy with vigour and determination; and the general conduct of the war, and the single undertakings displayed an equal degree of feebleness and irresolution⁶⁴. Some time afterwards, when it became necessary to send succours to Olynthus, instead of collecting forty ships and sixty talents, and arming all the citizens up to forty-five years of age, they could only bring together ten vessels and five talents⁶⁵ in all. Generally speaking the Athenians never resolved upon an undertaking till after an unprofitable and stormy discussion in the popular assembly⁶⁶, and most frequently, when the favourable moment had elapsed; besides which their measures themselves were disconnected and detached, and not adopted in conformity to any systematic or well-concerted plan of operations; Philip on the other hand not only

⁶³ Diod. ubi sup. The account in Argum. Dem. in Aristocr. 618, sqq., is more circumstantial.⁶⁴ See Demosth. Phil. 1. 51. 20, sqq.⁶⁵ Demosth. Olynth. 3. 29. 20, sqq.⁶⁶ Demosth. Olynth. 3. 29. 23: πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν, κ. τ. λ. Æschin. de Fals. Legat. 251: — ἐκκλησιάζειν μετὰ φόβου καὶ θορύβου, et ubi sup.

resolved and executed with equal promptitude and decision, but derived the greatest advantage in the prosecution of his enterprizes from his local position, which enabled him to send forth his armies and fleets, when the Etesian winds⁶⁷ prevented the Athenians from sailing towards the north. Hence, although the Athenians for a short time exulted at their success, in frustrating his premature attempt to force a passage through the straits of Thermopylæ⁶⁸, it was not long before their fears were renewed and redoubled. Philip had availed himself of the dissensions which prevailed in Eubœa to carry on his intrigues, and by dispensing his gold with a liberal hand, had succeeded in setting up several tyrants and gaining over others to his interest⁶⁹. In the mean time Olynthus was threatened with an invasion from Philip, who had formerly given it Anthemus and Potidæa in order to induce it to enter into a league with him against Athens⁷⁰, and in its emergency it had recourse to Athens, Ol. 107. 4; 349. B. C.⁷¹. The three (Olynthian) orations of Demosthenes produced three expeditions in its favour⁷²; but their result is well known. Chares set sail with a fleet of thirty ships and two thousand men, extorted sixty talents from the Phocians,

⁶⁷ Demosth. Phil. 1. 48. 24: — τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος· καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἑτησίας, ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἀν' ἡμεῖς μὴ δυνώμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι. Conf. 44. 23.

⁶⁸ Diod. 16. 38; conf. Dem. de Coron. 236. 15; de Falsâ Legat. 367. 21, sqq.; Ulpian, 93. ed. Wolf. See below, § 77, on Diophantus.

⁶⁹ See § 78.

⁷⁰ Argum. Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 7. 8. and 10; Demosth. in Aristocr. 656. 9.

⁷¹ Argum. Demosth. Olynth. 1; Dionys. Halicarn. ad Amm. 6. p. 6. Tauchn.; Justin. 8. 3; Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 361.

⁷² Philoch. ap. Schol. Demosth. 2. 23.

and plundered Chalcidice⁷³; his successor the profligate Charidemus, was still more worthless than himself⁷⁴. It was at length resolved to assemble an army of two thousand heavy-armed troops and three hundred horse⁷⁵, but all in vain; Olynthus, Ol. 108. 1; 347. B. C., fell through domestic treachery into the power of Philip⁷⁶, who reduced the inhabitants to slavery⁷⁷, destroyed it together with Apollonia, and thirty-two other towns in Chalcidice, and on the adjoining coast of Thrace, which he captured within a year⁷⁸, though several, such as Torone and Mecyberna⁷⁹, had fallen into his hands before the reduction of Olynthus; whilst so completely were they demolished that their sites could scarcely be discovered⁸⁰. Philip next made a descent upon Lemnos and Imbrus⁸¹, and even went so far as to capture and carry off the Salaminian trireme⁸² near Marathon, after which he once more established himself in Eubœa. The indignation of the Athenians being roused by these events, and by the second philippic of Demosthenes⁸³, they had, immediately upon the fall of

⁷³ Theopomp. ap. Athen. 12. 532. C. D.; Philoch. ap. Dionys. ad Amm. 6. 14. Tauchn.

⁷⁴ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 10. 436. C.

⁷⁵ Dionys. ad Amm. 6. 14.

⁷⁶ Demosth. Phil. 3. 125. 10. sqq.; de Cherson. 99. 22; de Coron. 241. 25, etc.

⁷⁷ Diod. 16. 53; Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 439. 3.

⁷⁸ Demosth. ubi sup. 426. 14, sqq.

⁷⁹ Diod. 16. 53.

⁸⁰ Demosth. Phil. 3. 117. 19, sqq.

⁸¹ The departure of the Athenians sent in search of Chares took place at this time; Antiochus was instructed ζητεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν — καὶ ἐντυχῇ που φράζειν, ὅτι θαυμάζει ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, εἰ Φίλιππος μὲν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον τῶν Ἀθηναίων πορεύεται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἴσασιν, οὐδὲ τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἐξέπεμψαν, ὅπου ἐστίν.

⁸² Demosth. Phil. 1. 49. 25, sqq.

⁸³ I entirely agree with Dionys. Hal. (ad Amm. 6. 15. Tauchn.) in looking upon the second part of the so-called first speech, as a separate and distinct oration, περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν (Lemnos, Imbrus, Sciathus) καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων. Conf. Fr. Jacobs: Demosthenes Staatsreden, 1805, p. 46, sqq.

Olynthus, sent Æschines to the Peloponnesus, in order to obtain the co-operation of Megalopolis⁸⁴, but were appeased⁸⁵ by the representations of Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, two actors whom Philip had bribed over to his purposes, and who first advised them to make peace⁸⁶; whilst the account which Phrynon, who had been taken prisoner by some Macedonian soldiers, gave of the clemency with which he had been treated, entirely removed from their minds any remains of animosity they might still harbour against Philip⁸⁷; wherefore hoping to obtain peace from that monarch as a matter of favour and friendship, and not by means of a regular treaty, they suspended all their warlike preparations.

Philip, in the mean time, Olymp. 108. 2; 347. B. C., having been summoned by the Thebans to assist them against the Phocians⁸⁸, who had reduced them to great straits, intimidated the exhausted Phocians by his preparations. Athens entertained hopes that the peace which she was about to negotiate with Philip, would likewise include the Phocians. Two embassies were now sent to him. In the first, his gold⁸⁹ corrupted the fidelity of Æschines, Philocrates, etc., whilst the presence of Philip so humbled and abashed Demosthenes, that his self-possession entirely forsook him, and he could not utter a word⁹⁰; the second

⁸⁴ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 344. 12, sqq. 439. 3, sqq.; Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. 257.

⁸⁵ Argum. Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 334. 16, sqq.

⁸⁶ Dem. ubi sup. 344. 7. 21; conf. 442. 27: Φίλιππος — τοὺς τὰ φιλόανθρωπα λέγοντας ἐκείνους ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, τὸν Κτησιφῶντα.

⁸⁷ Argum. ubi sup. 335. 12, sqq.; Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. 196, sqq.

⁸⁸ Diodor. 16. 58.

⁸⁹ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 439. 18, sqq. Argum.

⁹⁰ Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. 219, sqq.

consisted of Æschines and Eubulus, whom Demosthenes was appointed to attend as an ambassador extraordinary⁹¹; Demosthenes tried in vain to accelerate the movements of his faithless and dilatory colleagues, who remained absent three entire months, during which Cersobleptes⁹² and the Thracian towns Serrion, Doriscus, Hieron Oros⁹³, etc., were reduced⁹⁴ by Philip, who gave them fair words indeed⁹⁵, but no solid assurances of a favourable issue of the holy war. But Æschines kept up the confidence of the Athenians in the amicable termination of the war, by declaring that Philip had whispered in his ear, that he durst not, on account of Thebes, declare openly in favour of the Phocians, and that, for the same reason, they could not be expressly named in the articles of the peace⁹⁶, etc. But they were soon undeceived: before a third embassy could reach Philip⁹⁷, a Macedonian army, in conjunction with some Thessalians, Thebans, etc., entered Phocis, which offered no resistance, as it had, in Olymp. 108. 2; 346. B. C., in confident expectation of peace, declined the assistance of Archidamus the Spartan, who was marching to its relief⁹⁸; the so-styled council of the Amphictyons passed sentence upon the Phocians as temple-robbers⁹⁹, after which, all the towns in the

⁹¹ See Taylor ad Argum. Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. p. 340, on the singular words οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, which can only be explained by his having been deputed to follow them, or to accompany them in an extraordinary capacity.

⁹² Demosth. de Coron. 235. 17, sqq.; Phil. 3. 148.

⁹³ Demosth. Phil. 3. 114; de Coron. 234. 12.

⁹⁴ See the dates in Taylor ad Demosth. de Coron. 196—205.

⁹⁵ Argum. Dem. de Pac. 55. 6, sqq.; Ibid. 59. 12, sqq.; Argum. Dem. Phil. 2. 65. 4, sqq.; Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 346. 12, sqq.

⁹⁶ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. ubi sup. et Argum. 337. 17.

⁹⁷ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 379. 18, sqq.

⁹⁸ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 365; Æschin. 302.

⁹⁹ Diodor. 16. 60; Paus. 3. 10. 2; Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 362. 19, sqq.; conf. Append. ix.

district were laid in ruins, the inhabitants dispersed amongst the villages, and many of them dragged into Macedonia¹⁰⁰, Olymp. 108. 3; 364. B. C.¹⁰¹. Philip was now received into the Amphictyonic league in the place of the Phocians, and invested with the promanteia of the oracle and the superintendence of the Pythian games¹⁰². These measures were effected with the zealous concurrence and at the instigation of Thebes¹⁰³. Athens did not consume much time in vain and unprofitable repentance; her first step was to protest against Philip's admission into the Amphictyonic league, after which she offered an asylum to the Phocian fugitives, and prepared to fortify the Piræus¹⁰⁴ and the fortresses. Upon this occasion the ardour of the Athenians made them disregard the advice of Demosthenes, who was opposed to a rupture¹⁰⁵. But he, too, was soon after roused to make a last and desperate stand against the restless aggressions of the Macedonian.

Philip now spread out his snares more widely than before, and sought to gain over the Peloponnesus and the states on the Ionian sea on the one side, and those in the Chersonese and on the Thracian Bosphorus on the other, with the view of detaching Athens from its allies, and then investing and reducing it by famine. In the third year after the conclusion of the peace, Olymp. 109. 1; 344. B. C., Demosthenes dissuaded his fellow-citizens

¹⁰⁰ Justin. 8. 5.

¹⁰¹ This is the date in Diodorus. Paus. 10. 3. 1, fixes it in Olymp. 108. 1, during the archonship of Theophilus. Corsini (Olymp. 108. 2-3) correctly decides for the first.

¹⁰² Dem. de Falsa Legat. 445. 25: *Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες*.

¹⁰³ Dem. de Pac. 61. 27, sqq.; Ulpian, 94, ed. Wolf.

¹⁰⁴ Orat. de Pac.

from infringing its provisions. Against Philip himself he directed the thunders of his second philippic¹⁰⁶, and then, Olymp. 109. 2; 343. B. C., impeached the domestic traitor Æschines¹⁰⁷, whilst Hyperides accused Philocrates¹⁰⁸; but the Athenians having capital prosecutions to engage their attention, could spare no time from these all-engrossing pursuits to obstruct the progress of Philip, who now partially executed his intentions with regard to the states of the Peloponnesus and those on the western sea. As a preliminary step, he had induced Elis¹⁰⁹, Sicyon¹¹⁰, and Megara¹¹¹ by bribes, and Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia¹¹² by the offer of his friendship and alliance, to make a joint attack upon Sparta. Before Demosthenes pronounced his oration against Æschines¹¹³, a sanguinary conflict broke out between Philip's partisans and opponents in Elis¹¹⁴; this was followed by his attempt upon Ambracia and Leucas¹¹⁵, and the occupation of Naupactus, Cassiopea, and Pandosia¹¹⁶. He now began to attack Athens in her most vulnerable point, viz., by directing his force against the places on the northern straits; he captured Cardia on the Chersonesus¹¹⁷, which the valiant Diopceithes had closely invested. This roused the Athenians to increased exertions. Ol.

¹⁰⁶ Dionys. ad Amm. 6. 15. When I say the second Philippic, I mean according to the order in which they are usually printed, comp. n. 83.

¹⁰⁷ Conf. Taylor ap. Reiske, appar. ad Demosth. 1. 330.

¹⁰⁸ Dem. de Falsa Legat. 376. 16.

¹⁰⁹ Paus. 4. 28. 3.

¹¹⁰ Demosth. de Coron. 242. 2.

¹¹¹ Dem. ubi sup.; conf. Philipp. 3. 118. 6.

¹¹² Argum. Phil. 2.

¹¹³ This results from Dem. de Falsa Legat. 424. 24. But compare Weiske de Hyperbole, 1. 35. 36.

¹¹⁴ Dem. Phil. 4. 133. 29; de Falsa Legat. 424. 24 (*τὰς ἐν Ἠλιδοσφαγᾷ*); conf. Paus. 4. 28. 3.

¹¹⁵ Dem. Phil. 3. 119. 29, sqq.; conf. Weiske de Hyperb. 2. 40.

¹¹⁶ Ps. Dem. de Halonn. 84. 22.

¹¹⁷ Dem. Phil. 3. 120. 5; de Cherson. 104. 3; 105. 16; Argum. Orat. de Cherson. 88.

109. 3; 342. B. C.¹¹⁸, Demosthenes succeeded, by means of the third philippic, and his speech on the posture of affairs in the Chersonese, in counter-acting the impression which was produced by an epistle from Philip¹¹⁹, as well as in baffling the insidious machinations of his hirelings¹²⁰. Diopeithes retained the command of the forces in the Chersonese, whilst Phocion drove out the tyrants of Eubœa, Clitarchus, etc., Ol. 109. 4; 341. B. C.¹²¹. Philip now prepared to attack Perinthus and Byzantium¹²², whereupon Demosthenes pronounced his fourth philippic; Philip's assault upon Perinthus was repulsed by a body of mercenaries, sent there by Artaxerxes Ochus¹²³. Diopeithes, indeed, some time afterwards fell in an engagement in the Chersonese; but the letter which Philip sent to the Athenians, in Ol. 110. 1., and in which he offered a justification of his own conduct, and reproached Athens for having made common cause with the Persian monarch¹²⁴, failed to produce the desired effect; public opinion still continued to be with Demosthenes, and the war was vigorously prosecuted. Chios, Rhodes, and Cos, sent succours¹²⁵. The Athenians committed a signal error in nominating Chares to the command; he accomplished nothing¹²⁶; but Phocion made ample amends for the ill success that had attended his operations, by preserving Byzantium¹²⁷, whereupon the Byzantines and Chersonesians testified their gratitude to

¹¹⁸ Dionys. ad Amm. 6. 16.¹¹⁹ Argum. Dem. de Cherson. 89.¹²⁰ Dem. Phil. 3. 129. 16.¹²¹ Diodor. 16. 74; Plut. Demosth. 17; conf. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 111.¹²² This is the date in Philochorus, ap. Dionys. ad Amm. 6. 18. Diodorus, 16. 74, has Ol. 109. 4: both may be right.¹²³ Dem. de Phil. Epist. 153. 20, sqq.; conf. Diodor. 16. 75; Paus. 1. 29. 7.¹²⁴ Demosth. p. 158, sqq.¹²⁵ Diodor. 16. 77.¹²⁶ Plut. Phoc. 14.¹²⁷ Plut. ubi sup.

the Athenians by public decrees to their honour and advantage¹²⁸. The incendiary Antiphon, whom Philip had bribed to set fire to the dock-yards and the fleet in the Piræus, and who had been acquitted upon his first trial, was once more summoned by Demosthenes to appear before the Areopagus¹²⁹.

A new war upon the main-land, the last of those denominated holy wars, decided the event. The Locrians of Amphissa, like the Phocians before them, had tilled some of the Delphic lands, whereupon Æschines accused them at the bar of the Amphictyons, Olymp. 110. 1; 339. B. C.¹³⁰; this produced hostilities, which at length led to a regular war; after an unsuccessful campaign of the Amphictyons, Philip was chosen their generalissimo. Athens sent ten thousand mercenaries to the assistance of the Amphisæans¹³¹. The treachery of the Theban Proxenus, who commanded the mercenaries at Amphissa¹³², paved the way for the eventual triumph of Philip's arms, who now suddenly occupied Elatea¹³³, and thereby gave the Athenians to understand that his next attack would be directed against themselves. Athens was startled, but not dispirited. Demosthenes threatened to drag by the hair to prison the first man who should dare to speak of peace¹³⁴, and formed a league between Athens, Megara (which contained an Athenian garrison, and whose long walls had been rebuilt by Phocion¹³⁵), Eubœa, Corinth, Achaia, Corcyra, and

¹²⁸ Demosth. de Coron. 255, sqq.¹²⁹ Demosth. ubi sup. 261. 6, sqq.; Plut. Demosth. 14.¹³⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 505, sqq.¹³¹ Æschin. ubi sup. 536.¹³² Deinarch. in Demosth. 52.¹³³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 532; Diodor. 16. 84.¹³⁴ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 39.¹³⁵ Plut. Phoc. 15.

Leucadia¹³⁶; even Thebes, where his eloquence had to sustain a severe struggle against the power and subtlety of the Byzantine orator Python¹³⁷, was prevailed upon to break off its alliance with Philip, and to join the standard of the patriots¹³⁸. The battle of Chæronea, Ol. 110. 3; 338. B. C.¹³⁹, secured the dominion of Bœotia to Philip, who, finding that the Athenians were preparing to renew the conflict¹⁴⁰, prevailed upon them by his lenity to desist from all further preparations and thereby put an end to the war. Nearly all the states of Greece recognised Philip's hegemony *de facto*, whilst some, and Thebes amongst the number, experienced its oppressive effects¹⁴¹. Sparta was invaded by Philip, and constrained to relinquish her military supremacy in the Peloponnesus, and to restore to the Argives, Tegeatæ, Megalopolitans, and Messenians, those places which she had formerly wrested from them¹⁴².

II. ATHENS.

§ 77. The foregoing outline of the proceedings of the Athenians in their contests and negotiations with Philip, has thrown sufficient light upon their public system in general to confirm the truth of what has been several times advanced with regard to the deep degradation at which the national character had arrived¹. Nevertheless, the democracy² of this period, wild and disorganized as it was, still

¹³⁶ Plut. Demosth. 17.¹³⁸ Plut. Demosth. 18.¹⁴⁰ Lyc. in Leocr. 164. 170.¹⁴² Polyb. 9. 28; 17. 14; conf. Manso, Sparta, 3. 1. 245. n.¹ Conf. § 76. n. 12.² In the series of Aristotle it is entitled *νεωτάτη*—Polit. 5. 4. 6; *νεανικωτάτη*—4. 9. 8; likewise, *λοχάρη*. See its leading lights and shadows, Ibid. 4. 4. 4-6; 5. 9. 6; 6. 2. 9; 4. 5. 4; 6. 2. 12.¹³⁷ Diodor. 16. 85.¹³⁹ Diodor. 16. 86; Plut. Dem. 18. 19. 20.¹⁴¹ Justin, 9. 4.

preserved the character of a constitutional system, and, therefore, offers to the historian and the politician far ampler materials for consideration than are presented to them in analysing a tyranny, of which it is the peculiar characteristic, that law and legal authorities are wholly superseded by the uncontrolled power of an individual. Their annals still contain evidences of an internally connected system; even in their degeneracy the Athenians retained their leading characteristics; the seeds of virtue were not extinct within them³, but they wanted the energy and persistency requisite to quicken and expand them. Many of the forms of the constitution were, however, little more than dead letters, and numerous ordinances seemed only destined to show, with what impunity they might be violated.

The best title to the citizenship still continued to be based upon the extraction of parents, who had possessed civil rights⁴. The custom of proving it by means of the Phratores was still retained⁵; but this law was infringed with the greatest effrontery⁶. In the same manner as individuals prided themselves upon the antiquity and purity of their civil blood, so the vanity of the people at large was gratified by constant appeals to their imagined Autochthony⁷. In cases of natural-

³ Unqualified praise is due to their conduct in sending back an intercepted letter from Philip to Olympia (Plut. Demetr. 22; Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 191). Cicero's conduct presents the direct reverse to this proceeding, see Epist. ad Attic. 1. 13; 6. 3; 11. 9.⁴ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 559, where there is likewise an enumeration of the other qualities requisite to form a good citizen.⁵ Demosth. in Eubul. 1305; in Macart. 1074; in Leocr. 1092; adv. Bœot. de Nom. 95; Isæus, p. 40. 168. 170, etc. See the passages of the orators collected by Platner, Beitr. z. Att. Recht. p. 72. conf. 85. 105.⁶ See Demosth. in Eubul. 1317. 17: conf. 1306. 22.⁷ The orators in this respect give utterance to the feelings of the people at

ization, it was necessary that the person on whom the franchise was to be conferred, should have rendered some service to the state. Though the degeneracy of the Athenians themselves did not render them more liberal in dispensing their citizenship to Metœci, they were sufficiently lavish of it to foreigners⁸; but by bribing the citizens themselves, a still more numerous class of persons⁹ obtained it surreptitiously¹⁰. Upon a par with these unprincipled practices, was the abandoned sycophancy which prevailed, and which, in the total incapacity of the people to estimate the character of evidence, was no less calculated to endanger genuine citizenship, than to shelter and embolden those whose claims to it were unfounded¹¹. Amongst those who had received the Athenian citizenship were several monarchs, who, like Perdiccas¹² and Sitalces¹³ before them, were in friendship and alliance with Athens, as Leucon¹⁴ on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Cotys¹⁵, Cersobleptes and Teres¹⁶, kings in Thrace, Evagoras of Salamis and Dionysius of Syracuse¹⁷, and Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea on the Pontus¹⁸. The value which the Athenians set upon this privilege, is proved by their conduct towards the

large. Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 424. 29, unless the passage is an interpolation; Orat. in Neær. 1370. 14; Orat. Funeb. 1390. 3; Lycurg. in Leocr. 170; Eurip. Fragm. ap. Lycurg. 204; conf. Isocrat. Symmach. 268.

⁸ Demosth. in Aristocr. 687. 17: οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτὴ τῆς πόλεως ἡ δωρεὰ προπεπληγίσται καὶ φαύλη γέγονεν κ. τ. λ. This is followed by examples, Isocrat. Symmach. 268: ῥῆγον δὲ μεταδίδωμεν τοῖς βουλευμένοις ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας, ἢ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Λευκανοὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυσγενείας.

⁹ Conf. Meier de Bon. 77.

¹⁰ Ps. Dem. in Neær. 1317. 5.

¹¹ Likewise, on this point consult Meier, ubi sup. 87, and on the proceedings generally, 57.

¹² Dem. in Lept. 687. 11; but according to the speech de Syntax, 173. 7, he only had ἀτέλειαν.

¹³ Philip's letter, Demosth. 161. 3.

¹⁴ Dem. in Lept. 466. 15.

¹⁵ Dem. in Aristocr. 659. 22.

¹⁶ Philip's letter in Demosth. 160. 20; conf. Dem. in Aristocr. 688. 8.

¹⁷ Phil. Epist. 161. 11.

¹⁸ Dem. in Lept. 482. 27.

Phœnician prince Straton, who had done them a service, and on whom, though they testified their respect for him in various ways, they refused to confer their citizenship¹⁹; they likewise evinced a feeling of shame at having granted it to the Thesalian Pitholaus and the Olynthian Apollonides, and accordingly deprived them of it again²⁰.

Gradations in civil rights according to a valuation still existed, and this formed the basis of Demosthenes' institution of the Symmorias. Even after the bitter experience of the social war, provision was made for citizens by means of Cleruchiæ, as, for instance, in Samos and the Chersonese²¹. Family nobility, notwithstanding the priesthoods which were still annexed to it, could scarcely have retained any degree of exclusive authority after having been so long stripped of its hereditary rights and immunities; but illustrious ancestry was still regarded with respect, and ancient families took pride in carefully continuing their pedigrees²². Marks of honour conferred on deserving citizens, or such as were considered so, became more numerous than before²³; besides presenting them with crowns, it became usual to erect statues to them, which honour was conferred upon Conon, for the first time after the days of Harmodius and Aristogiton²⁴.

It was scarcely possible that a division of parties based upon any political difference, the opposition between the optimates and the popular party,

¹⁹ See Inscript. Böckh, Thesaur. Inscript. p. 126, and see Böckh, ad eand.

²⁰ Ps. Dem. in Neær. 1376. 5.

²¹ See above, § 76. n. 25.

²² Concerning Lycurg. see Vit. Dec. Orat. Plut. 9. 355.

²³ See the particulars of the manner in which this was done Dem. de Coron. and Æschin. in Ctesiph. Conf. Taylor's introduction to the Speech of Æschines.

²⁴ Dem. in Lept. 478. 5.

should exist after the last remnants of aristocracy had been extirpated; there were still Laconistæ²⁵ indeed, of whom we have already spoken, but their pursuits were as insignificant as before. Still even at this stage a difference may be perceived between the friends of the constitution and the laws, and those selfish and unprincipled plunderers who only regarded the constitution as a source of advantage to themselves; as well as between the patriotic supporters of the freedom and independence of the state—the zealous defenders of the republic as such, and the hired partisans of Philip on the one side, and the supporters of monarchy on the other²⁶. The patriots in general may be divided into such as were opposed to the Macedonian, and such as were opposed to the Persian interest. Finally there were, as was before observed, various associations destitute of a political character, some of which had been formed solely with a view to festive objects, and only rendered themselves liable to censure by occasional acts of levity and wantonness, such as the Sixty²⁷; this association appears to have conducted to bring about the treaty of peace with Philip after the battle of Chæronea; whilst others were united for the purpose of carrying on the most abominable system of chicanery and intrigue, sycophancy, etc²⁸.

The condition of the non-citizens appears to have undergone no change. The slaves were

²⁵ See § 71. n. 76. Conf. Plut. Phoc. 10.

²⁶ Perhaps Isocrates alone united the characters of a monarchist and a patriot; that he was the latter is proved by his voluntary death after the battle of Chæronea. Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 330. Conf. Pausan. 1. 18. 7.

²⁷ Athen. 14. 614, D. E.

²⁸ Demosth. in Zenothem. 885. 1:—ἔστιν ἐργαστήρια μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνεστηκότων ἐν τῇ Πειραιῇ.

allowed the same licence of speech as before²⁹; the example of their masters appears to have infected them; but on the other hand it is probable that, from the constant increase of sycophancy, and the total inability of the judges to distinguish between truth and falsehood, it became more usual to put those unhappy beings to the rack in order to extort the truth from them! Enfranchisement appears to have been permitted even in opposition to the will of the master³⁰. The ordinance enacting that no slave should be called Harmodius or Aristogiton³¹, probably dated from a remote age. In consequence of the considerable trade which was still carried on in Athens, the Metæci continued to form a numerous class, to which belonged the money-changers (τραπεζῖται); Pasion³², on whom the rights of citizenship were deservedly conferred, was the most considerable amongst them.

The orators have left us a highly-coloured picture of the disgraceful conduct of the demus in the popular assembly. Seriousness, calmness, and consistency were alike foreign to their proceedings; bursts of rage and frivolous jests alternately diverted them from the path of sober deliberation. A new means had been adopted since Timarchus' pugilistic contest with his adversary to preserve order in the assembly, and to restrain the turbu-

²⁹ Demosth. in Phil. 3. 111. 7:—ὁμοίως τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε.

³⁰ If we are authorized in reasoning back from the case of Casina, Plaut. 2. 5. 7.

³¹ Gellius, Noct. Att. 9. 2.

³² Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 12. Others were: Cirtus, Dem. in Phorm. 908. 22; Darnius and Pamphilus, Arg. Dem. in Dionysod. 1281. 1; Xenon, Euphræus, Euphron, Callistratus, Dem. in Phorm. 948. 16. 17; Sosicles, 953. 15. etc. Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 139, sqq.

lence of the speakers³³; but there is no reason to think that it had the desired effect; the propensity of the people to noise and violence was uncontrollable³⁴; Demosthenes compares the instability of the assembly with the winds of the sea³⁵. The citizens frequented it from curiosity and in search of amusement, and the first question they generally asked was, whether there was any thing new³⁶. To this must be added their extraordinary credulity in the estimation of evidence, and the remarkable flippancy with which they decided upon matters of the last importance³⁷. After enquiring whether any thing new had happened, their incapacity for deliberation expressed itself in the question—what is to be done now³⁸? During the debate every opportunity for merriment was seized with avidity³⁹; jesters were called well-bred people⁴⁰, and the laughter and applause of the assembly rewarded and encouraged them⁴¹; Phocion was taunted by Chares with the seriousness of his demeanour⁴². It cannot, therefore, excite astonishment if, amidst so many causes of distraction, coupled with the artifices of the orators and cajolers

³³ Schömann, de Comit. 88 (see Sheet G.). Conf. Demosth. in Aristog. 797. 15.

³⁴ Æschin. in Tim. 100: εὐθὺς—θορυβεῖτε ὑμεῖς.

³⁵ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 383. 4. sqq.:—ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐστὶν ὄχλος, ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀσυνθετώτατον, ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ πνεῦμα ἀκατάστατον, ὡς ἂν τύχοι, κινούμενον.

³⁶ Demosth. Phil. Epist. 156, 27. sqq.:—εἰ τι λέγεται νεώτερον.

³⁷ Ραθυμία.

³⁸ Τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; Demosth. de Cherson. 99. 10, in Phil. 4. 5, sqq.

³⁹ Æschin. in Tim. 106. 128.

⁴⁰ Isocrat. Areopag. 233:—τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν εὐφρεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν.

⁴¹ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 348 (Philocrates and his accomplices): ἰβόων, ἐξέκρουόν με, τελευτῶντες ἐχλεύαζον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐγελᾶτε, καὶ οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἠθέλετε, κ. τ. λ. Conf. 355. 22. sqq. Philocrates declared that it was not surprising that he and Demosthenes should differ in opinion, and adds—οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω· καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε.

⁴² Plut. Phoc. 15.

of the people⁴³, the assembly signalized itself by dysbulia, and if the stability of the law was sacrificed to the fleeting caprice of the moment⁴⁴; the duty of expounding and enforcing the law was disregarded, whilst psephisms multiplied to an alarming extent⁴⁵; speaking and acting⁴⁶ were separated by a wide gulf, the matters which had been debated and decided on in the assembly were forgotten at home⁴⁷, and deliberation was sometimes known to take place after action⁴⁸.

The courts of justice still continued to be the favourite resorts of the people, and the general avidity for legal proceedings was nourished and supported by the prevalence of quarrels and chicane. This afforded the Athenian an opportunity of pouring forth all the angry vehemence of his nature. Constant allusions are made to the vindictive malice of the accuser⁴⁹ and the irascibility of the judges⁵⁰. The prosecutor never attempted to conceal his hatred⁵¹, and endeavoured to arouse the indignation of the judges, less by stating the offence of the party accused and the manner in which he had infringed the law, than by violence and invective. Now though there can be no doubt that human feelings and passions require to be aroused

⁴³ Demosth. in Tim. 704. 29:—κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν λογοποιοῦς καθίσταν.

⁴⁴ The remark in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1188:—ῥητόρας, οἱ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τῶν νομοθετῶν ἴσασιν, οὐ μέντοι τοὺς νόμους, is applicable here.

⁴⁵ See § 71. n. 6.

⁴⁶ Demosth. de Chers. 98. 10. sqq.

⁴⁷ Demosth. in Phil. 4. 131. 10. sqq.; de Falsâ Legat. 383. 9.

⁴⁸ Demosth. de Pac. 57. 10: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. Comp. de Chers. 92. 25. sqq.; in Phil. 4. 137. 1. sqq.

⁴⁹ Demosth. in Nicostr. 1246. 16; in Theocr. 1322. 5; in Nearc. 1345. 7; Lysias in Agor. 447. 469; in Alcib. 519. 569.

⁵⁰ Demosth. in Phorm. 913. 6: ὀργὴ μεγάλη; Lyc. in Leocr. 158. 232, etc.

⁵¹ Demosth. in Timocr. 702. 11: ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἡγούμενον.

before the law can be administered, according to its true spirit and intention; still the rancour and malignity with which these wretches laboured to effect the destruction of their fellow-citizens, must excite the utmost detestation and abhorrence; the lives of others had no value in their eyes. Here, too, the assembly appears to have shown much of its usual listlessness and negligence⁵²; it patiently endured the violence and clamour of the prosecutors, listened with pleasure to the jests and ribaldry of the speakers, and lent itself to the frauds of those who sought to attain their ends by illicit means⁵³. The baseness of the sycophants coincided with the effrontery of the orators⁵⁴; and we can form no conception of the evils which resulted from their unprincipled audacity, supported as it was by the corruptness of the judges, and not unfrequently screening itself behind the most excellent provisions of the constitution. Compared with this flagitious tribe, the accusers of Socrates appear spotless and pure. It was no longer possible to oppose any effectual obstacle to their iniquitous career. As, formerly, distinguished citizens had seldom escaped ostracism, so now the most unimpeachable integrity was not safe from the accusations of sycophants; and honest citizens who

⁵² Amongst the means used to rouse the attention of the assembly, may be mentioned such expressions as occur, Demosth. in Callicl. 1274. 11: ἀλλὰ προσέχετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν τὸν νοῦν.

⁵³ Demosth. in Aristocr. 689. 4, sqq.: ὑμεῖς — τοὺς τὰ μέγιστ' ἀδικοῦντας καὶ φανερώς ἐξελεγχόμενους, ἂν ἐν ἡ δύο ἀστεῖα εἰπωσι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν φυλετῶν τινες ὑρημένοι συνδικοὶ δεηθῶσιν, ἀφίετε.

⁵⁴ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1359. 15: — συκοφάντης, τῶν παραβοώντων παρὰ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ γραφομένων μισθοῦ, κ. τ. λ.; Demosth. in Eubul. 1309. 11: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ συκοφάντης, αἰτιάσασθαι μὲν πάντα, ἐξελέγξαι δὲ μηδέν. To this head must be referred the threats of accusations and the expressions ἀνασείω, ἐπανασείω, διασείω, for the explanation of which, see the lexicographers.

desired to live in peace could, like Lycurgus, even prevail upon themselves to bribe them, in order to purchase exemption from their attacks⁵⁵.

The agency of the council of Five Hundred and the Areopagus had become exceedingly insignificant. But the latter was not even yet, the cypher which it subsequently became; it repealed the decree appointing Æschines to advocate the cause of Athens in its claims upon Delos, and nominated Hyperides in his stead⁵⁶; but how was it possible for it to produce any moral impression on such a dissolute multitude as the Athenians had now become, or for its members to have retained, in the midst of corruption thus wide-spread and deep-seated, the moral dignity and excellence by which they had once been characterized. As the power of the Areopagus was almost paralyzed, so the council of Five Hundred was exposed to the encroachments of the populace; and we may form some idea of the interruption which was offered to their proceedings, from the mere fact that the council-house was filled with non-official citizens⁵⁷, as was, in modern days, the case with the *tribunes* of the French national convention.

Candidates were most anxious to obtain those offices which were charged with the management of the public finances, and these were not unfrequently purchased⁵⁸ with money, and employed⁵⁹ as a means to amass riches. This was effected

⁵⁵ Plut. de sui laude. 8. 143.

⁵⁶ Demosth. de Coron. 271. 20.

⁵⁷ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 346. 18: τὸ γὰρ βουλευτήριον μεστὸν ἦν ἰδιωτῶν. Conf. Æschin. in Ctesiph. 516: εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας.

⁵⁸ Æschin. in Timocr. 126.

⁵⁹ Æschia. ibid.

the more easily, as the whole administration of the public revenue was regarded with suspicion, owing to the habitual malversations of the Poristæ; but although these peculations were exercised with the utmost publicity, it was still the favourite occupation of the Athenians to detect and to punish them. The once important office of strategus had lost all consideration, since the citizens had ceased to perform military service themselves. Natives of Athens no longer aspired to command the armies of the state, as the citizens did not take part in the expeditions; but the Athenians still exhibited the same eagerness to impeach their generals⁶⁰. Few men were now found, who were willing to expose themselves to the fickleness of the people, when they saw that it was their enemies alone that they could terrify.

The brave and worthy Phocion⁶¹, the scholar of Plato and Xenocrates⁶², was as austere as Pericles and Socrates; stern and hardy as the Marathonians, smiles and tears were alike foreign to his nature. He was chosen strategus forty-five times⁶³. His conduct merits particular attention, inasmuch as he did not renounce the pursuits of the statesman, but combined with an influence upon the people at home, the duties of strategus abroad⁶⁴, without attempting to gain their favour by demagoguery. Though not a regular orator, he possessed a certain racy vigour of expression, which he could apply with singular energy and effect⁶⁵. Both in

⁶⁰ Demosth. de Cherson. 97. 12.

⁶¹ Χρηστός. Ælian. V. H. 3. 47; 4. 16; 12. 43. ⁶² Plut. Phoc. 4.

⁶³ Plut. Phoc. 5. ⁶⁴ Plut. Phoc. 7.

⁶⁵ Plut. Phoc. 20, sqq. Conf. Apophth. 6. 711; de Vitios. Pub. 8. 110.

his countenance and words the people constantly saw their faults reflected as in a true and faithful mirror; and he sternly and harshly reproached them with their unworthiness, instead of endeavouring to raise them to the moral elevation and dignity of his own character; thus he kept aloof from the people, and uniformly repulsed their approaches, except when they adventured their lives against the enemies of their country. The fault of this estrangement did not lie with the demus alone; Phocion himself was deficient in that humane and high-minded patriotism, which generously bears with the foibles and infirmities of others, and strives to amend them by exhorting them to virtue and inspiring them with loftier aims; the incisions he made were keen and deep, but they brought with them no cure of the evil.

Lastly, the office of ambassador was of great importance from its connection with demagoguery. From the time that Gorgias had appeared at Athens as the ambassador of the Leontines during the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had selected their most able orators as envoys to other states. Thus Callistratus, etc., were sent to Sparta; Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were charged with similar duties at other places. Other states imitated the example of Athens; even the short and pithy sayings of the Spartans became somewhat extended after the time of Brasidas, Lysander, and Antalcidas. In fact no Grecian state could dispense with the aid of oratory, that powerful lever of Grecian diplomacy, in which the use of writing was almost unknown.

The demagogues, in the invidious sense of the

word, still continued to oppose the legally-appointed functionaries, and maintained their unconstitutional power by the same base arts as their prototypes in antiquity had done, viz., by flattering the people and pandering to their love of luxury and pleasure. How estranged from all dignity and decorum, the intercourse of the people and the orators had become, is proved by the freedom with which even the more dignified among them, like Demosthenes, who disclaimed all community of feeling with the corrupt demagogues of his time⁶⁶, expostulated with the people upon their faults, and the patience with which the latter listened to their reproaches. It would almost seem as though the Athenians, upon the restriction of the comic licence, had conceded to the orators the right of indulging in a strain of sarcasm and abuse, which, like the attacks of comedy in former days, without reference to its justice or injustice, gratified them by its violence and asperity. An anthology of vituperative phrases might doubtless be culled from the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines⁶⁷, which would probably exceed any thing that was ever uttered by a modern orator. If it should excite

⁶⁶ Demosth. in Aristocr. 687. 19: — διὰ τὴν τῶν καταράτων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ῥητόρων — πονηρίαν. Conf. in Aristog. 772. 2, sqq. He also says in his speech against Aristog. 782. 7. Κύνων τοῦ δήμου. In Lept. 508. 6: πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐδιδάχθητε, ὥς ἐστι δίκαια, ἀλλ' ἀφγρέθητε ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων κραυγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας.

⁶⁷ Demosth. de Coron. 281. 1: — πολὺ τι σκότος, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας; in Phil. 2. 72. 16: οὕτως ἡ παραντίκ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ραστώνη μῆζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συννοῖσιν μέλλοντος; in Phil. 4. 133. 1: ἀλλὰ μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν, ἢ τί φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, εἰσκαμὲν ἀνθρώποις; ibid. 136. 23: — γελῶς ἐστίν, ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν; ibid. 140. 9: τὴν ἀβελτερίαν; in Androt. 618. 1: ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τοῦτο — προήχθητε εὐθείας καὶ ραθυμίας; in Phil. 3. 124. 23: εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγειν, κ. τ. λ. Still stronger are such expressions as ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων φανότατοι, de Cherson. 98. 22; ὦ σιδηροί, Æschin. in Ctesiph. 544, etc.

surprise that these reproaches were patiently endured, it is still more astonishing that such bitter truths should require to be enforced⁶⁸. The popular assembly and the Heliaea were of course highly delighted when the orators loaded each other with abusive epithets⁶⁹, of which, as well as of invectives against other Greeks, numerous examples occur in the ancient writers⁷⁰. They seldom omitted to support their cause by personal attacks upon their adversary, which, though rather characterized by noise and vehemence than by cunning and deception, opened a wide field for the exercise of sycophancy, from which even the nobler of the orators can by no means be absolved.

In enumerating the demagogues of this period, nearly the whole of them may, conformably to the twofold direction of the politics of the age, be ranged under two classes, viz. those who were *for* Philip, and such as were *against* him; in

⁶⁸ Conf. the words of Hyperides, Plut. Phoc. 10: "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε μόνον, εἰ πικρός, ἀλλ' εἰ προῖκά εἰμι πικρός."

⁶⁹ Demosth. in Phil. 3. 124. 26: — λαιδορίας ἢ φθόνου ἢ σκόμματος ἢ ἡστίνος ἂν τύχητ' ἕνεκ' αἰτίας, ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς — λέγειν κελεύετε καὶ γελάτε, ἂν τισι λαιδορηθῶσι.

⁷⁰ Demosth. de Coron. 297. 21: ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραματοκύφων; 236. 23: τὸν καταπτυστον τουτονί; in Timocr. 762. 8: ὦ κατάρατε; de Falsâ Legat. 345. 1; τὸν μιᾶρὸν καὶ ἀναιδῆ — Φιλοκράτην; ibid. 6: διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακώς ἑαυτόν; 23: τοῦ καταπτύστου Φιλοκράτους; in Phil. 4. 150. 29: σοὶ (viz. Aristodemus) μὲν γὰρ κλέπτῃς ὁ πατήρ, εἴπερ ἦν ὁμοῖός σοι; in Aristog. 1. 772. 5: πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα θηρία (demagogues); ibid. 788. 9: μιᾶρὸν, μιᾶρὸν τὸ θηρίον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καὶ ἄμικτον; in Macart. 1678. 29: ὑπὸ τῶν μιᾶρῶν τούτων θηρίων, conf. in Lacrit. 925. 14. Æschines is no less partial to the word θηρίον, e. g. with reference to Demosthenes τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο, de Falsâ Legat. 219; conf. in Ctesiph. 571, and Deinarch. adv. Demosth. 9. Κίναδος, Æsch. adv. Ctesiph. 557, and even in Andoc. de Myster. 49: ἐπίτριπτον κίναδος. Κατάραιοι καὶ καταπτυστοὶ are favourite expressions of Demosthenes for the Thessalians, de Coron. 240. 10; Megarians, in Aristocr. 691. 4; Thebans, de Coron. 240. 10; Euboians, de Falsâ Legat. 364. 24. What a strange contrast to the refinement of phrase, which, according to Plutarch, was afterwards introduced, Sol. 15: — τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγουσι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχερείας ὀνόμασι χρῆστοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἐπικαλύπτοντας ἀστείως ὑποκορίζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πόρνας, ἑταίρας, τοὺς δὲ φόρους, συντάξεις, φυλακὰς δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν πόλεων, οἰκημα δὲ τὸ δεσποτικὸν καλοῦντας. Conf. οἰκημα, Din. in Demosth. 17, instead of πορνείον, which Antiphon has 611.

the accounts which have reached us almost exclusive attention is paid to their relation to Philip, and to this all their other political characteristics are regarded as subordinate.

Demosthenes was born in Olymp. 98. 4; 385. B. C.⁷¹, and though the son of a deserving citizen⁷², belonged to the mass; but sparingly endowed with personal advantages⁷³, he became the pupil of Plato⁷⁴, and was first incited to the cultivation of eloquence by Callistratus' oration on the subject of Oropus⁷⁵; he enjoyed the instructions of Isæus, Isocrates, and the actor Satyrus⁷⁶, and commands respect and admiration by his persevering efforts to overcome his natural infirmities, and to remove the impression produced by his first public appearance, when he was received with scorn and derision⁷⁷. He was not indebted, for the renown he acquired, to the bounty of nature⁷⁸, or the favour of circumstances, but to the inherent strength of his own will, and to the patriotism, integrity, and political sagacity he displayed. The effects of his eloquence, at a time when the sentiments of the Athenians were far from being favourable to the execution of his plans, and the respect which they manifested for his great and distinguished qualities, are

⁷¹ According to Ps. Plut. 9. 361. (II. 847. C. Fr. ed.): Corsini, Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 109. Clinton places his birth in Olymp. 99. 3. Taylor, according to Dionys. ad. Amm. (6. p. 8. Tauchn.), Olymp. 99. 4. For the biography of Demosthenes in general, see Taylor's Collect. ap. Reiske, Or. Gr. 8. 737, sqq. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 8. 6, sqq. A. G. Becker, Demosthenes as a Statesman and an Orator, 1815.

⁷² Plut. Demosth. 5.

⁷³ Plut. ubi sup.

⁷⁴ Cic. Brut. 51. See copious citations in Taylor, 745.

⁷⁵ Taylor, 747.

⁷⁶ Taylor, 747. 754.

⁷⁷ Plut. Demosth. 7.

⁷⁸ Without reference to the natural impediments, such as stammering, etc., which he overcame, he never became an extemporary speaker. Plut. Demosth. 8. Compare his *ὁ συντρέγων* ap. Plut. (I) de Liberis Educand. 6. 20.

truly wonderful. His enemies have been sedulous in blackening his fame, and amongst other things asserted that he condescended to accept gold from the Persian monarch⁷⁹, and from Alexander's treasurer Harpalus⁸⁰, who fled to Athens in Olymp. 113. 3; 326. B. C.; neither of which accusations was ever satisfactorily proved, whilst the latter was warmly contested amongst the ancients themselves, and even then almost refuted⁸¹. But even allowing these accusations to have been well-founded, his political sentiments, namely, his hostility to Macedonia, his attachment to the democracy of his native city, and the earnest wish to promote unanimity among the states of Greece⁸², were not inspired by the gold of Persia or by the bribes of Harpalus; nor were they in any degree inconsistent with the policy he had ever advocated at an earlier period. Even if it could be proved that he had accepted a reward for the patriotic sentiments he had boldly and eloquently uttered long before, he would indeed possess one virtue less; but how immeasurable a distance would there still be between him, the representative of his country's honour and independence, and those false traitors who accepted bribes for delivering it into the power of Philip! Demosthenes was ever guided by the firm conviction that it required all the resolution and vigilance of the Greeks to check the growing ascendant of Philip; this feeling was neither strengthened by gold, nor so perverted by it, that he should be induced to do for money that

⁷⁹ Plut. Demosth. 20; Æschin. in Ctesiph. 633; Dinarch (I) in Demosth. 9.

⁸⁰ Plut. Demosth. 25. Compare the three speeches of the reputed Dinarchus.

⁸¹ Paus. 2. 33. 3.

⁸² See Orat. de Pac. 61; in Phil. 3. 118; de Coron. 259, etc.

which he had solely and exclusively done from an honest zeal in the cause itself; and lastly, it lost none of its force in consequence of persecution or humiliations, such as he experienced on his embassy to Philip⁸³. In political consistency he was far superior to Cicero, and the effect of his earnestness was never impaired by the effort to be sarcastic, or the petty vanity of endeavouring to raise the laughter of his audience⁸⁴; whilst even in exile and adversity, having been compelled to fly from Athens, in consequence of the investigation respecting the gold of Harpalus, when his heart fondly yearned after the home he had left⁸⁵, he appears by far less pitiable⁸⁶ than the miserable and spirit-broken Roman.

Lycurgus⁸⁷, who was as disinterested as Aristides, was unequalled as an administrator of the finances of the state; for at a time when the public treasure was squandered with reckless prodigality he found means to realize a surplus⁸⁸, on which account the people, who always judged more correctly of good than of bad men, repeatedly confided to him the important office of public treasurer (*ταμίης τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου*⁸⁹). His sentiments towards Macedonia, may be collected from the fact that he was sent with Demosthenes⁹⁰ to rouse the Peloponnesians against Philip, from his accusation

⁸³ See the cutting description in Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. 219: *φθίγγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προοίμιον σκοτεινόν τε καὶ τεθνηκὸς διαλίσσεται καὶ μικρὸν—ἐξαίφνης ἐσίγησε καὶ διηπορήθη, τελευτῶν δὲ ἐκπίπτει ἐκ τοῦ λόγου.*

⁸⁴ Compare, on the other hand, the conduct of Cicero in his zeal to outvie Clodius in obscene jests, Epist. ad Attic. 1. 16.

⁸⁵ Plut. Demosth. 28.

⁸⁶ See the beautiful passage Epist. 1473. 15, sqq.

⁸⁷ Comp. Taylor, Præfat. ad Lyc. ap. Reiske, Or. Gr. 4. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 812, sqq.

⁸⁸ See the psephism, Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 385.

⁸⁹ Ps. Plut. ubi sup. 346.

⁹⁰ Ps. Plut. ubi sup. 347.

of Lysicles, one of the generals at Chæronea⁹¹, as well as of the cowardly⁹² Leocrates, the justification of his conduct, which he was afterwards compelled to offer to Demades⁹³, and the demand of Alexander, that he should be delivered up to him, together with Demosthenes and the other orators⁹⁴. The purity of his mind was reflected in the lucid clearness of his eloquence, which, disdaining the meretricious artifices of the sycophants⁹⁵, calmly and steadily pursued the exposition of the subject, and enriched it with sentiments of the purest and most exalted patriotism.

Hyperides⁹⁶, appointed by the Areopagus to replace Æschines in the affair of the Delian temple⁹⁷ is, it is true, named amongst the accusers of Demosthenes in the affair of Harpalus, to whose gold he was said to have been inaccessible⁹⁸; but he was in reality opposed to the Macedonians, and had received a portion of the Persian gold which Ephialtes brought to Athens⁹⁹; he denounced the abject Philocrates¹⁰⁰, accompanied Demosthenes to Thebes¹⁰¹, and immediately after the battle of Chæronea proposed to provide for the defence of the city, by restoring their legal rights to those who had been deprived of them, and by converting the

⁹¹ Diodor. 16. 88.

⁹² Lyc. in Leocr. 184: *ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οὐ κοινήν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐζήτησεν.*

⁹³ Harpocrat. ἀποβάτης. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 690.

⁹⁴ Plut. Demosth. 23.

⁹⁵ See Lycurgus himself, in Leocr. 240: *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν—ἀποδίδωκα τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον διαβαλὼν οὔτ' ἐξω τοῦ πράγματος οὐδὲν κατηγορήσας.* Conf. p. 144.

⁹⁶ See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 856, sqq.; Ruhnken, Hist. Cr. 68, sqq.

⁹⁷ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 377.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 373.

⁹⁹ Ibid. ubi sup.

¹⁰⁰ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 376. 17.

¹⁰¹ Demosth. de Coron. 291. 6.

Metœci into citizens, and the slaves into Metœci¹⁰². He subsequently rose against Alexander, and probably pronounced the speech against him which has reached us with the name of Demosthenes attached to it¹⁰³; he was one of the orators whom Alexander required to be delivered up to him¹⁰⁴. After the death of that monarch he was one of the promoters of the Lamian war¹⁰⁵, on which account he incurred the hostility of Antipater, who caused him to be barbarously executed¹⁰⁶.

Polyeuctus¹⁰⁷, the Sphettian, a friend of Demosthenes¹⁰⁸, and an admirer of the vigorous conciseness of Phocion's eloquence¹⁰⁹, was one of the promoters of the war against Philip¹¹⁰; he likewise accompanied Demosthenes to the Peloponnesus¹¹¹, and during his exile was sent on a similar errand into Arcadia¹¹².

Diophantus, a distinguished orator¹¹³, was the friend of Demosthenes, and his witness against Æschines¹¹⁴, Olymp. 107. 1; 352. B. C.; he proposed the institution of a festival out of gratitude to the gods who had prevented Philip from effecting a passage through the defile of Thermopylæ¹¹⁵. It is probably to him that Aristotle alludes, in his

¹⁰² Demosth. in Aristog. 2. 803. 27, sqq. Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 374. Conf. Lycurg. in Leocr. 164. 170, and Taylor, *ibid*.

¹⁰³ See Argum. 203.

¹⁰⁴ Plut. Demosth. 23.

¹⁰⁵ Plut. Phoc. 23; Justin. 13. 5; Ps. Plut. 9. 377. In Stobæus, Serm. 123. p. 618. Orl. A fragment of a funeral oration is attributed to Hyperides; with what justice I know not.

¹⁰⁶ Plut. Demosth. 28; Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 376.

¹⁰⁷ Ruhnken, Hist. Cr. 80.

¹⁰⁸ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. R. 9. 359.

¹⁰⁹ Plut. Phoc. 5; Demosth. 10.

¹¹⁰ Plut. Phoc. 9.

¹¹¹ Dem. in Phil. 3. 129. 18; Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 349.

¹¹² Ps. Plut. ubi sup.

¹¹³ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 436. 13; adv. Lept. 498. 26.

¹¹⁴ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 403. 11.

¹¹⁵ Demosth. ubi sup. 368. 6; Ulpian, 93. ed. Wess.

observations on a law relative to public slaves¹¹⁶, and he was perhaps the leader of a corps of mercenaries in the pay of the Ægyptian chieftain Nectanebus¹¹⁷.

Hegesippus, generally called Crobylus by Æschines and the grammarians¹¹⁸, was in all probability the author of the speech on Halonnesus¹¹⁹; he accompanied Demosthenes to the Peloponnesus¹²⁰, and incurred the violent aversion of Philip¹²¹.

Mœrocles was by no means undistinguished as an orator¹²², but he was an enemy to Lycurgus, whose children he persecuted¹²³, and also deserved censure in other respects¹²⁴; he perhaps embezzled the public monies¹²⁵, and even allowing the charge to have been well founded, it was somewhat extraordinary that he should have been accused by Eubulus¹²⁶, whose delinquencies in this respect were so notorious; as one of the Macedonian party he was demanded of the Athenians by Alexander¹²⁷.

The following appear to have been of inferior importance: Callisthenes, who, when the news of the destruction of Phocis arrived, urged the Athenians to prepare for war¹²⁸, and belonged to those whom Alexander requested to be delivered up¹²⁹; Democrates, one of the ambassadors to Philip¹³⁰,

¹¹⁶ Aristot. Pol. 2. 4. 13.

¹¹⁷ Diodor. 16. 47.

¹¹⁸ Harpocr. Ἡγησιππ.

¹¹⁹ See Argum. p. 75. 76. According to the Etym. M. Ἡγησιππ. the seventh Philippic (now the second) was also considered his work.

¹²⁰ Demosth. Phil. 3. 129.

¹²¹ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 447. 9, sqq.

¹²² Harpocr. Μοιροκλῆς — τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἀφανῶς πολιτευσαμένων.

¹²³ Demosth. Epist. 1478. 15.

¹²⁴ Photius, Μυροκλῆς — τῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους οὐ καλῶς πολιτευσαμένων. But I regard the καλῶς with suspicion (comp. the οὐκ ἀφανῶς in Harpocr.).

¹²⁵ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 435. 6.

¹²⁶ Demosth. ubi sup.

¹²⁷ Plut. Demosth. 23.

¹²⁸ Demosth. de Coron. 238. 5.

¹²⁹ Plut. Demosth. 23.

¹³⁰ Demosth. de Coron. 235. 18.

and who was afterwards in Thebes with Demosthenes¹³¹; Timarchus, the unworthy *protégé* of Demosthenes¹³²; Hegesander, Hegesippus' brother, his confederate, and an opponent of Aristophon the Azenian¹³³; Ephialtes, who brought gold from Persia¹³⁴, and was afterwards included amongst those whom Alexander required to be delivered up to him¹³⁵; Damon and Charidemus, who were also of the number¹³⁶, etc. Aristophon, the Colyttian, has already been mentioned¹³⁷.

The opposite party did not become fully established till after the first embassy to Philip, when the system of disgraceful treachery commenced. From that time their chief was Æschines¹³⁸, who had formerly been remarked amongst the opponents of Philip¹³⁹, and even during the siege of Olynthus exerted himself to raise up the Peloponnesians against him¹⁴⁰; but he soon afterwards sold both his conscience and his full-toned voice¹⁴¹ to the Macedonian monarch, and became one of the chief authors of calamity to the Athenians and the Greeks in general, and more particularly to the Phocians.

Eubulus, the Anaphlystian¹⁴², who must not be confounded with a Probalisian¹⁴³ and a Cyprian of the same name¹⁴⁴, was a Poristes, outvying in

¹³¹ Demosth. ubi sup. 291. 7. Plutarch, Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 205, says, respecting him: ἀναβαίνων μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἔφη, καθάπερ ἡ πόλις, μικρὸν ἰσχύειν καὶ μέγα φροῦν.

¹³² Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 433. 6.

¹³³ Æschin. in Tim. 85, sqq.

¹³⁴ Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 371. 373.

¹³⁵ Plut. Demosth. 23. Compare Demosth. Epist. 1482. 6.

¹³⁶ Plut. ubi sup. ¹³⁷ § 71. n. 96.

¹³⁸ See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harl. 2. 850, sqq.

¹³⁹ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 428. 5. 24. 343, sqq.

¹⁴⁰ Demosth. ubi sup. 438. 23.

¹⁴¹ Demosth. ubi sup. 405. 16.

¹⁴² See Ruhnken, Hist. Cr. 65, sqq. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 242.

¹⁴³ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1361. 20.

¹⁴⁴ Demosth. de Coron. 249. 13.

iniquity all his predecessors¹⁴⁵, and was indebted for the influence he possessed to infamous cabals and revolting propositions; amongst other things he proposed that every one should be put to death who should recommend the Theoricon to be applied to the objects of the war¹⁴⁶; he was moreover stigmatized as a glutton¹⁴⁷; still he was an influential party-leader. He opposed Demosthenes by supporting Midias¹⁴⁸. Æschines, whose hostility to Philip he originally shared, had once been his scribe¹⁴⁹, and he assisted him in drawing up the psephism for sending an embassy to the Peloponnesus¹⁵⁰; he was afterwards chosen ambassador to Philip¹⁵¹, whose hireling he became¹⁵², and accordingly recommended the Athenians to make peace with him¹⁵³. He supported Æschines when he was accused of malversation during his embassy, and it was chiefly through him that he was acquitted¹⁵⁴.

Philocrates, who as much surpassed¹⁵⁵ Eubulus in infamy as Hyperbolus once had surpassed Cleon, advised the Athenians to make peace with Philip at the very time he was besieging Amphipolis¹⁵⁶; he afterwards exceeded in effrontery all the accomplices of his treasons, and all who participated with him in the bribes of Philip¹⁵⁷. He and Æschines settled the terms of the peace, and in so doing

¹⁴⁵ Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. Εὐβουλος.

¹⁴⁶ Ruhnken. 66.

¹⁴⁷ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 4. 166, E.

¹⁴⁸ Demosth. in Mid. 580. 24; 581. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Ruhnken. 65.

¹⁵⁰ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 438. 23.

¹⁵¹ Demosth. de Coron. 235. 17.

¹⁵² Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 435. 4.

¹⁵³ Demosth. de Coron. 232. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Ruhnken. 66.

¹⁵⁵ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 405. 11: τίνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φήσαι' ἀν βδελυρώτατον εἶναι καὶ πλείστης ὀλιγωρίας καὶ ἀναιδείας μεστόν; κ. τ. λ. Conf. in Aristog. 1. 783. 21, sqq.

¹⁵⁶ Ps. Demosth. de Halonn. 1. 82. 23; 83. 2.

¹⁵⁷ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 375. 17; 405. 14; Argum. Orat. de Pac. 56. 19. 20.

committed fraud to secure certain advantages to Philip¹⁵⁸. It was notorious that he was rewarded for his perfidy with estates in Phocis, Olynthian prisoners¹⁵⁹, etc.; he himself boasted of it¹⁶⁰, and indulged in all sorts of luxury, bought courtesans, etc¹⁶¹. He was the first who paid the penalty of his treachery, and upon an eisangelia being laid against him¹⁶² he fled from Athens.

Aristodemus, the tragic actor¹⁶³, the first citizen who recommended peace and friendship with Philip¹⁶⁴, and his accomplice Neoptolemus¹⁶⁵, may here be classed together with Philocrates, although they cannot be strictly enumerated amongst the orators.

Demades¹⁶⁶, originally a ferryman¹⁶⁷, became an orator without any regular instruction whatever¹⁶⁸; he possessed distinguished powers as an extemporary speaker, and frequently overcame Demosthenes¹⁶⁹ whom he opposed in the Olynthian affair¹⁷⁰, and was, after the battle of Chæronea¹⁷¹, rewarded by Philip, with land in Bœotia; but he did not attain the zenith of demagogy till the time of Antipater, and his abandoned character must therefore be described afterwards.

Stratocles, who, after the time of Demades, played a prominent part in the intrigues of the

¹⁵⁸ Æschin. in Timocr. 170; Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 356. 14, sqq.; 395. 25, sqq. ¹⁵⁹ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 386. 2, sqq.; 440. 4, sqq.

¹⁶⁰ Demosth. ubi sup. 377. 17.

¹⁶¹ Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. 232; Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 232; Plut. de Garrulit. 8. 30; de Fato, 6. 368.

¹⁶² Æschin. in Ctesiph. 470. Conf. § 76. n. 94.

¹⁶³ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 418. 8.

¹⁶⁴ Demosth. ubi sup. 344. 21; 371. 15; de Coron. 232. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Demosth. de Pac. 58. 15; de Falsâ Legat. 442. 29.

¹⁶⁶ Conf. Hauptmann de Demade ap. Reiske, Or. Gr. 4. 243, sqq.; Ruhnken, Hist. Cr. 71, sqq.; Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles 2. 868, sqq.

¹⁶⁷ Suidas, Δημ.

¹⁶⁸ Plut. Demosth. 9. 10.

¹⁶⁹ Sext. Empir. adv. Math. 67. B.

¹⁷⁰ Suidas, Δημ.

¹⁷¹ Suidas, Δημ.

time, was even at this period renowned as a skilful rhetorician¹⁷².

Subordinate members of the same party were Hegemon, who, besides his accessibility to bribery¹⁷³, was notorious for his sycophancy¹⁷⁴; Cephisophon who supported Philocrates¹⁷⁵, and afterwards joined Æschines in opposing Ctesiphon¹⁷⁶; Phrynon who, when peace was concluded with Philip, was a party to the frauds of Æschines and Philocrates¹⁷⁷.

Amongst those who arrived at eminence without any immediate connection with the Macedonian quarrels were Leptines, an honourable man upon the whole, but whose proposal for abolishing every sort of exemption from public obligations was fraught with danger to the commonwealth. He as well as the following orators are known to us from the speeches which Demosthenes made against them: Androtion¹⁷⁸, who had attained celebrity before the age of Philip, was esteemed for his remarkable eloquence, and who during the social war was ambassador to Mausolus; Timocrates, the author of a law relating to securities in the case of public debtors, which struck at the very root of the constitution; Aristocrates, whose protection of Charidemus of Oreos had material influence upon the political importance of Athens on the Chersonesus; Aristogiton a coward and a sycophant¹⁷⁹,

¹⁷² Demosth. in Pantænet. (about Olymp. 108. 3): στρατοκλεί, τῷ πιθα-
νωτάτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πονηροτάτῳ.

¹⁷³ Ps. Æschin. Epist. 12. 696.

¹⁷⁴ Ruhnken, H. Cr. 76.

¹⁷⁵ Demosth. de Coron. 232. 14.

¹⁷⁶ Demosth. ubi sup. 244. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 400. 14; μιὰρὸς Φρύνων, Demosth. ubi sup. 412. 25.

¹⁷⁸ See above, § 71. n. 130, sqq.; Taylor, Præf. Demosth. in Androt.

¹⁷⁹ Plut. Phoc. 10; Taylor, Introduction to Demosth. in Aristog.

whose conduct was so flagitious that Lycurgus and Demosthenes arose as his accusers, and endeavoured to bring him to punishment as an Atimos, which was again attempted by Dinarchus, in Olymp. 113. 3.

3. THE OTHER STATES.

§ 78. The public system in these was likewise determined and agitated by their relation to Philip, as well as by the restless spirit of contention and conquest, which embroiled them in continual hostilities with the neighbouring states. But we are unfortunately almost destitute of information respecting Argos, Achaia, Locris, Ætolia, Acarnania, and, if we except its relation to Syracuse, we may add Corinth¹; of Thebes little more is known than is contained in the accounts of its campaigns against the Phocians, and the fact that thousands of its brave and able-bodied citizens went forth as mercenaries, whilst traitors, like the infamous Timolaus², remained at home and revelled on Macedonian gold; the sacred band, however, displayed its courage and strength as late as the battle of Chæronea³. The annals of many states are one uninterrupted record of civil warfare, party feuds, and treachery, as for, instance, those of Sicyon⁴, Phlius⁵, Thasus, to which Philip brought back the fugitives⁶, Olynthus and the surrounding Thra-

¹ Plut. Timol. 5, calls the constitution of that time democracy; but the word democracy there expresses the general opposition to tyranny. Cap. 3, Timoleon is appointed general by the people; but the council conducts the affair.

² Demosth. de Coron. 241. 26; Theopomp. ap. Ath. 10. 436. B.

³ Plut. Alex. 9; conf. Diodor. 16. 86.

⁴ Plut. Arat. 2; compare above, § 76. n. 103—106.

⁵ Demosth. de Synt. 175. 26.

⁶ Ps. Demosth. de Halon. 80. 12 and Schol.

cian states, thirty-two of which, as already remarked, were within the space of a year betrayed into the hands of Philip, and Megara, whose citizens were moreover despised for their worthless and degraded qualities⁷. Perilaus was then in the pay of Philip⁸. There is unfortunately reason to conjecture that even those, concerning which no accounts have reached us, were equally deficient in legal order and welfare; exact particulars respecting them would, in all probability, only swell the gloomier records of history; still we cannot help lamenting the loss of the works of Theopompus, who can hardly have judged of this iniquitous period more severely than it deserved.

1. SPARTA.

The diminution of the population, and particularly in the numbers of the regular citizens, and the degeneration of the national character, increased with equal rapidity. The Spartan policy was too uninventive to devise expedients for arresting the progress of the former evil; and even had any systematic attempts been made for the purpose, it is probable that they would have been unattended with success, as nature herself seemed to have decreed the downfall of the present system. Endeavours were indeed made to preserve the remains of the ancient laws, and to keep up some outward regard for legal forms and observances; but the proposal of Agesilaus, after the battle of Leuctra, for suspending for that day⁹,

⁷ Ps. Demosth. in Neær. 1357: — οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἀνελεύθεροι καὶ μικρολόγοι. Diogenes would rather have been the ram (κρίος) than the son (υἱός) of a Megarian; Æl. V. H. 12. 56; conf. Plut. Dion 17, on the ostentatious pride of the Megarian dynast Ptoiodorus.

⁸ Demosth. de Coron. 242. 2.

⁹ Plut. Ages. 30.

the operation of the law, directing Atimia to be imposed upon the vanquished, must be regarded as one of those wretched shifts, which, though they may enable those who adopt them, to infringe the laws with some appearance of decency, are utterly incapable of preserving a regard for their real tenor and spirit; but the joy which the Spartans endeavoured to express in their countenances, when the dreadful intelligence reached them, must either be looked upon as a flimsy veil assumed to hide their real anguish and terror, or as a consequence of the most hopeless blindness and infatuation¹⁰. On the other hand they gave vent to their natural feelings after the tearless battle¹¹. Epaminondas' first incursion into the Peloponnesus shook the very foundations of the political edifice. Sparta called the Perioeci and Helots to arms; a thousand of the latter had a short time before been enfranchised¹²; and now six thousand of them were summoned to perform service¹³: but several communities of Perioeci¹⁴, as well as large bodies of Helots, and probably all the former Messenians joined the Theban standard¹⁵. The Perioeci were, with the help of the troops sent by Dionysius¹⁶, soon reduced to submission; but the fair pastures of Messenia and thousands of able-bodied labourers were for ever lost to Sparta, whilst from the latter

¹⁰ Ibid. 29; Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 16.¹¹ Plut. Ages. 33.¹² Diod. 15. 65.¹³ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 27—29.¹⁴ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 2. 2: ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιόικων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν εἰλωτῶν. Conf. Plut. Ages. 32.¹⁵ Xenoph. Hell. 6. 5. 32: τινὲς τῶν περιόικων; according to Diodor. 15. 64: Sellasia and Caryæ.¹⁶ Xenoph. Hell. 7. 1. 28; conf. Polyæn. 1. 41. 4. The strange story in Vitruvius, 1. 1. who deduces the use of the Caryatides in art from the subjugation of the virgins of Caryæ, cannot be referred to this period, for Clearchus the leader of the mercenaries in the service of Cyrus the younger, already had Caryatides engraved on the seal of his ring, Plut. Artax. 18.

sprang a hostile race, who became a constant source of inquietude to the inhabitants of the frontier; though the only effect of this may have been to compel them to hold themselves prepared to resist their incursions, and Sparta was probably very soon secured against attacks from without, still the restoration of peace in her provinces brought with it no moral and political regeneration. Whilst this general and radical decay was accelerated by the circumstance, that so many of the Spartans had quitted their country, and entered the service of foreign masters as mercenaries. In the time of Aristotle Sparta had but a thousand citizens¹⁷, two-fifths of the estates were in the hands of females¹⁸, whose licentiousness daily increased¹⁹, whilst the citizens were compelled to till their lands themselves²⁰.

2. MESSENIAN.

There was, probably, as little of the true spirit of citizenship amongst the enfranchised Helots, as amongst their kinsmen who had been corrupted by the luxuries and vices of foreign countries. It is a matter of surprise that the Messenians were, till a very late date, remarked as having preserved the Doric language in its greatest purity and perfection²¹. By a steady and consistent adherence to their natural policy of opposing Sparta, their constitution might have become consolidated and secured; but violence and intemperance soon disjointed and unhinged it; the Messenians in-

¹⁷ Arist. Pol. 2. 5. 11.¹⁸ Conf. Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 10. 11; Schneider, p. 124.¹⁹ Arist. ubi sup.²⁰ Arist. Pol. 2. 5. 11.²¹ Paus. 4. 27. 5.

clined towards Philip²², and fell under the tyranny of Philiades, which, however, never became firmly established, and did not survive till the end of this period, for the expelled sons of Philiades were restored to their country by Alexander the son of Philip²³.

3. ARCADIA.

A year after the battle of Mantinea, the inhabitants of Megalopolis deserted it, in order to return to their former habitations; but, with the help of Athens, they were forced to return to the common capital²⁴. The subsequent relation of the Megalopolitans to the Tegeatæ, Mantineans, Orchomenians, etc. is involved in some obscurity; but there is no reason to suppose that it was different from what had been originally intended; mention still occurs of the Muriol²⁵, but as the united town still continued to exist, in spite of the assaults of the Spartans, who during the sacred war particularly endeavoured to subjugate Arcadia²⁶, it prevailed over all the other communities; in the age of Philip, Megalopolis alone is spoken of²⁷. But after the spoliation of the Olympic sanctuary, Arcadia lost the manly honesty and simplicity of the mountain character, and was unable to offer any vigorous opposition to the attacks of Sparta; a consequence of this was, that the alliance with Thebes, like that between Thebes and Messenia

²² Paus. 4. 28. 2.

²³ Demosth. Megalop. 212. 26. de Coron. 324. 12; Argum. Demosth. de Fœd. Alex. 211.

²⁴ Diodor. 15. 94.

²⁵ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 344. 13; 403. 10.

²⁶ Paus. 8. 27. 7.

²⁷ Heræa, which is mentioned in Aristotle Pol. 5. 2. 9. as having introduced the custom of appointing its magistrates by election, instead of by lot, was probably still unimportant.

was kept up, and amongst the evil fruits which sprang from it was an understanding between certain chiefs and Philip of Macedon. Amongst these are recorded Cercidas and Hieronymus²⁸, the former of whom seems to have been called one of the legislators of the Arcadians²⁹, unless the statement perhaps applies to a Cercidas who lived at the time of Aratus³⁰; Hieronymus was attacked as a partisan of Philip by Æschines, in a speech which he delivered during his mission to Megalopolis, and whilst he was still faithful to the interests of his country³¹.

4. ELIS.

Whilst the people were still inconsolable for the loss of Triphylia³², they became a prey to all the horrors of discord, which Philip did every thing in his power to foment³³. Its outbreak was fearful: the bloodshed and calamities³⁴ of the Eleans became proverbial³⁵. The democracy was dissolved at the end of this period³⁶.

5. EUBCEA.

During the dependence of Eubœa upon Thebes, the various states of the island seem to have entered into federal relations with one another, and to have established a joint council, called the Eubœan Synedrion³⁷. Eretria and Oreus were the leading states of the confederacy; Chalcis was of

²⁸ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 324. 9.

²⁹ See above, § 73. n. 60.

³⁰ Polyb. 2. 48.

³¹ Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 344. 14.

³² Demosth. Megalop. 206. 5.

³³ Paus. 5. 4. 5; Diod. 16. 63.

³⁴ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 424. 22: τὰς ἐν Ἡλίδι σφαγὰς, in Phil. 4. 133. 29.

³⁵ Τὰ Ἡλεῖα δυστυχήματα, Himer. 26, Wernsd.

³⁶ Dem. de Falsâ Legat. 435. 18.

³⁷ Τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοικὸν συνέδριον, Æschin. in Ctesiph. 486.

less importance. A short time before the commencement of the Athenian social war, Olymp. 105. 3; 358. B. C., a party was formed against those who were suspected of being in the Theban interest; the latter sent to Thebes for help, whilst the former had recourse to the Athenians, who, at the instigation of Timotheus, sent them succours³⁸. The war which ensued was of the most destructive character, but was soon terminated by a convention³⁹, whereupon the Bœotians and Thebans evacuated the island⁴⁰. About five years afterwards, Olymp. 106. 4; 353. B. C.⁴¹, Philip began his intrigues, to frustrate which, Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria, applied to Athens for assistance. In consequence of this, Phocion was sent with an army under his command to Eubœa, and conquered in the battle of Tamynæ⁴². Plutarch himself was soon afterward expelled for having plotted against the Athenians⁴³. The important consequences of Philip's interference daily became more apparent⁴⁴, and by the aid of the supplies of men and money which were furnished by him, there arose dynasts in Eretria and Oreus⁴⁵. Those of Eretria were Clitarchus, Automedon, Hipparchus⁴⁶, and Sosis-tratus⁴⁷; in Oreus, Philistides, Socrates⁴⁸, Chari-genes⁴⁹, etc. Clitarchus was, however, driven out

³⁸ Demosth. de Cherson. 108. 10.

³⁹ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 479, represents the Athenians as having been victorious. The Thebans had been obliged to quit the island, *ὑπόσπονδοι*.

⁴⁰ Diod. 16. 7; compare above, § 76. n. 27.

⁴¹ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 2. 62. 109; compare Böckh, *üb. d. Zeitverh. d. Demosth. R. g. Mid.* in Berl. Abh. 1818, 1819, Hist. Philol. Cl. p. 82, sqq.

⁴² Plut. Phoc. 11—13; Demosth. in Mid. 567, sqq.; Æsch. in Ctesiph. 480.

⁴³ Plut. Phoc. 11—13; conf. Böckh, 2. 110. n. 375.

⁴⁴ Dem. in Phil. 3. 113. 24, sqq.

⁴⁵ Dem. in Phil. 3. 125. 17, sqq., 128. 6.

⁴⁶ Dem. de Coron. 324. 17.

⁴⁷ Dem. in Phil. 3. 126. 2, sqq.; Strab. 10. 445.

⁴⁸ Æsch. in Ctesiph. 495.

by Phocion, Olymp. 109. 4; 341. B. C.⁵⁰, and Philistides was about the same time⁵¹ expelled by a body of Athenians, Megarians, and Chalcidians; some free states of Eubœa sent soldiers to the battle of Chæronea.

6. PHOCIS.

The ancient enmity between Phocis and Delphi still prevailed. But it cannot be ascertained whether Thebes or Delphi was more immediately concerned in the quarrel respecting an heiress, which is said to have led to the eruption of the sacred war⁵². The hostile parties were respectively headed by Euthykrates, the father of Onomarchus, and Mnaseus, the father of Mneson⁵³. It is probable that Delphi had no inconsiderable share in causing the revengeful decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis, which was carried into effect by Thebes. Other motives than the mere desire of obtaining spoil, must have animated the Phocians when they took possession of Delphi, under the command of Philomelus, Olymp. 105. 4; 357. B. C.⁵⁴, the slaughter of the Thracidæ⁵⁵, their wild design of murdering all the Delphians and destroying the town, which Archidamus of Sparta⁵⁶ prevented them from executing, and lastly, the oppression which they made the Delphians suffer,

⁵⁰ Diod. 16. 74, and Wessel.; conf. Böckh, 2. 111. n. 378; see above, § 76. n. 120.

⁵¹ Steph. Byz. *Ῥητός*, from Charax Chron. ⁵² See § 76. n. 48. 49.

⁵³ Arist. Pol. 5. 3. 3. This Onomarchus was not the same person who was afterwards a general: this one and his brother were the sons of Theotimus, Paus. 10. 2. 1. Diod. 16. 38, mentions a Mnaseas who was afterwards guardian to the youthful Phalæcus; was this one and the same person with the Mnaseas alluded to above, to whose party Philomelus, etc., belonged?

⁵⁴ Paus. 10. 2. 2.

⁵⁵ Diod. 16. 24.

⁵⁶ Paus. 3. 10. 5.

are proofs of inveterate and implacable hatred⁵⁷. The supreme power in Phocis and Delphi was successively held by the brothers Philomelus, Onomarchus and Phayllus⁵⁸; then by Mnaseas, the guardian of Phalæcus, the son of Onomarchus⁵⁹; after which it devolved for some time to three captains, and lastly to Phalæcus⁶⁰. It is probable that the form of this supreme authority, which is merely called dynasty by the ancient writers⁶¹, was Strategia. The consequences of the war occasioned the temporary dissolution of the Phocian state, but it is again mentioned at a later date⁶².

7. THESSALY.

Pheræ and Larissa were still at enmity with each other; the former was subject to the tyranny of the Iasonidæ, the latter to the dynasty of the Aleuadæ. The Aleuadæ united themselves to Thebes and Philip⁶³, the Pheræans to Phocis. Those amongst the former who were in the Macedonian interest, consequently in the language of Demosthenes, traitors, were Eudicus, Simus⁶⁴, Daochus, Cineas, and Thrasydæus⁶⁵. Philip marched to their assistance, Olymp. 105. 4; 357. B. C., and drove out the Pheræans, Lycophron and Pitholaus⁶⁶: Pitholaus seems to have returned, but was

⁵⁷ Diod. 16. 28. ⁵⁸ Diod. 16. 32. 35. 38; Paus. 10. 2. 3. 4.

⁵⁹ Diod. 16. 38; Paus. 10. 2. 5, calls Phalæcus the son of Phayllus.

⁶⁰ Diod. ubi sup.

⁶¹ Demosth. in Aristocr. 661. 12; Paus. 10. 3. 5: 4. 5. 1.

⁶² Liv. 33. 32.

⁶³ Diod. 16. 14.

⁶⁴ Dem. de Coron. 241. 27. Harpocr. Σιμός—εἰς τῶν Ἀλεῦαδων; conf. Phot. Σιμός. Schneider and Götting, ad Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 9. 1, where the reading is τῶν περὶ Σάμον, have only adverted to the error in the notes; but no one can feel any hesitation in altering the spurious name in the text.

⁶⁵ Dem. de Coron. 354. 7.

⁶⁶ Diod. 16. 39.

once more expelled, Olymp. 107. 4; 349. B. C.⁶⁷. Philip occupied Pheræ and Pagasæ⁶⁸, and bestowed Magnesia and Nicæa upon the Aleuadæ⁶⁹. Pharsalus, which was at enmity with Halos⁷⁰, sided with Larissa; Halos was likewise conquered by Philip, who delivered over the ruins to the Pharsalians⁷¹; Philip having now, by means of the Aleuadæ, obtained a firm footing in Thessaly, took no further notice of them⁷², but in Olymp. 109. 1; 344. B. C.⁷³, introduced into Thessaly a constitution suited to his own purposes, viz., Tetrarchies⁷⁴, and received the public revenues himself⁷⁵. He appears to have appointed Thessalians by birth as his lieutenants, and amongst others whom he selected for the office was Thrasydæus, his flatterer⁷⁶. According to Aristotle, there was, in his time⁷⁷, a moderate oligarchy at Pharsalus⁷⁸; if he hereby means before the domination of Philip, the statement may be correct; but after Philip's authority was established there, his lieutenants might be looked upon in the same light as the tyrants who reigned in Ionia, etc., under the protection of Persia, while the Thessalians might be considered doubly enslaved.

⁶⁷ Diod. 16. 52. But he, 16. 69, speaks of another expulsion of the tyrants after Olymp. 109. 1.

⁶⁸ Dem. Olynth. 1. 12. 27; conf. Dem. de Halonn. 84. 19.

⁶⁹ Dem. Phil. 71. 11.

⁷⁰ Dem. de Fals. Legat. 352. 17; 353. 13.

⁷¹ Dem. ubi sup. 353. 15.

⁷² Buttmann. v. d. Aleuad. 209, sqq. Concerning an attempt of Philip against them, see Polyæn. 4. 2. 11.

⁷³ Consequently in the year when Diodorus (see n. 67) records another expulsion of the tyrants! He means the Aleuadæ after all.

⁷⁴ Dem. in Phil. 3. 117. 26. That the word δεκαρχίαν, Dem. Phil. 2. 71. 12, in commemoration of the institutions of Lysander, is employed figuratively for δυναστείαν, is self-evident from the use of the singular (conf. 3. 117. 26, τετραδάρχιας), conf. Fr. Jacobs. Demosth. Staatsv. 368.

⁷⁵ Demosth. in Phil. 2. 71. 14.

⁷⁶ Theopomp. ap. Ath. 6. 249. C.

⁷⁷ That is to say, at the time he wrote the Politics, therefore, after Philip's death, which is mentioned, Pol. 5. 8. 10.

⁷⁸ Aristot. Pol. 5. 5. 7.

8. BYZANTIUM.

Byzantium, wholly independent after the social war, ruled over Chalcedon, and even claimed authority over Selymbria⁷⁹; its federal relations with Perinthus were of the most intimate character⁸⁰. An abundance of luxuriant natural productions, and the profits of an extended trade, conspired to corrupt the manners of the natives. The commander, Leon, was conspicuous for his civil virtues, and instead of perishing *with* his fellow-citizens like Nicias, chose rather to die *for* them⁸¹. Philip succeeded in engaging the services of the powerful orator Python. Was the latter perhaps born at Ænos, and the murderer of Cotys⁸², and called a Byzantine because he had long resided at Byzantium⁸³? Philip sent him to Athens⁸⁴ for the purpose of negotiating a peace, and at a later period to Thebes, that he might exhort that state to remain faithful to its federal engagements⁸⁵; here he almost bore away the prize of eloquence from his great rival Demosthenes⁸⁶. Python gained over the Thebans to the interests of Philip, as much by the dexterity and address with which he distributed his largesses, as by the powerful and commanding character of his oratory⁸⁷. We can form but a very imperfect idea of the nature of the magistracy

⁷⁹ Demosth. de Lib. Rhod. 198. 12. 14.⁸⁰ See the psephism below, n. 88.⁸¹ Plut. Nic. 22; Suid. Αἰών.⁸² Dem. in Aristocr. 659. 27; 674. 21.⁸³ Menag. ad Diog. Laert. 3. 46, considers the Ænian and the orator to have been the same person, but on no other ground than the identity of name. The Ænian and his brother Heraclides were, according to Demosth. ubi sup. honorary citizens in Athens.⁸⁴ De Halonn. 81. 24; 82. 17.⁸⁵ Dem. de Coron. 272. 19: θρασυνομένην καὶ πολλῶν ῥέοντι. Conf. Dem. Ep. 1469, 18.⁸⁶ Diod. 16. 85, and Wessel.⁸⁷ Suid. Πυθ.

of Byzantium from the public decree in honour of the Athenians; there was a Hieromnemen, as Eponymus, besides a Bola and a Halia⁸⁸; with these was doubtless united a Strategia. The nature and functions of the thirty Bœotians (?) who were killed by Clearchus soon after the end of the Peloponnesian war⁸⁹, cannot be ascertained.

9. THE EASTERN STATES.

The Cyclades had long sunk into total insignificance; the names of the once-powerful Naxos and Paros were almost forgotten; Cythnus and Siphnus were only remarked for the contemptible character of their inhabitants⁹⁰, and Melos⁹¹ and Halonnesus⁹² were the notorious haunts of pirates. Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and Cos still retained some degree of importance, but the prosperity of Rhodes had not yet unfolded itself. At the time of the social war a tyrant had arisen in Samos, and supported himself by means of mercenaries and the protection of Persia, under whose satrap, Tigranes, he governed; he was expelled by Timotheus⁹³. Samos likewise during this period became dependent upon Athens, through its Cleruchiæ. Demosthenes describes the constitution of Chios, Mytilene, and Rhodes as oligarchical, in Olymp. 107. 2; 351. B. C.⁹⁴. Somewhat later the above-named Cammes⁹⁵ was tyrant in Mytilene. The character of the Rhodian oligarchy, and the reckless de-

⁸⁸ Dem. de Coron. 255. 20, sqq.⁸⁹ De Syntax. 176. 10.⁹⁰ Argum. Dem. de Hal. 73. 7.⁹¹ Demosth. de Lib. Rhod. 192. 28, sqq.⁹² Dem. ubi sup. 196. 1. 2.⁹³ Dem. in Bœot. 1019. 19; conf. § 75. n. 51. The democracy of Mytilene is described in the speech de Syntax, 168. 15, as having been dissolved.⁹⁴ Diod. 14. 12.⁹⁵ Dem. in Theocr. 1339. 20.

bauchery of Hegesilochus and his companions, are known to us from a fragment of Theopompus⁹⁶. When Athens made peace with Philip, she transferred to the Carian king, Idrieus⁹⁷, the three islands, Rhodes, Cos, and Chios, and Rhodes was not actually delivered from its dependence upon the potentates of the neighbouring coast till some time afterwards. Internal cabals formed no obstacle to a dependence of this nature⁹⁸.

10. THE SICELIOTS.

Whilst the tyranny of Dionysius grew more oppressive, though less terrible than before, Dion, the exile, gained the love of the philosophers of the Academy⁹⁹ and the respect of the Grecian states; Sparta, though she had received succours from Dionysius, conferred the citizenship upon Dion¹⁰⁰, and Speusippus and his friends urged him to attempt the deliverance of his native city¹⁰¹. He began his warlike preparations at the moment that the confederates of Athens took up arms, and was joined by several political philosophers from the school of Plato, the Cyprian Eudemus, the Leucadian Timonides (who afterwards wrote the life of Dion¹⁰²), etc.; but out of a thousand Syracusan exiles, no more than twenty-five took part in the expedition¹⁰³. Even at that time Syracuse was in reality the mistress of the other states; the elder Dionysius had erected Adranus¹⁰⁴, Olymp. 105. 1; 360. B. C.; the younger, Olymp. 105. 3; 358. B. C. had built

⁹⁶ Athen. 10. 444. E.⁹⁷ Dem. de Pac. 63. 18.⁹⁸ To the age of Philip may probably be referred the democratic victories in Abydos, Arist. Pol. 5. 5. 6, and Cyzicus, Ps. Aristot. Econ. 2. 284. F.⁹⁹ Plut. Dion, 17.¹⁰⁰ Plut. ubi sup.¹⁰¹ Plut. Dion, 22.¹⁰² Plut. Dion, 22. 31.¹⁰³ Plut. Dion, 22.¹⁰⁴ Diod. 14. 37.

Tauromenium and destroyed Naxos¹⁰⁵, and Syracuse was garrisoned by a body of Leontines¹⁰⁶. Dion was joined by two hundred Agrigentan knights, who had asserted their liberty on Mount Ecnomus, and by some Geloans and Camarinæans¹⁰⁷; the Leontines evacuated Syracuse upon the approach of Dion¹⁰⁸, and the Syracusans threw open their gates to receive him. Before the town was wholly freed from the enemy, Olymp. 106. 1; 356. B. C., Philistus, who led a body of auxiliaries to support the authority of the absent tyrant, was killed¹⁰⁹. The Syracusans were too corrupt to put faith in the disinterestedness of Dion, and no sooner had the first burst of enthusiasm, at the recovery of their liberties, subsided, than the demagogues began their cabals anew, for which an ample field was now opened to them. The most active among the opponents of Dion, was his colleague Heraclides, whom the people had appointed Navarch¹¹⁰, Dion holding the office of strategus of the land forces; in league with him were Sosis, who even went so far as to wound himself, in order that he might charge Dion with the offence¹¹¹, and Hippon, who proposed that all the lands should be distributed among the people¹¹². Their principal adherents were among the seamen¹¹³. The dignity of Dion, which had something stern and repulsive in its character¹¹⁴, was ill-calculated to secure him friends among the people, who, beholding in him

¹⁰⁵ Diod. 16. 7.¹⁰⁶ Plut. Dion, 26. 27.¹⁰⁷ Plut. Dion, 26.¹⁰⁸ Diod. 16. 16; Plut. Dion, 26.¹⁰⁹ Diod. 16. 16; Plut. Dion, 35.¹¹⁰ Plut. Dion, 33; Diod. ubi sup.¹¹¹ See the account of this absurd transaction, Plut. Dion, 37.¹¹² Plut. ubi sup.¹¹³ Plut. Dion, 32.¹¹⁴ Corn. Nep. Dion, 6, who, upon the whole, somewhat tempers the highly-coloured pictures of Plutarch and Diodorus.

the future tyrant, arose and expelled him. The Leontines very willingly received him¹¹⁵. The twenty-five Strategi, to whom the chief power was confided, were unable to protect the town¹¹⁶; Dion was recalled, the citadel was evacuated by Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, and after renewed intrigues, and even negotiations with Dionysius, through the instrumentality of the Spartan Pharax, Heraclides was killed¹¹⁷. Having at length obtained the victory over his enemies, Dion prepared to establish a Politeia¹¹⁸, a constitution, consisting of a mixture of aristocracy and democracy; he considered democracy preferable to tyranny, it is true, but was far from entertaining any predilection for that form of government in itself¹¹⁹. But whilst the Syracusans were looking forward to the arrival of deputies from the mother-city, Corinth, who were charged with the regulation of the constitution and the laws, the noble Dion was murdered by Callippus, an Athenian, and the captain of a band of mercenaries, on whom he had bestowed peculiar marks of confidence and favour, Olymp. 106. 3; 354. B. C.¹²⁰.

Callippus¹²¹ only enjoyed his ill-gotten power thirteen months¹²², and after his expulsion there arose various candidates for the possession of Syracuse, whilst the people regarded the struggle with apathetic indifference. Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, governed two years¹²³, and was succeeded by Nysæus; Dionysius himself returned

¹¹⁵ Plut. Dion, 38—40.¹¹⁶ Plut. Dion, 38.¹¹⁷ Plut. Dion, 48, sqq; Diod. 16. 17—20.¹¹⁸ Plut. Dion, 12. 53.¹¹⁹ Plut. Dion, 12.¹²⁰ Diod. 16. 31.¹²¹ Corn. Nep. Dion, 8: Callicrates.¹²² Plut. D. 58.¹²³ Diod. 16. 36.

and expelled him¹²⁴; the better-disposed citizens of Syracuse requested Hicetas of Leontini to lead them against Dionysius; the Cathaginians at length interfered, and in a short time Syracuse was parcelled out amongst several masters¹²⁵. Meanwhile tyrants arose in the surrounding states, several of which were inhabited by barbarians and mercenaries, who did nothing to prevent a change in the constitution, and were fully prepared to welcome a dynast. Amongst these dynasts may be enumerated Mamercus, a Campanian, in Catana¹²⁶, Leptines in Apollonia and Engyia¹²⁷, and Andromachus, the father of the historian Timæus in Tauromenium, and a brave man¹²⁸. Desolation reigned in the towns of Sicily, deer and wild-boars traversed their streets, grass grew in their market-places, and in the general poverty statues were sold in Syracuse to the highest bidders¹²⁹. At this juncture the friends of legality and order in Syracuse sent to Corinth for help¹³⁰, Olymp. 108. 3; 346. B. C.

Timoleon, who, since his brother's death, had taken no part in public affairs¹³¹, was appointed to the command of the Corinthian auxiliaries; Corinth and Leucadia both shared in the expedition¹³². It was crowned with the most brilliant success; Hicetas was beaten, Dionysius compelled, Olymp. 109. 2; 343. B. C., to evacuate the citadel, and the Carthaginians were driven out of the

¹²⁴ Plut. Timol. 1.¹²⁵ Plut. Timol. 2; Diod. 16. 67.¹²⁶ Plut. Timol. 13; Corn. N. Tim. 2.¹²⁷ Plut. Timol. 14; Diod. 16. 72.¹²⁸ Plut. D. 10; Diod. 16. 68. Conf. Raoul-Rochette, sur l'Etabl. d. Col. Gr. 4. 91.¹²⁹ Plut. Timol. 22. 23.¹³⁰ Diod. 16. 65.¹³¹ Plut. Timol. 5.¹³² Plut. 8.

harbour¹³³. Timoleon razed the citadel, the bulwark and symbol of tyranny, and erected upon its site a common hall destined for the meals of those who composed the popular tribunals¹³⁴. Freedom being restored, the liberators now began to work at the regeneration of the state. Corinth issued a proclamation inviting settlers to Syracuse, with the promise of freedom and equality¹³⁵. Six thousand colonists assembled in Syracuse¹³⁶; Timoleon regulated the possession of the houses and estates; Cephalus and Dionysius, who came from Corinth¹³⁷, revived the laws of Diocles¹³⁸; the Amphipolios of the Olympic Zeus, an officer who had been recently created¹³⁹, was appointed Eponymus and authorized to take precedence of all the other magistrates. The victory gained by Timoleon over the Carthaginians near the river Crimesus, Olymp. 110. 1; 339. B. C.¹⁴⁰, affixed the seal to the liberties of Syracuse, and in the peace with Carthage, which was a consequence of it, the river Halycus was fixed as its boundary¹⁴¹. The other towns were now freed from their respective tyrants, Hicetas was expelled from Leontini¹⁴², Mamercus from Catana, Hippon the tyrant of Messana was killed¹⁴³, and those of Centoripa, etc., and the Campanians in Ætna reduced¹⁴⁴. Agrigentum and Gela once more arose from their ruins, some Leontines removed to Syracuse, the population of

¹³³ Plut. 9—21; Diod. 16. 70.¹³⁴ Plut. 21.¹³⁵ Plut. 23:—ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐπ' ἰσοῖς καὶ δίκαιοις τὴν χώραν διαλαχόντας.¹³⁶ Plut. ubi sup. Diod. 16. 82, has 14,000.¹³⁷ Plut. 24.¹³⁸ Diod. 16. 82; 13. 35.¹³⁹ Diod. 16. 70.¹⁴⁰ Diod. 16. 77, sqq.; Plut. 25, sqq.¹⁴¹ Diod. 16. 82; Plut. 34.¹⁴² Plut. 32.¹⁴³ Plut. 34.¹⁴⁴ Diod. 16. 82.

Camarina was increased, and ten thousand citizens were sent to Agyrum¹⁴⁵. The government of Timoleon in Syracuse, from this time forward till his death, Olymp. 110. 4; 337. B. C.¹⁴⁶, is the noblest example of Æsymnety on record, whilst the gratitude of the Syracusans¹⁴⁷ was commensurate with the benefits they derived from it; and yet this glorious fabric was so soon destined to be destroyed¹⁴⁸.

11. THE ITALIOTS.

The towns on the Bruttian coast, Rhegium, Locri, and Caulon¹⁴⁹, which had been restored by the younger Dionysius, were in the possession of the tyrant, when Dion went forth to oppose him. Rhegium expelled the garrison of Dionysius, Olymp. 107. 2; 351. B. C.¹⁵⁰, with the help of Leptines and Callippus, Dion's murderers; the latter continued to reside there for some time after these events, but was at length killed¹⁵¹. After being driven out of Syracuse, Dionysius took refuge in Locri, where he committed the most barbarous and revolting atrocities¹⁵²; having violated the chastity of the virgins of the place, the enraged Locrians retaliated in the most horrible manner upon his own wife and daughters. The Greeks, just about the time that Dion set sail for Syracuse, had to contend with some new enemies

¹⁴⁵ Plut. 35; Diod. ubi sup.¹⁴⁶ Diod. 16. 90.¹⁴⁷ Plut. Timol. 37. 38.¹⁴⁸ Plut. 39:—Αὐτοὶ δὲ χρώμενοι πολιτεία καὶ νόμοις, οὗς ἐκεῖνος κατέστησεν, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμονοῦντες διετέλειαν reminds us of the Plaudite at the end of the comedy.¹⁴⁹ Heyne, Opusc. 2. 204.¹⁵⁰ Diod. 16. 45.¹⁵¹ Diod. ubi sup.; Plut. Dion. 58.¹⁵² Strab. 6. 259; Athen. 12. 541, D.; Justin, 21. 3; Æl. V. H. 6. 12; 9. 8.¹⁵³ Strab. and Athen. ubi sup.

490 SUBVERSION OF THE EXTERNAL LIBERTIES.

in the Bruttians, who had originally been runaway slaves of the Lucanians, and from a horde of robbers had formed themselves into a people¹⁵⁴. They obtained possession, Olymp. 106. 1; 356. B. C., of Terina¹⁵⁵, a settlement of the Crotoniats, Hipponium, a colony of the Locrians¹⁵⁶, Thurii¹⁵⁷, etc. Amongst the other towns Crotona appears to have sustained a conflict with the Bruttians, whose encroachments probably extended almost to the walls of the town. The Tarentines maintained peace and friendship with the younger Dionysius, who presented them with a costly candlestick for their council-house¹⁵⁸; Tarentum interceded with the Locrians in favour of his family¹⁵⁹, though without effect. Upon the death of Archytas the internal corruption seems to have advanced still more rapidly than before; the external enemies, whom the greatness of Archytas had before held in check, now assailed it with irresistible impetuosity. As the Syracusans had applied to the parent-town Corinth, so the Tarentines now sent to Sparta for assistance; Archidamus obeyed the summons¹⁶⁰, Olymp. 110. 3, and perished in the vain attempt to defend them. Of the towns on the Campanian coast, Cuma, Palæopolis, and Naples, the two last were shortly afterwards involved in the Samnite war¹⁶¹, (U. C. 427; 327. B. C.

¹⁵⁴ Strab. 6. 255.

¹⁵⁵ Diod. 16. 15.

¹⁵⁶ Strab. 6. 256. Dindorf. ap. Diod. 16. 15, has restored 'Ιππώνιον in the place of 'Αρπώνιον.

¹⁵⁷ Diod. ubi sup. Strab. 6. 263: ὑπὸ Λευκανῶν ἡνδραποδίσθησαν. This must not be construed too literally. Thurii occurs at a later period as an independent community.

¹⁵⁸ Athen. 15. 700, D.

¹⁵⁹ Strab. 6. 259.

¹⁶⁰ See § 76.

¹⁶¹ Liv. 8. 22.

THE SERVITUDE, DELIVERANCE, RELAPSE, AND POLITICAL EXTINCTION OF THE GREEKS.

THE MACEDONIAN-ROMAN PERIOD.

1. EXTERNAL POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE STATES OF GREECE.

a. *The Mother Country and the Eastern States.*

§ 79. Though the battle of Chæronea sealed the dependence of Greece upon Macedonia, the general subjection of the Greeks¹ was not consummated till after the battle of Crannon in the Lamian war. Philip does not appear to have entertained the serious design of subjugating Athens², for he not only concluded peace and contracted friendly relations³ with that state, but made it a present of Oropus, the possession of which it had formerly disputed with Thebes⁴. But the latter, the faithless ally of Philip, was treated with greater severity; she was compelled to receive back three hundred of her fugitives; the government was delivered into the hands of such as were known to be in the interests of Macedonia⁵, and Orchomenus and Plataeæ were rebuilt⁶. But Thessaly alone seems to have had a strictly Macedonian

¹ See the pertinent observations of Plut. Alex. 11.

² So apparently thought the Athenian captives, whom Philip had released without a ransom, and who demanded their baggage into the bargain. See Philip's jest on the occasion, Plut. Apophth. 6. 676.

³ Justin. 9. 4.

⁴ Schol. Demosth. de Coron. 259. 10. (L. 2. 148. ed. R.)

⁵ Justin. 9. 4.

⁶ Paus. 4. 27. 5.

administration, and to have been occupied by a Macedonian garrison⁷. In the congress at Corinth, from which the ambassadors of Sparta alone were absent⁸, Philip merely appeared in the character of Hegemon; he required the assistance of the Greeks in the war against Persia. Though the latter only proposed to serve as mercenaries, their offers possibly corresponded with Philip's expectations; but it is a gross delusion to speak of twenty myriads of infantry and fifteen thousand horse⁹; all the Grecian states together could not have mustered half the number.

Philip's death inspired the Greeks with hopes of regaining their independence, and Demosthenes conceived the most sanguine expectations of success¹⁰, the Thebans armed for a last and desperate struggle¹¹, and the Ætolians prepared to assist them. The resistance which Alexander met with before the walls of Thebes¹², the last, and at the same time the most glorious effort of Theban valour, was followed by the final destruction of that state. The Arcadians and Ætolians soon testified their contrition¹³, and the intervention of Phocion and Demades alone averted from Athens the vengeance of the conqueror¹⁴. Athens was declared free¹⁵, and made a most honourable use

⁷ According to Plut. Apophth. 6. 676, Philip rejected the advice for throwing garrisons into the Greek cities, because *μᾶλλον πολὺν χρόνον ἐθέλειν χρηστὸς ἢ δεσπότης ὀλίγον, καλεῖσθαι*. A garrison in Thebes seems to be alluded to Dinarch. in Demosth. 15.

⁸ Justin, 9. 5.

⁹ Justin, ubi sup.

¹⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 546. 547.

¹¹ Dinarch. in Demosth. 14, sqq., unless a later insurrection be meant (conf. n. 23.)

¹² Diodor. 17. 14; Plut. Alex. 11; Arrhian, 1. 7, sqq.

¹³ Arrhian, 1. 10.

¹⁴ Plut. Phoc. 17; Diodor. 17. 15; Plut. Demosth. 23.

¹⁵ Plut. Alex. 28.

of her liberty, by publicly mourning the disasters of Thebes, and granting an asylum to the Theban exiles¹⁶. Some Macedonian galleys soon after this attempted to run into the Piræus¹⁷; but the Athenians repulsed them, and held themselves upon their guard against any further attempt of the same nature. The liberty of Sparta was likewise respected, but tyrants¹⁸ were imposed upon many of the other states¹⁹, e. g. upon Sicyon²⁰ and Pelene²¹. Very few Greeks fought in the ranks of Alexander's army against Persia²²; but on the other hand there were large bodies of them in the Persian pay, who did honour to the national name by their conduct in the field, and testified greater fidelity and attachment to the despot whose bread they ate, than to the country which had given them birth²³. Now, as in the time of Agesilaus, it was attempted by means of Persian gold, to excite disturbances in Greece²⁴. Some wandering Thebans and Arcadians took up arms, but no hostilities ensued; Agis the second, the son of Archidamus, king of Sparta, who was likewise gained over by Darius²⁵, and after the example of the Spartans, the Eleans, Achæans, with the exception of the Pellenæans, and all the Arcadians, except those of Megalopolis²⁶, were induced to arm²⁶; but the allied army

¹⁶ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 544.

¹⁷ Ps. Demosth. de Fœd. Alex. 219. 28, sqq.

¹⁸ The author of the oration de Fœd. Alex. p. 213. 24: — *ἐπιτάττει ἡ συνθήκη εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἕλληνας*. was that really the case?!

¹⁹ Ibid. 216. 12.

²⁰ Ibid. 214. 19.

²¹ Curtius, 5. 3.

²² Arrhian, 2. 10; 3. 23.

²³ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 633; conf. n. 11.

²⁴ He had gone to Crete for that purpose, Olymp. 112. 1; Diodor. 17. 48.

²⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 553.

²⁶ Arrhian, 2. 13. 15; Diodor. 17. 48. *Μυομαχία* in Alexander's opinion, Plut. Ages. 15.

was defeated by Antipater, Olymp. 112. 3; 330. B. C.²⁷, whereupon Sparta sent an embassy to declare her submission²⁸. Harpalus, who escaped to Athens in Olymp. 113. 4; 325. B. C., found the Athenians very willing to accept of his bribes, it is true; but the official enquiry which was afterwards instituted, sufficiently shows how intimidated the Athenians were, and how incapable of an effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Alexander's order that all the Grecian states should receive back their fugitives, a proceeding²⁹ as well meant as it was impolitic, would have occasioned violent distractions; but through his death which soon after occurred, Olymp. 114. 1; 323. B. C., the execution of it became dependent upon other circumstances.

Leosthenes, a bold and experienced captain of mercenaries³⁰, vied with Demosthenes, who had been recalled from banishment³¹, in rousing the Athenians to revolt; a large body of able mercenaries³² inspired them with confidence: the Athenians rose in arms, and their example was followed by the Ætolians, Argives, Epidaurians, Eleans, Messenians, Thessalians³³, (who were commanded by Menon³⁴), Locrians, Phocians, etc. The defeat of the confederates at Crannon, Olymp. 114. 3; 322. B. C., reduced them to the most galling servitude under Antipater. Athens was constrained to deliver up her orators, Demosthenes, Hyperides, etc³⁵, and here and in other

²⁷ Diodor. 17. 62. 63.²⁸ Diodor. 17. 89.³¹ Plut. Demosth. 27.³³ Diodor. 18. 11. 12.³⁴ See the following section under the head of Thessaly.³⁵ Diodor. 18. 17.²⁸ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 525.³⁰ Diodor. 18. 9.³² Diodor. 18. 9.

states dynasties were established, composed of men in the Macedonian interest, whose authority was maintained by Macedonian garrisons. This system was continued for several years under Cassander, the son of Antipater, nor did any change of importance result from Polysperchon's proclamation of freedom to the Greeks, Olymp. 115. 2; 319. B. C.³⁶. In the mean time, Cassander, to the great joy of the Athenians, rebuilt Thebes³⁷, Olymp. 116. 1; 315. B. C.; a town was erected upon the site of Potidæa, from him named Cassandreia³⁸, which was shortly afterwards subject³⁹ to the tyranny of the tremendous Apollodorus, whose name is usually classed with those of Phalaris and Dionysius⁴⁰. Cyrene, however, fell under the power of the Lagid Ptolemy⁴¹, Olymp. 114. 2.

With the view of supporting an attack upon Cassander, Olymp. 116. 2; 315. B. C., Antigonus and Ptolemy once more declared the Greeks free⁴², and the former soon afterwards sent a general named Ptolemy to drive out Cassander's garrison⁴³, Olymp. 117. 1; 312. B. C. But a body of troops

³⁶ Diodor. 18. 56.³⁷ Diodor. 19. 54. Concerning the share which the Athenians had in it, see Paus. 9. 7. 1; Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 243.³⁸ Diodor. 19. 52; Paus. 5. 23. 2.³⁹ According to Polyæn. 6. 7. 2, Apollodorus was still a demagogue at the time Lachares fled from Athens (Olymp. 120. 1; 299. B. C.): the establishment of his tyranny was probably coincident in time with the anarchy after Cassander's death (297—294. B. C.)⁴⁰ Polyæn. ubi sup.; Diod. Fragm. v. 9. p. 294. Bipont; Ælian, V. H. 14. 41. and Periz.; Plut. de Sera Numin. Vindict. 8. 202; Polyb. 7. 7. 2; Seneca de Irac. 2. 5; de Benef. 7. 19; conf. Heins. ad Ovid. Epist., Pont. 2. 9. 43; Clavier in the Mém. de l'Inst. Hist. v. 4. As an appendage to the brutality of the Macedonian age, we may here mention one of those wild vagaries which are no less characteristic of its spirit. Cassander's brother, Alexander, founded a town, called Uranopolis, where he introduced a new dialect; a cock was called *ὀρθροβόας*, a herald *ἀπύρης*, etc. See Heraclides Lembos ap. Athen. 3. 98. D. E., where there is a letter written by this Alexander, in this new jargon.⁴¹ Diodor. 18. 21.⁴³ Diodor. 19. 78. 87.⁴² Diodor. 19. 61. 62.

was likewise despatched by Ptolemy the Lagid, to make the freedom which had already been proclaimed subservient to his own objects; they accordingly occupied Sicyon and Corinth, Olymp. 118. 1; 308. B. C.⁴⁴. Antigonos, Olymp. 118. 2; 307. B. C., now sent his son the youthful and heroic Demetrius Poliorcetes, to replace the first-named Ptolemy who had gone over to Cassander⁴⁵. He soon delivered Athens from the garrison of Cassander⁴⁶, and made it his chief seat of government, and from hence Megara⁴⁷ and Salamis⁴⁸, and some time afterwards, particularly in Olymp. 119. 2; 303. B. C., no inconsiderable number of towns situate in the northern districts and the Peloponnesus, namely Heraclea in Trachis, the towns of the Acte in Argolis, those of Arcadia, with the exception of Mantinea, Sicyon and Corinth⁴⁹, received new liberty and a new yoke. Rhodes, which had expelled the Macedonian garrison immediately upon the death of Alexander⁵⁰, and Olymp. 118. 4; 304. B. C., united itself with the Lagid Ptolemy, victoriously supported a contest with Demetrius, and in the following year obtained real liberty⁵¹. After the battle of Ipsus, Olymp. 119. 4; 301. B. C., several states, and Athens amongst the number, threw off their allegiance to Demetrius for a time, whereupon some of them fell under the power of Cassander; Demetrius returned, recovered

⁴⁴ Diodor. 20. 37; Plut. Demetr. 15.

⁴⁵ Diodor. 20. 19.

⁴⁶ Plut. Demetr. 8; Diodor. 20. 45.

⁴⁷ Plut. Demetr. 9.

⁴⁸ According to Paus. 1. 35. 2, the Salaminians were expelled by the Athenians; this can scarcely have happened yet. (Conf. § 80. n. 112); but Salamis fell into the hands of Demetrius.

⁴⁹ Plut. Demetr. 15. 23. 25.

⁵⁰ Diodor. 18. 8.

⁵¹ Diodor. 20. 82, sqq.; Plut. Demetr. 21, sqq.

all that he had lost⁵², and after the death of Cassander even added Macedonia to his other conquests. From hence Demetrius erected the fortress Demetrias on the Pagasæan gulf⁵³, which was called one of the three fetters of Greece⁵⁴; Pyrrhus and Ptolemy were the means of overturning this despotism; the latter inveigled the Greeks to rebel; Olympiodorus the Athenian beat the Macedonians⁵⁵, and with thirteen men stormed the Musæum which had been fortified and converted into a citadel, and to which the remainder of them had retreated⁵⁶. Ptolemy thereupon celebrated the Isthmian games, and the Greeks were obliged to appear as spectators adorned with palm-boughs, in honour of their newly-recovered liberties⁵⁷. He left Leonidas⁵⁸ as his lieutenant, who could not, however, long maintain his ground.

Some Celtic hordes issuing from the heart of Macedonia to invade Greece, Olymp. 125. 2; 279. B. C.⁵⁹, the Greeks resisted them with an energy and resolution which, in their then exhausted state, could hardly have been expected of them⁶⁰. Bœotia furnished 10,000 (?) Hoplitæ, and five hundred horse; Ætolia 7,000 Hoplitæ, and ninety (?) light-armed soldiers, Athens a thousand foot⁶¹, etc. They attacked the barbarians with vigour and determination, and gained a complete victory over them⁶². But after the discomfiture of their barbarous invaders the Greeks fell

⁵² Plut. Demetr. 30, sqq.

⁵³ Plut. Demetr. 53; Strab. 9. 436.

⁵⁴ See vol. i. p. 5.

⁵⁵ Paus. 1. 26. 1.

⁵⁶ Paus. 1. 29. 11.

⁵⁷ Suid. Δημήτριος, l. 540. ed. Küst.

⁵⁸ Suid. ubi sup.

⁵⁹ Paus. 10. 23. 9.

⁶⁰ Diodor. Fragm. 9. 300. Bipont.; Paus. 10. 19. 4, sqq.

⁶¹ This is the statement in Pausan. 10. 20. 3; but these numbers are evidently corrupt.

⁶² Paus. 10. 21—24.

out among themselves. The supremacy of the Grecian states was contested by the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonos Gonnatas, and Pyrrhus the Æacid, who had returned from Italy; the latter chose to take part in the party dissensions of the Greeks; Olymp. 127. 1; 272. B. C., he endeavoured to effect the restoration of Cleonymus who had been expelled from Sparta; but the women defended the city, and some Messenians came to their assistance⁶³; at length fighting for a faction in Argos he was slain⁶⁴. Almost the whole of Greece now sunk into subjection under Antigonos⁶⁵, who after reducing Alexander the son of Pyrrhus, retained uninterrupted possession of the sovereign power in Macedonia. Athens having sided with Pyrrhus, was compelled to receive a Macedonian garrison in the Musæum⁶⁶; this was, however, soon afterwards withdrawn, so that Athens was now regarded as a free town⁶⁷. Corinth, which was in the hands of Nicæa, the heroic widow of Alexander, was taken by stratagem and garrisoned with Macedonians⁶⁸. Almost all the Peloponnesus was subject to the dominion of tyrants under the protectorate of Antigonos; the ancient provinces were dismembered, all former ties dissolved, and the fugitives and mercenaries formed themselves into bands⁶⁹ of robbers, like the *fuorusciti* and *sbanditi*

⁶³ Paus. 4. 29. 2. After that time the hatred between Sparta and Messenia ceased; but he states, 4. 31. 2, that in the war between Antony and Octavius the Messenians sided with the former, whilst the Lacedæmonians adhered to Octavius.

⁶⁴ Plutarch, Pyrrh. 26, sqq.; Paus. 413. 3, sqq.; Justin, 25. 4. 5.

⁶⁵ Justin, 26. 2.

⁶⁶ Paus. 3. 6. 3.

⁶⁷ Paus. ubi sup.; conf. Euseb. Can. Olymp. 131. 1: Antigonos Atheniensibus reddidit libertatem.

⁶⁸ Plut. Arat. 17.

⁶⁹ The *ἀρχικλωψ*, Plut. Arat. 6, has an analogon in the *archipirata* of Liv. 37. 11; herein we already perceive the prototypes of the Klephs.

of Italy in a later age, and when nothing was to be earned by mercenary warfare, committed depredations upon the surrounding country⁷⁰; legal freedom was to be found in Rhodes and Byzantium alone.

The festal and federal unions of Greece, with the exception of the Olympic, Pythian and other panegyres, had, since the rise of the hegemonies, sunk into utter insignificance; whilst many of them had become altogether extinct; the more recent confederacies, which were the offspring of external force alone, and not of any natural and inherent tendency to unity and friendship, and were for the most part of a military character, fell to pieces as soon as the power by which they had been created and held together ceased to exist. But amidst this general decay of the national institutions, two confederacies arose, through whose efforts Greece recovered for a time some degree of her former liberty and political importance.

The Ætolians⁷¹, in the earlier age only known as mercenaries and robbers⁷², did not assume the character of a people till after the age of Philip, during the contests which they supported with Thebes, etc. against Alexander⁷³, and afterwards against Antipater⁷⁴ and the Celts⁷⁵. To this period must probably be referred the first rise of a regularly-organized league amongst the Ætolian tribes⁷⁶; for we cannot give that name to those occasional alliances which they contracted in former ages

⁷⁰ Plut. Arat. 6: 'Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὅπλων παρασκευὴ συνήθης ἦν, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν, τότε κλοπείαις χρωμένων καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους.

⁷¹ ⁷² Vol. i. p. 93.

⁷³ Arrh. 1. 10.

⁷⁴ Above, n. 32.

⁷⁵ N. 61.

⁷⁶ It was not a confederacy, but the Ætolians' *κατὰ ἔθνη*, who sent deputies to appease Alexander, Arrh. 1. 10.

against an invading enemy, as for instance, against the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war. The league began to feel greater confidence in its own powers, after Antipater and Craterus had made an unsuccessful incursion into Ætolia, soon after the Lamian war, Olymp. 114. 3; 322. B. C., and entered into a formal convention with them⁷⁷. The Ætolian arms were soon after turned against Thessaly; in the year before the Celtic war Heraclea in Trachis had been occupied by the Ætolians⁷⁸; at a later period the Phthiotan Thebes⁷⁹, Lamia⁸⁰, etc., as well as Naupactus in the Ozolian Locris, are called Ætolian⁸¹. The conquered townships entered the league⁸². They made incursions into the Peloponnesus, in the hope of obtaining booty⁸³, but some time afterwards several places in the Peninsula, as for instance Phigalia⁸⁴, united themselves to the Ætolians. On the other side Acarnania appears to have been separate from Ætolia; Olymp. 114. 1, the treaty, which the Ætolians had concluded with the Epirot Alexander for the partition of Acarnania⁸⁵, was probably never carried into effect. Dorimachus and Scopas⁸⁶, who lived in the age of the younger Philip, are commemorated as legislators of the Ætolians; but they might probably, with greater propriety, be denominated the regulators of the league; however, the greater part of their ordinances, which are re-

⁷⁷ Diodor. 18. 25.⁷⁸ Paus. 10. 21. 1.⁷⁹ Polyb. 5. 99.⁸⁰ Liv. 36. 25.⁸¹ Polyb. 5. 103.⁸² Paus. 10. 21. 1, has *συμμελεῖν*, consequently they probably did not possess equal rights; but the expression of Pausanias must not be interpreted strictly, conf. 10. 8. 3.⁸³ Before the time of Cleomenes the Ætolians had carried off nearly 50,000 helots. Plut. Cleom. 18.⁸⁴ Polyb. 4. 3. 6.⁸⁵ Polyb. 9. 34. 7; conf. 2. 45. 1.⁸⁶ Polyb. 13. 1.

corded in history, existed in the earlier times, and the Ætolians never lost the rudeness, rapacity and contentiousness for which they had always been conspicuous; the legislation in question aimed at remedying the corruption and disorders which prevailed within, by the enactment of wise and salutary laws of debt. The federal council, the Panætolium⁸⁷, entirely democratic in its nature and constitution⁸⁸, was generally held at Thermos, and upon extraordinary occasions it assembled at other places, as for instance, at Naupactus, Hypata, Lamia⁸⁹; afterwards the assembly at Thermopylæ also became Ætolian⁹⁰. The chief officer was the Strategus, who there officiated as president⁹¹. The Apocleti formed a sort of lesser council⁹²; they are also occasionally called Archons⁹³, and may be compared with the Prytanes, but they likewise occur in the character of deputies of the assembly⁹⁴; the Synedri seem to have been a judicial body⁹⁵; the office of the Grammateus⁹⁶ was of great importance, as in all the younger states of Greece. All the officers were elected in the federal council⁹⁷, where matters relating to peace and war, and to alliances and negotiations with foreign powers, were discussed and decided upon⁹⁸. Amongst the military force of the Ætolians, the cavalry was distinguished by peculiar excellence⁹⁹.

⁸⁷ Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 722. n. 32.⁸⁸ Tittmann, ubi sup. 725. The whole analogy of the political institutions of the age vouches for it.⁸⁹ Tittmann, ubi sup. 726.⁹⁰ Liv. 31. 32: nisi in Panætolicò et Pylaico concilio ageretur.⁹¹ Polyb. 2. 2. 8.⁹² Polyb. 4. 5. 9; 20. 10. 13.⁹³ Polyb. 21. 2. 7. They are doubtless the same as the *Principes* of Liv. 38. 8, etc.⁹⁴ Liv. 35. 45; 36. 28.⁹⁵ Tittmann, ubi sup. 727. n. 68.⁹⁶ Polyb. 22. 15. 10.⁹⁷ Polyb. 4. 37. 2.⁹⁸ Tittmann, ubi sup. 724. n. 49.⁹⁹ Liv. 33. 7.

The ancient Achæan league, which had been entirely broken up in consequence of the destruction of Helice and Bura¹⁰⁰, the separation or encroachments of Pellene, and lastly, through the despotism of Antipater and Polysperchon¹⁰¹, was revived about the time that Pyrrhus went to Italy, Olymp. 124. 4; 280. B. C.¹⁰². In the same year Dyme, Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ renewed the confederacy¹⁰³; these were soon joined by the other towns, with the exception of Olenus¹⁰⁴; but it continued unimportant for nearly thirty years, and its operations were limited to the restoration and maintenance of internal concord. Sicyon had hitherto, like its neighbour Pellene, obeyed the tyrant who had been imposed upon it by the Macedonians¹⁰⁵; Aratus, who when a child had taken refuge in Argos¹⁰⁶ from the persecutions of one of the tyrants, and enjoyed the paternal hospitality of this city and the neighbouring places till he had attained the age of manhood, assembled a band of daring adventurers, surprised Sicyon, his native place, which was very badly guarded, expelled its tyrant Nicocles, and annexed it as a republic to the Achæan league¹⁰⁷, twenty-nine years after its revival¹⁰⁸, Olymp. 1. 132; 252. B. C. Aratus now became the soul of the confederacy; no one was considered more fit than himself to be entrusted with the Strategia; skilful in negotiation, and enterprising in war, though not possessing in

¹⁰⁰ Vol. i. p. 3. n. 17.¹⁰² Strab. ubi sup.; Polyb. 2. 41.¹⁰³ Strab. ubi sup.; Polyb. ubi sup.¹⁰⁴ Strab. 8. 384.¹⁰⁶ Plut. Arat. 2. 3.¹⁰⁸ Polyb. 2. 43.¹⁰¹ Strab. 8. 384.¹⁰⁵ Plut. Arat. 2; Paus. 2. 8. 2.¹⁰⁷ Plut. Arat. 6—10.

a remarkable degree the qualities of the general and the soldier, he incited the peaceful Achæans to pass their own narrow confines; whereby they eventually succeeded in driving out the Macedonian chiefs and garrisons from most of the towns of the adjacent districts, and annexing them to the league. The capture of Acrocorinth, Olymp. 134. 2; 243. B. C.¹⁰⁹, and the accession of Megalopolis¹¹⁰, whose tyrant Lydiades had voluntarily resigned his authority, were most important in their results; besides these, the league, in the zenith of its independence and power, included nearly the whole of Arcadia, viz., Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus¹¹¹ and Heræ¹¹², Messenia¹¹³, Hermione, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius¹¹⁴, Argos¹¹⁵, Cleonæ¹¹⁶, Megara¹¹⁷, Ægina and Athens, for which Aratus, by bribing the Macedonian commander, recovered Salamis, Sunium, the Piræus and Munychia¹¹⁸. However, Athens does not seem to have stood upon an equal footing with the Achæans, or to have been united to them so closely and permanently as the other states¹¹⁹. In the Peloponnesus the Eleans were adverse to them, and Sparta watched their proceedings with jealousy.

The internal constitution of the league had been partly determined at the period of its renewal, and partly perfected and matured upon its subsequent extension, and through the influence of Aratus,

¹⁰⁹ Polyb. 2. 43; Strab. 8. 385; Paus. 2. 8. 4; Plut. Arat. 18, sqq.¹¹⁰ Plut. Arat. 30.¹¹² Polyæn. 2. 36; Ann. Pol. 28.¹¹⁴ Polyb. 2. 44.¹¹⁶ Polyb. 2. 44.¹¹⁸ Plut. Arat. 34.¹¹⁹ This must be considered in estimating the sentence of the Achæans in the contention between Athens and Delos, Polyb. 32. 17; as well as the political rank of Athens afterwards.¹¹¹ Polyb. 2. 46.¹¹³ Paus. 4. 29; 2. 3.¹¹⁵ Plut. Arat. 29; Paus. 2. 8. 5.¹¹⁷ Polyb. 2. 43.

etc. It also possessed a federal assembly of a democratic nature¹²⁰, which was held regularly twice a year¹²¹ in Ægium¹²²; every citizen had a right to be admitted to it upon attaining his thirtieth year¹²³, and at the same time became entitled to speak, which he was called upon to do by a herald¹²⁴; the Strategi presided and conducted the proceedings¹²⁵, and the Demiurgi¹²⁶, who were either associated with them, or distinct from and co-ordinate with them, assisted them in the discharge of this duty. A Bule¹²⁷, which must be looked upon as a permanent body, and not as a committee specially selected from the general body upon every fresh occasion, was charged with the preparation of the subjects for discussion, and sometimes probably represented the assembly. The chief functionaries of the league were two Strategi, afterwards one only¹²⁸, a Grammateus¹²⁹, and Demiurgi¹³⁰. Special judges were sometimes chosen¹³¹. The league was more closely united than a mere armed confederacy, on which account the duties of the assembly were more diversified; still the individual communities were by no means dissolved. Peculiar features in the constitution of this league were not only the mutual representation of its members and its federal tribunal¹³², but likewise

¹²⁰ Polyb. 2. 38. 6:—τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρήρησίας καὶ καθόλου δημοκρατίας ἀληθινῆς σύστημα καὶ προαίρεσιν εὐκρινεστέραν οὐκ ἂν εὔροι τις τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπαρχούσης.

¹²¹ Polyb. 5. 1. 9.

¹²² On the subject of the sanctuary Homarion (?) consult Tittmann, Staatsv. 681. 89, and above, vol. i. p. 171. n. 27.

¹²³ Polyb. 9. 29. 6.

¹²⁴ Liv. 32. 20; Polyb. 29. 9. 10.

¹²⁵ Polyb. 28. 7, etc.

¹²⁶ Liv. 32. 22.

¹²⁷ Polyb. 2. 46. 6; 4. 26. 8, etc. Conf. Tittmann, 685. n. 28, and on a Gerusia, Polyb. 38. 5. 1.

¹²⁸ Strab. 8. 385.

¹²⁹ Liv. 32. 22.

¹³⁰ Liv. 32. 22.

¹³¹ Paus. 7. 9. 2. 3.

¹³² Strab. ubi sup.

¹³³ Polyb. 2. 37. 10.

the introduction of uniform coins, weights, and measures¹³³. No one of the former federal unions had been so closely united in its interior.

The Achæan league was superior to the Ætolian in external extent, in internal order, and in the justice of its proceedings. It was useless to attempt keeping up a sure or lasting alliance with the latter, which always retained somewhat of its disorderly and lawless character. But Aratus, notwithstanding his excellent qualities, was not free from mean-spirited jealousy, or from wilfulness and passion; for being opposed by an antagonist, his superior in courage and military genius, he sacrificed the true feelings of liberty and patriotism to personal pique and resentment.

Sparta had, under the victorious Agis III., the son of Eudamidas, shown a disposition to make common cause with the Achæans against the Ætolians¹³⁴; but hostilities ensued a short time after, and broke out into open war¹³⁵, under Cleomenes, Olymp. 138. 4; 225. B. C. Cleomenes, in conjunction with the Ætolians¹³⁶ and Eleans, several times beat Aratus in the open field; Mantinea, Argos, and the towns of the Acte, Phlius and Megalopolis, were severed from the Achæan league. It was in vain that the conqueror made overtures towards a reconciliation with Aratus, in order that the whole Peloponnesus might be united¹³⁷; Aratus called in the assistance of the Macedonian king

¹³³ Polyb. 2. 37. 10. Compare in general, on the constitution of the Ætolian and Achæan leagues, Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 673—698; 721—728. Drumann, Gesch. des Verfalls d. Gr. Staaten. 461, sqq. On the chronology, Bayer, fasti Achaici in the Comment. Acad. Petrop. vol. v.

¹³⁴ Plut. Agis, 14, sqq.

¹³⁵ Polyb. 2. 46, sqq.

¹³⁶ Polyb. 2. 45; Plut. Cleom. 3, sqq.; Arat. 53, sqq.

¹³⁷ Plut. Cleom. 17.

Antigonus Doson¹³⁸, and, as might easily have been foreseen, he soon obtained an authority over the league, which hereupon threw itself into his arms¹³⁹.

Antigonus arrived in Olymp. 139. 1; 224. B. C. He proclaimed his despotic principles by setting up the statues of the tyrants in Argos, his barbarity by destroying the town of Mantinea, whose inhabitants were killed or sold¹⁴⁰, and his power by a victory over Cleomenes at Sellasia, Olymp. 139. 2; 222. B. C., and by the occupation of Sparta¹⁴¹. The restoration of the constitution of Sparta was the surest guarantee of her weakness. Antigonus now entered into a confederacy with the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots¹⁴². But the power of the Achæan league was broken, and it was no longer able to guard its territories against the aggressions of the rapacious Ætolians¹⁴³. The Ætolians, who were at that time headed by Dorimachus and Scopas¹⁴⁴, kept up relations with Elis¹⁴⁵ and Sparta¹⁴⁶, and Macedonian assistance now became doubly needful to the Achæans.

Such was the condition in which the younger Philip found the states of Greece. No sooner had he appeared upon the scene than the confusion increased; he was supported by the Achæans, and opposed by the Ætolians and their confederates. The social war¹⁴⁷, Olymp. 140. 2; 219. B. C., and Olymp. 140. 3, increased the enmity which the

¹³⁸ Plut. Arat. 42; Polyb. 2. 47, sqq.

¹³⁹ Plut. Arat. 45.

¹⁴¹ Polyb. 2. 69, sqq.; Plut. Cleom. 28.

¹⁴³ Polyb. 4. 25.

¹⁴⁵ Polyb. 4. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Polyb. 4. 1—5. 105.

¹⁴⁰ Plut. ubi sup.

¹⁴² Polyb. 4. 9. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Polyb. 4. 3, sqq.

¹⁴⁶ Polyb. 4. 16.

Ætolians bore him, and opened the eyes of the Achæans to their own dishonour in bowing to the caprices of a despot whose tyranny daily grew more oppressive. The poisoning of Aratus by Philip¹⁴⁸, Olymp. 141. 2; 215. B. C., was a dreadful warning to them. Philopœmen, a friend to his country, and eminently distinguished as a statesman and a warrior, was less subject to the influence of prejudice and passion than his predecessor Aratus; and as long as he remained at the head of affairs, the league struggled hard to preserve its independence¹⁴⁹. But it was now too much entangled in the quarrels and disputes of the surrounding states to be able to stand alone, and assert its own freedom. Prusias, king of Bithynia, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, had taken part in the commercial war between Rhodes and Byzantium¹⁵⁰, Olymp. 139. 4; 321. B. C., and the whole of the Greek states were involved in the contest between Philip and the Romans. As long as the Romans had to contend with Hannibal, from Olymp. 142. 3; 210. B. C., they kept Philip employed against the Ætolians, who eagerly offered them their co-operation, with the understanding that Acarnania and all the towns from Ætolia to Corcyra were to be given up to them¹⁵¹; but when they had been compelled by Philip to make their submission, the Romans concluded peace with the latter, three years before the end of the second Punic war¹⁵², which peace included the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians as his

¹⁴⁸ Polyb. 8. 14; Plut. Arat. 52.

¹⁴⁹ Plut. Philopœm. 8.

¹⁵¹ Liv. 26. 24.

¹⁵⁰ Polyb. 4. 47, sqq.

¹⁵² Liv. 31. 1.

allies; and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians¹⁵³ as the allies of Rome. Hereupon six thousand Ætolians went to Egypt as mercenaries¹⁵⁴.

The Macedonian Hegemony over Greece was now only maintained by the possession of places of strength, particularly the three fetters, to which allusion has repeatedly been made, viz., Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth¹⁵⁵; individual cities, not to mention the towns of the Ætolians, were exceedingly exasperated against Philip; the Athenians, who were obliged singly to carry on a war against him, and were thereby reduced to great extremities, made the most bitter complaints at Rome¹⁵⁶. The Rhodians and their confederate Attalus of Pergamus¹⁵⁷ did the same. Byzantium likewise henceforward attached itself to the Romans¹⁵⁸. In the third year of the war, Olymp. 145. 3; 198. B. C., the majority of the Achæans declared themselves hostile to Philip¹⁵⁹. Flaminius¹⁶⁰ by his blandishments only decoyed the Achæans from their dependence upon Macedonia that he might impose a new yoke upon them. But they were far from foreboding their future servitude; when the former had by the battle of Cynoscephalæ forced Philip into a peace, and he had withdrawn his garrisons from all the towns of Greece, the freedom of the Greeks, that is to say, of such as had been subject to Philip, namely, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubœans, Magnesians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians,

¹⁵³ Liv. 29. 12.

¹⁵⁵ Liv. 32. 37; Polyb. 17. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Liv. 31. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Liv. 32. 32. 33.

¹⁵⁴ Liv. 31. 44.

¹⁵⁶ Liv. 31. 14.

¹⁵⁸ Tacit. Ann. 12. 62.

¹⁶⁰ Plut. Flamin. 2.

Phthiotan Achæans¹⁶¹, was once more proclaimed at the Isthmian games, Olymp. 146. 1; 196. B. C., and the proclamation was hailed with demonstrations of the most unbounded joy¹⁶². Flaminius made war upon Nabis the tyrant of Sparta¹⁶³, but did not depose him. However, the slighting manner in which Flaminius¹⁶⁴ treated the Ætolians, whose rapacity had not been satisfied by the war, rankled in their minds, and they soon afterwards endeavoured to revolt from Rome.

Antiochus, the Seleucid, prepared for a war with Rome, and was supported by the Ætolians¹⁶⁵, and by the Bœotians¹⁶⁶, who displayed still greater alacrity in his cause; the Achæans, Rhodians, etc., sided with the Romans¹⁶⁷. The war began Olymp. 147. 1; 191. B. C. The Ætolians soon had cause to repent of the step they had taken; but their courage was not entirely broken till Antiochus was finally reduced¹⁶⁸; they retained their liberty in name, indeed, but the heavy tribute imposed upon them by Rome in time of peace, produced the utmost distress and embarrassment in the interior¹⁶⁹. In the peace with Antiochus, several of the Grecian towns in Asia, which had been subject to his authority, such as Miletus, Colophon, Cuma, etc., were declared free; others, like Ephesus, devolved to Eumenes of Pergamus; the Rhodians, who had

¹⁶¹ Liv. 33. 32. Conf. 30; Polyb. 18. 29.

¹⁶² Liv. 33. 32; Plut. Flamin. 12. Valer. Max. 4. 8. 5: tanta cœlum clamoris alacritate compleverunt, ut certo constet (as in the case of the prodigies,) aves, quæ supervolabant, attonitas paventesque decidisse.

¹⁶³ Liv. 34. 35; Plut. Flamin. 13.

¹⁶⁵ Liv. 35. 32.

¹⁶⁷ Liv. 35. 50.

¹⁶⁸ Polyb. 20. 10; 21. 3; 22. 11. 5. To the corresponding statement of Livy in this instance, as well as through the whole of this narration, applies what he himself says, 33. 10: Nos Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum auctorem, etc.

¹⁶⁶ Polyb. 19. 4.

¹⁶⁴ Liv. 33. 11—13.

¹⁶⁹ Polyb. 30. 14.

carried on and decided the naval war almost alone, were rewarded with Lycia and Caria as far as the Mæander¹⁷⁰. The little political dignity which the Greek states still retained, centered in the Rhodians and in Philopœmen. But the Achæans suffered more and more beneath the iron rule of their despotic allies, and from the intrigues of the embassies which thronged their cities; but Philopœmen marched against Sparta, Olymp. 147. 1; 192. B. C., after the murder of Nabis, without having previously obtained the consent of the Romans to the expedition, and annexed it to the Achæan league¹⁷¹. Sparta was, upon the death of Philopœmen, united with the league¹⁷², which thereby, and by the accession of Heraclea in Trachis¹⁷³, attained its largest extent. Philopœmen, however, was not only unable to frustrate the cabals of a wretch called Dinocrates, or to prevent the defection of Messenia from the Achæan league, but he himself was defeated and taken prisoner, and died a violent death in a Messenian dungeon, Olymp. 149. 2; 183. B. C.¹⁷⁴. Lycortas, the father of Polybius, who had ever been the faithful and worthy ally of Philopœmen, supplied his place, revenged his death, and once more united Messenia to the league¹⁷⁵. Meanwhile, the Rhodians tried their strength in wars with the Cretans¹⁷⁶.

The prostration of the Greeks, and their utter in-

¹⁷⁰ Polyb. 22. 27.

¹⁷¹ Polyb. 22. 23. Still more fully in Liv. 38. 34; Plut. Philopœm. 16; Paus. 7. 8. 3.

¹⁷² Polyb. 25. 1. 2.

¹⁷³ That this belonged to the league is proved, Paus. 7. 14. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Plut. Philop. 18, sqq.; Polyb. 24. 9. 12; Liv. 39. 49. 50.

¹⁷⁵ Polyb. 24. 12. 25. 1. ¹⁷⁶ Polyb. 33. 14. 15.

ability to defend themselves against aggression, were so apparent, that the Romans thought they might trample upon them with impunity¹⁷⁷. The partisans of Macedonia existed in by no means inconsiderable numbers when the war broke out, and many of the Grecian states refused to bear arms against Perseus¹⁷⁸; but the Achæans sent Polybius with offers of assistance to the Romans¹⁷⁹. In the course of the war, the number of the malcontents increased, owing to the oppression and exactions of the Roman generals¹⁸⁰; whilst the Roman party, emboldened by the protection of Roman functionaries and soldiers, committed with impunity¹⁸¹ the most dreadful outrages against their adversaries, and wickedly calumniated all who attempted to offer any obstruction to their proceedings¹⁸². At the head of this base faction was Callicrates, who may be compared with Æschines, Philocrates, etc., though he was still more abandoned than they were¹⁸³, Olymp. 153. 2; 167. B. C.; he delivered up more than a thousand Achæans, and Polybius amongst the number, upon pretence of sending them to take their trial at Rome¹⁸⁴. The Rhodians, who, like the Ætolians in the first Macedonian war, had deluded themselves into the arrogant belief that the issue of the contest depended upon themselves¹⁸⁵, and had sent

¹⁷⁷ Liv. 42. 55. The Peloponnesus had some years before hardly been able to collect 6000 talents; Polyb. 2. 62.

¹⁷⁸ Concerning Coronea and Haliartus see Polyb. 27. 5. Conf. Liv. 42. 56.

¹⁷⁹ Polyb. 28. 10. ¹⁸⁰ Liv. 34. 4. 17; Polyb. 18. 11.

¹⁸¹ This was the case in Boeotia as early as the time of Flaminius; Polyb. 18. 26. In Ætolia, 550 of the anti-Roman party were slain, during which Roman soldiers kept guard, Liv. 45. 28.

¹⁸² See Liv. 45. 31. A passage pregnant with matter.

¹⁸³ On his treachery see Polyb. 26. 1—3; 30. 10; 33. 15.

¹⁸⁴ Paus. 7. 10; Liv. 35. 31. ¹⁸⁵ Polyb. 28. 15.

haughty messages to the Roman generals and senate¹⁸⁶, soon paid the penalty of their insolence, by the loss of Lycia and Caria, and of the toll they had hitherto levied in the sound between their island and the main-land¹⁸⁷.

Another twenty years passed amidst internal treason and distractions, and Roman insult and oppression; Sparta had detached herself from the Achæan league, and was supported in her opposition to it by the Roman arbitrators¹⁸⁸. At length the Achæans gave vent to their long-suppressed rage, when the Roman senate declared that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea on Cæta, and the Arcadian Orchomenus, should no longer form part of the Achæan league¹⁸⁹. Though the feeling by which they were animated was just and laudable, those who encouraged and fomented it, Diæus, Critolaus, and their associates, were worthless wretches¹⁹⁰. The war was as rashly undertaken as it was injudiciously conducted¹⁹¹. The unskilfulness of the commanders, Diæus and Critolaus, was no less remarkable than the cowardice of their troops. The overthrow of the Greeks was complete; unable to recover from their consternation, they laid down their arms, and in the HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH OLYMPIAD, during the archonship of Antitheus, 146. B. C., Mummius laid Corinth in ashes and sealed the servitude of Greece¹⁹².

¹⁸⁶ Liv. 42. 14: Per quos stetisset, quo minus belli finis fieret, adversus eos, quid sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos esse.

¹⁸⁷ Polyb. 30. 5.

¹⁸⁸ Paus. 7. 9—13.

¹⁸⁹ Paus. 7. 14. 1.

¹⁹⁰ Polyb. 38. 2: —ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως κατ' ἐκλογὴν οἱ χεῖριστοι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτιοί.

¹⁹¹ Paus. 7. 14. 3: τοῦτον δριμύς καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸν Κριτόλαον πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔρωσ' ἔσχε.

¹⁹² Paus. 7. 14—16. Conf. Polyb. 40.

Athens, Rhodes, Crete and Byzantium still retained some remnant of their former independence. The first remained free from attacks till the war of Mithridates and the Romans; the demagoguery of Athenion or Aristion led Athens to side with Mithridates, and thereby drew upon her the vengeance of Sylla, which was fearful in the extreme¹⁹³. But even in the time of Strabo Athens was a republic, and enjoyed Autonomia¹⁹⁴. Crete, suffering from the effects of intestine discord¹⁹⁵, and the desertion of its able-bodied warriors who wandered about as mercenaries¹⁹⁶, selling their services to the highest bidders, dearly expiated the share it had taken in the piracy carried on in those seas, and the favour it had shown to Mithridates, by the extermination of nearly the whole of its inhabitants¹⁹⁷. Rhodes was stripped of its independence by a decree of Claudius¹⁹⁸. Byzantium suffered the most dreadful oppression during the first civil war¹⁹⁹. The proclamation of Grecian independence by Nero, is one of those melancholy caricatures in history which only provoke a smile of pity and contempt²⁰⁰.

The states on the Pontus, Heraclea, Sinope, and the Bosphoran kingdom, did not, during the Macedonian age, come into contact with the continent, and the revolutions which occurred in the states of the Diadochi only partially affected it.

¹⁹³ Paus. 1. 20. 3, sqq.

¹⁹⁴ Strab. 9. 398.

¹⁹⁵ Polyb. 4. 53; 6. 46; Liv. 37. 60; 41. 25.

¹⁹⁶ Liv. 33. 14; 37. 41; 38. 22; 43. 7; Polyb. 17. 16.

¹⁹⁷ Freinsheim, Suppl. Liv. 99. 47.

¹⁹⁸ Dio Cass. 60. 24. But soon afterwards, Tac. Ann. 12. 58: Reddatur Rhodiis libertas, adempta sæpe aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant, aut domi seditione deliquerant.

¹⁹⁹ Strab. 7. 320; Cicero, de Cons. Prov. 3.

²⁰⁰ Plutarch, Flamin. 12; Paus. 7. 17. 2.

But Sinope afterwards fell into the hands of the Pontic king Pharnaces²⁰¹, and became the capital of the great Mithridates²⁰². The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus was infested by the Scythians: king Pærisades called in the assistance of Mithridates the great, who seized upon the government himself²⁰³. From that time these states shared the vicissitudes of those on the Pontus²⁰⁴.

An enumeration of the Grecian towns and federacies which continued to subsist under the Roman domination, would be foreign to the present purpose. Still it is cheering to observe that many places rich in glorious remembrances, such as Athens, Ephesus, Byzantium, Cyzicus, Chalcis, Eretria, Ægina, Patræ, Rhodes, etc., yet enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity; whilst others, like Smyrna, recovered from their prostration and flourished afresh²⁰⁵, and unions of remote antiquity, such as the Amphictyonic league²⁰⁶, and the Olympic festival²⁰⁷ still continued to exist; but on the other hand, what desolation did Strabo and Pausanias find in their time! Thespiæ and Tanagra the only places in Bœotia that could be called towns²⁰⁸; the lower town of Thebes in ruins, the Cadmea alone inhabited and called Thebes²⁰⁹; in Achaia, Rhypæ, etc., deserted in order that the population of Patræ might be increased²¹⁰; in Arcadia, Mantinea, Orcho-

²⁰¹ Strab. 12. 545; Mithridates, 4, made war upon Sinope, Ol. 139. 4; Polyb. 4. 56.

²⁰² Strab. ubi sup.

²⁰³ Strab. 7. 310: Conf. Justin, 37. 2.

²⁰⁴ On the subject of Heraclea see § 80. n. 5.

²⁰⁵ Concerning its restoration by Antigonos and Lysimachus, see Strab. 14. 646.

²⁰⁶ Paus. 10. 8. 3.

²⁰⁷ In the imperial times a *ιερά σύγκλητος* often occurs, and *δῆμος* and *κοινόν* were favourite designations for a community. See the ample collection of matter relating to this subject in Tittmann's *Griech. Staatsv.*, particularly 433. 441. 740.

²⁰⁸ Strab. 9. 410:—*τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἱερίπια καὶ ὀνόματα λείπεται*.

²⁰⁹ Paus. 9. 7. 4.

²¹⁰ Paus. 7. 18. 5.

menus, Clitor, Pheneus, Stymphalus, Mænalus, Methydrium, Caphyæ, Cynætha²¹¹, and Midea and Nauplia in Argolis²¹² in ruins; on the gulf of Ambracia the old towns dilapidated and deserted, and their inhabitants transplanted to the Roman city of Nicopolis²¹³; amongst the islands Delos depopulated, and an Athenian guard-house near the sanctuary²¹⁴; Gyarus abandoned by its inhabitants in consequence of the mice by which it was infested²¹⁵; Icaria deserted and used as a pasture by Samos²¹⁶, Myus abandoned on account of the gnats²¹⁷; not to mention the devastations committed in earlier times, particularly by Philip. Plutarch states it as his opinion that the whole of Greece could not have mustered three thousand Hoplitæ²¹⁸. Megara alone once sent that number to the battle of Plataæ. Hence, well might it be said of this unhappy country, even after its reckless spoliation by the Romans, that it contained more statues than men.

b. The Western States.

These became politically extinct, still earlier than the states of the mother-country. The relations of the states in the west with the latter were very lax; and no ties of an intimate or permanent nature existed between them. Their internal decay was

²¹¹ Strab. 8. 388:—*ἡ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰς αὐτῶν ἰχνη φαίνεται καὶ σημεῖα*.

²¹² Paus. 2. 25. 8; 2. 38. 2.

²¹³ Strab. 10. 450.

²¹⁴ Paus. 8. 33. 1. In the war between the Romans and Perseus, Delos had been a common sanctuary, (Liv. 44. 29); in the Mithridatic war it was laid in ruins; Paus. 3. 23. 3.

²¹⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. 8. 29. In Strabo's time the island could not raise 150 drachmas in taxes; Strab. 10. 485.

²¹⁶ Strab. 14. 639.

²¹⁷ Paus. 7. 2. 7. Conf. Strab. 14. 636.

²¹⁸ Plut. de Orac. Defect. 7. 629.

precipitated by civil dissensions, the violence of a mercenary soldiery and tyranny; whilst without they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians, Lucanians, and Romans.

The history of the Siceliots must once more be annexed to that of Syracuse. Upon the death of Timoleon, Ol. 110. 4; 337. B. C., the spirit of discord burst forth anew, and these dissensions were fomented by the party-leaders Sosistratus and Agathocles. The former was overcome and expelled, together with a large body of Optimates; after a council of six hundred citizens, likewise of an oligarchical character, had held the reins of government for a time, Agathocles attacked the council and its adherents to the number of four thousand men, with a body of mercenaries and a mob, slew them, expelled nearly six thousand citizens, and made himself tyrant, Ol. 115. 4; 317. B. C.²¹⁹. His mode of government resembled that of the elder Dionysius; but in consequence of the exhaustion of Syracuse, he could not exercise the same important and destructive influence upon the political destinies of Greece as that tyrant had done. The subjugation of the neighbouring states and his wars with Carthage were the main objects of his foreign policy; and whilst these served to endanger the state externally, his exactions and barbarities²²⁰ banished civil order and security within. Agrigentum, to which a number of Syracusan fugitives had retired, united itself with Gela and Messana, Ol. 116. 3; 314. B. C., and invited Acrotatus, the son of the Lacedæmonian king Cleomenes, to com-

²¹⁹ Diod. 19. 2—9; Justin, 22. 1.

²²⁰ Diod. 20. 4. 19; 1. 20. 71.

mand them; but he being an abandoned profligate, plundered the public treasure, revelled like a Persian, and at length murdered Sosistratus; the people expelled him, and through the intervention of the Carthaginian Amilcar a peace was concluded between the Agrigentans and Agathocles²²¹. Messana and Gela now fell into the power of Agathocles, Olymp. 117. 1. 2.²²², but Leontini asserted its freedom²²³. After the expedition against Carthage, Olymp. 117. 3; 310. B. C.²²⁴, which brought this hereditary enemy of the Greeks to the very verge of destruction, Agathocles, following the example of the Diadochi of Alexander's empire, assumed the title of king, Olymp. 118. 2; 307. B. C.²²⁵. Like Dionysius he sought to extend his authority over the Italiots, and the nations who dwelt along the borders of the Ionian sea, occupied Corcyra²²⁶, Crotona²²⁷, and made a harbour near Hipponium²²⁸. Soon after his death, which happened, Ol. 122. 4; 289. B. C., democracy was re-established in Syracuse²²⁹. The feud between the party of Mænon, who had poisoned Agathocles, and then aspired to tyranny, and the patriots, was terminated by a decree of the mighty Carthage. The Italian mercenaries, called Mamertini, thereupon left Syracuse, seized Messana, murdered the men of the place, and took their wives to themselves, Olymp. 124. 3; 282. B. C.²³⁰. Soon after this tyrants arose in almost all the towns of Sicily, viz. Hicetas in Syracuse, formerly general against Mænon, Phin-

²²¹ Diod. 19. 70, sqq.

²²² Diod. 20. 32.

²²³ Diod. 20. 54.

²²⁴ Plut. Pyrrh. 9; Diod. Fragm. v. ix. p. 265. Bipont.

²²⁵ Ibid. p. 266.

²²⁶ Diod. Fragm. 9. p. 273.

²²⁷ Diod. 19. 102. 107.

²²⁸ Diod. 20. 5, sqq.; Justin, 22. 2, sqq.

²²⁹ Strab. 6. 256.

²³⁰ Ibid. p. 280, sqq.

tias in Agrigentum, Tyndarion in Tauromenium²³¹, etc. After Hicetas, Thynnion and Sosistratus obtained possession of sovereign power in Syracuse, but shortly after disagreeing, and being hard pressed by the Carthaginians, they called in from Italy the assistance of Pyrrhus, who had married Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles²³², Olymp. 125. 3; 278. B. C.²³³.

Amongst the Italiots, Tarentum had hitherto asserted the supremacy, and revelled in luxury, at a time when many of the surrounding towns began to decay, and the Romans were subjugating the warlike nations who dwelt between them and the Greeks. Alexander of Epirus was called in to assist them against the Lucanians and Bruttians; he fell in battle, Olymp. 113. 3; 326. B. C.²³⁴. Soon afterwards, in Olymp. 119. 2; 303. B. C., the royal adventurer Cleonymus, from Sparta, arrived in Lower Italy, and occupied Thurii, but was driven out again by the Romans²³⁵. In the mean time the Samnite war had not only brought Roman armies into the neighbourhood of Tarentum, but a Roman fleet, though without hostile intentions, appeared in sight of the harbour. The brutality and violence with which the Tarentines fell upon these ships²³⁶, the insulting behaviour of the popular assembly towards the Roman ambassador Posthumius Megellus, whose pronunciation of the Greek language called forth bursts of laughter, and above all their delight at the vile ribaldry of the jester

²³¹ Diod. p. 291.²³³ Diod. p. 295.²³⁵ Liv. 10. 2. Conf. Diod. 20. 104.²³⁶ Zonaras. 8. 2; Appian, 3. v. i. p. 56, sqq., ed. Schweigh.²³² Plut. Pyrrh. 9.²³⁴ Liv. 8. 24.

Philonides²³⁷, sufficiently show what a low rabble the citizens of Tarentum had become. They expected that Pyrrhus would shield them from the vengeance of the Romans. His arrival only entailed upon them privations²³⁸ and a military despotism, and after his departure they fell under the dominion of Rome. Nor did any of the other towns, Locri, Rhegium, Crotona, etc., preserve their liberties; Rhegium, as had been the case with Messana, was moreover compelled to endure the outrages of a legion of Campanians²³⁹. In the Samnite war the Campanian Cuma and the neighbouring towns had already sunk into dependence upon Rome²⁴⁰. Cuma became a *municipium* in the second Punic war²⁴¹.

The expedition of Pyrrhus to Sicily²⁴² neither wholly freed the island from the rule of the Carthaginians nor the towns from that of the tyrants. It was not the greatest misfortune which befel Syracuse, that Hiero, in Olymp. 127. 3; 270. B. C., took possession of the government without any act of violence²⁴³, and retained it till his death, viz., for more than half a century. The territories of Hiero were very limited in extent; the greatest part of the island was in the power of the Carthaginians, and through the consequences of the first Punic war it fell under the dominion of the Romans.

The second Punic war extinguished the small

²³⁷ —τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρεσβύτου κατῆσ-
χημόνησεν· καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἐπαίζεν ὡς ἐπὶ γελοιῷ. Appian, ubi
sup. p. 58; Zonar. ubi sup.²³⁸ Plut. Pyrrh. 16.²³⁹ Zonar. 7. 6; Diod. v. 9. 289; App. v. 1. p. 61; Oros. 4. 3.²⁴⁰ Liv. 8. 25.²⁴² Diod. v. 9. 302, sqq.²⁴¹ Liv. 23. 31.²⁴³ Polyb. 1. 9.

remains of Grecian political life in Lower Italy; Tarentum, till that time the third city in Italy, was crushed by Fabius²⁴⁴. In Syracuse, the only town in Sicily which still retained its independence, the tyranny of Hiero, Olymp. 141. 2; 215. B. C., descended to his grandson Hieronymus²⁴⁵; but after his assassination, Hippocrates and Epicydes, dynasts in the Punic interest, obtained possession of the government, after which Syracuse fell into the power of the Romans, Olymp. 142. 1; 212. B. C.²⁴⁶.

Sicily and Lower Italy, after the second Punic war, exhibited the same fearful spectacle of ruin and desolation²⁴⁷ as Greece itself, and the havoc was increased by the ravages of the Romans.

Massalia, through well-timed and prudent concessions, retained its freedom somewhat longer; it formed an alliance with Rome, when Asdrubal was marching to the assistance of his brother Hannibal²⁴⁸; but after it had applied to the Romans for help against the invasion of their Celtic neighbours, Roman settlers established themselves in its neighbourhood; it soon fell under the Roman sway, and experienced its oppressive effects in the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey. Nevertheless it was still at a later period reckoned amongst the free towns²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁴ Liv. 27. 16.

²⁴⁵ Concerning him, see Polyb. 2. 7—8; Liv. 24. 6, sqq.

²⁴⁶ Polyb. 8. 5—9; Liv. 25. 24, sqq.

²⁴⁷ Concerning the ruins of Himera, Gela, Selinus, Callipolis, Eubœa, see Strab. 6. 272; on Naxos, Paus. 6. 13. 4; on the subject of Magna Græcia, Cicero de Amicit. 4; Dio Chrys. 2. 12. ed. R.: *Κρότων δὲ καὶ Θούριοι καὶ Μεταποντιῖνοι καὶ Τάρας—ποίας πόλεως οὐκ εἰσὶ νῦν ἐρημώτεροι.* Comp. in general Micali, *l'Italia avanti il dominio de' Romani*, v. 4.

²⁴⁸ Polyb. 3. 95.

²⁴⁹ Strab. 4. 181.

II. THE INTERIOR.

§ 80. The internal corruption of the Grecian states has been so often described that it would be superfluous to repeat the picture here. In tracing its final development and growth during the latter ages, we behold a fearful succession of dissension and selfishness, mercenary warfare and treason, low debauchery on the one side—impoverishment and debt on the other¹. When a nation has sunk so low as this, the virtue of individuals can be of little avail; it may rouse its last vital energies, and breathe a better spirit into it for a while, but it soon resumes its progress towards dissolution and decay. Mercenaries degenerated into banditti, self-esteem into arrogant presumption, eloquence became loquacity, and treachery produced shameless and sordid servility to foreign despots: such are the characteristics of the age we are now called upon to consider.

The constitution of the republics was almost without exception democratic; in Sparta indeed there subsisted the dynasty of the Ephors, in Massilia the oligarchy of the Timuchi², etc., whilst feuds prevailed between the demus and the oligarchs in several places; the latter being driven from Crotona found a refuge in Thurii³. Similar scenes occurred in Locri⁴, and even as late as the

¹ On this subject, see Liv. 32. 5. 30.

² Cicero de Repub. 1. 28:—*Si Massilienses—per delectos et principes cives summa justitia reguntur, inest tamen in ea conditione populi similitudo quædam servitutis.* Conf. Brückner, *Hist. Reipubl. Massiliens.* p. 38, sqq., a work which is more satisfactory than those of Johannsen and Hendreich, but at the same time affords another proof of our poverty in accounts of the ancient writers respecting the constitution of Massilia. Conf. also, vol. i. p. 265. n. 45. Tittmann, *Griech. Staatsv.* 516.

³ Diod. 19. 10.

⁴ Diod. 19. 5. 6. 9.

second Punic war, an opposition existed between the *demus* and the upper orders here⁵, but whether it was of the same nature as that which prevails in all commonwealths, or merely a consequence of ancient aristocracy, does not appear. Very few remains of ancient and illustrious families can be pointed out with certainty; even the royal line of the Heraclidæ became extinct before the state wholly lost its independence. Tyranny, even without any immediate connection with external causes, occasionally supplanted free constitutions, as in Syracuse and Sparta; and dynasts, either singly or in bodies, ruled in dependent towns. Amongst the public authorities in the republics it was natural that the popular assembly should still continue to assert the first place; this it effected the more easily the smaller the states became through the dissolution of the ancient connections which had subsisted between the inhabitants of the same districts; the principle of an assembly of popular representatives—a body of delegates, was never clearly developed and recognised, even during the federal relations of the Achæans. But a *Bule* continued till the latest times to act as a body appointed to prepare subjects for the consideration of the popular assembly. The office of *Strategus* retained its importance in the state long after the period of slavery had begun⁶; and frequent mention also occurs of the *Prytanes*⁷; the priestly character,

⁵ Liv. 23. 30.

⁶ Concerning Byzantium, see Tittmann, *ubi sup.* 402; Ephesus, *ibid.* 431; Corcyra, 491; Heraclea, 497; Eretria, Diog. Laert. 2. 142; Acarnania, Liv. 36. 1, etc.

⁷ They were of most importance in Rhodes. Plut. *Præcept. Reipub. Gerend.* 9. 240. On Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyzicus, Cos, etc., see Tittmann on these communities.

which maintained itself as long as the sanctuaries continued to exist, comes forward very prominently in a great variety of offices, many of which were, however, produced by recent unions and festivals⁸; but the financial authorities declined, together with the property and resources of the state.

1. ATHENS.

The citizens, in Olymp. 117. 4; 308. B. C., when Demetrius Phalereus instituted a census of the inhabitants of Athens, are said to have been 21,000 in number, the *Metœci* 10,000, the slaves 400,000⁹. There is reason to suppose that the citizens had rarely been more numerous at any former period¹⁰; and we may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that they never amounted to 30,000. The population of Athens, therefore, by no means diminished in the same alarming proportion as that of Sparta and the rest of Greece. But did not naturalization become more frequent after the battle of Chæronea? And lastly, is this number to be depended upon? When the constitution under which the census in question was taken, was established in obedience to the commands of Antipater, more than twelve thousand persons were deprived of the citizenship; these were, it is true, reinstated in their rights some years before the census was taken¹¹; but did the whole of them return? However this may have been, the citizenship had experienced the effects of external force, and this must have served

⁸ Tittmann, *ubi sup.* 477, *sqq.*; 740, *sqq.* Compare above, § 79. n. 198.

⁹ Ctesicl. *apud Athen.* 6. 272, B. Conf. Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* 1. 38. 39.

¹⁰ Böckh, *Pub. Econ.* 1. 39.

¹¹ Diod. 18. 66; Olymp. 115. 3.

to corrupt its ingredients, and to render them discordant and incongruous; frivolity henceforward became the predominant characteristic of the Athenian mind. The degree to which this prevailed in all the acts of the people, as well as the general proceedings of this period, and the character of the mass itself will be best understood by describing the character and operations of the demagogues, who successively assumed the direction of affairs.

Though Philip and Alexander were admitted to the citizenship, after the battle of Chæronea¹² the public mind was still hostile to the Macedonians, and Demosthenes continued to be the most influential of the Athenian orators. After the death of Philip he incited his countrymen to a war against Alexander¹³, and they readily obeyed his call. The men whom Alexander commanded the Athenians to deliver up to him, as leaders of the anti-Macedonian party, were, besides Demosthenes, Polyæctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moirocles, Damon (or Diotimus), Callisthenes, and Charidemus¹⁴. Charidemus was the only one amongst them who was not pardoned, and whereupon he fled to the court of Darius, and soon afterwards perished¹⁵. Those who took part in the subsequent measures of Demosthenes against the Macedonians were Hyperides, Democrates, and Himeræus. Hyperides pronounced the funeral oration of Leosthenes¹⁶;

¹² Schol. Aristid. Panath. p. 178, ed. Jebb.

¹³ Plut. Demosth. 23. Compare the preceding section.

¹⁴ Plut. ubi sup. Arrhian. Anab. 1. 10, also names Hyperides, and Diotimus instead of Damon. His name and that of Hyperides occur in Suidas (*Ἀντίπατρος*), and at the same time those of a Patrocles (read *Μοιροκλέα*), Chares, and Cassander. Plutarch's statement, according to his remark, coincides with that of the most trustworthy authorities. Comp. Ruhnken ad. Rutil. Lup. p. 33.

¹⁵ Diod. 17. 30; Arrhian, Anab. 1. 10.

¹⁶ Diod. 18. 13.

Demochares, who was the nephew of Demosthenes, was notorious for his incontinence¹⁷; being appointed ambassador to Philip after the battle of Chæronea, he conducted himself upon that occasion with unparalleled insolence and effrontery¹⁸. Thirty-six years afterwards he became the opponent of Stratocles, by whom he was eventually expelled¹⁹. Himeræus was the brother of Demetrius Phalereus: although he accused Demosthenes in the affair of Harpalus²⁰, he nevertheless at a later period fled with him from the persecution of Antipater, by whose command he was afterwards put to death²¹.

The adherents and creatures of the Macedonians were far more numerous; these constituted an extensive class, whose character and objects varied from the purest patriotism and integrity of purpose down to the vilest treachery and the most abject servility. The most distinguished among them was Phocion, who, during the latter part of his public life, was rather a demagogue than a Strategus. His disinterestedness and patriotism were exposed to severe trials; Alexander not only wished to send him presents from Asia²², but honoured him with peculiar confidence²³. He refused

¹⁷ Suidas *Δημοχ.* from Timæus. On the other side, see his justification in Polyb. 12. 13.

¹⁸ Philip said: *Dicite mihi, facere quid possum, quod sit Atheniensibus gratum?* Excepit Demochares: *Te, inquit, suspendere.* Seneca de Iracund. 3. 23.

¹⁹ Plut. Demetr. 24. According to the probable assumption of Clinton, Olymp. 119. 3; 302. B. C. On the subject of Demochares, however, see the copious note of Ruhnken, ad Rutil. Lup. p. 7, sqq.

²⁰ Plut. Demosth. 28; Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 364.

²¹ Plut. Demosth. 28.

²² Plut. Phoc. 18.

²³ Phocion was one of the very few persons to whom Alexander, after he became conscious of his own greatness, wrote *χαίρειν*. Plut. Phoc. 17.

the gold of Harpalus²⁴, and would have done so even had he entertained different sentiments towards the Macedonians. In the Lamian war he once more appeared as the general of the democracy²⁵, and in that character displayed qualities which commanded admiration and respect; after the disastrous termination of the war he could not dissuade Antipater from throwing a garrison into Munychia, and restricting the democracy by excluding the poorer class from office; still, as chief of the administration under the new constitution, he endeavoured to the utmost of his power to ameliorate the lot of Athens²⁶. It may easily be supposed that the man who had refused the gifts of Alexander would reject with disdain the offers of Antipater²⁷. The judicial proceedings which were instituted against him²⁸, and in which aliens and slaves were even allowed to take part, after the death of Antipater, when upon the faith of Polysperchon's assurance that the democratic constitution should be respected, he had endeavoured to persuade the fickle and turbulent people to keep up the same relations with Cassander as had existed between them and Antipater, were a repetition of the wild outrages committed against the generals in the battle of the Arginusæ.

Upon a par as to political influence with Phocion, the most upright, was Demades, the most abandoned of his party. It almost seemed as though Demades, who had successively been the

²⁴ Plut. Phoc. 21.

²⁵ Plut. Phoc. 27—29.

²⁶ Plut. 35, sqq.; Diod. 18. 54, sqq.

²⁵ Plut. Phoc. 28.

²⁷ Plut. 30.

hireling of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater, had only interceded in favour of Athens, with those three rulers, in order that he might have a wider and more conspicuous stage to display his baseness upon. He had no equal in extravagance and low sensuality²⁹; Antipater, with all his munificence, could not satisfy him³⁰; the treasures of the great king himself would not have sufficed for his wasteful prodigality. Probably Alcibiades alone could have been compared with him for wanton extravagance. Like him, Demades sent coursers to the Olympic races³¹; there was a law which declared that every one who allowed a stranger to appear upon the stage should pay a fine: Demades brought forward a hundred, and paid the fines³². Hence we may form some idea of the manner in which he administered the office of inspector of the Theoricon; and we cannot be surprised that, owing to his extravagance, the triremes could not be fitted out³³. He moreover committed numerous illegal acts; at the beginning of the war he was indebted to the people in the fines he had incurred for seven unconstitutional measures³⁴. Demades was the author of the proposition for deifying Alexander, and declaring him the thirteenth of the Olympian gods³⁵; he also drew up the psephism for the destruction of Demosthenes³⁶. Antipater, who jestingly said of the glutton, that he had nothing left but tongue and belly³⁷, discovered a

²⁹ Athen. 2. 44, F.; Ælian. V. H. 14. 10. Comp. Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 243.

³⁰ Plut. Phoc. 30.

³¹ Suidas, Δημάδης.

³² Plut. Phoc. 30.

³³ Plut. Precept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 259.

³⁴ Plut. Phoc. 27.

³⁵ Ælian, V. H. 5. 12. A fine of a hundred talents was imposed upon him on that account. The people adapted the prices to the persons.

³⁶ Plut. Demosth. 28.

³⁷ Plut. Phoc. 2; Apophth. 6. 698; 8. 83.

short time before his death that he was faithless to him, whereupon he caused both him and his son to be put to death, Olymp. 115. 2; 319. B. C.³⁸.

The most influential of the followers of Phocion was Dinarchus, a native of Corinth³⁹. There is reason to suppose that there was another Corinthian of the same name, and likewise the friend of Phocion⁴⁰. The latter was put to death at the command of Polysperchon, when Phocion was dragged to Athens to receive sentence of condemnation⁴¹; the former, who was the friend of Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus, became an esteemed orator after the death of Alexander, and dwelt in Athens during the sway of Antipater and of his successor Cassander; when the town was taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes during the archonship of Anaxicrates, Ol. 118. 2; 307. B. C., he escaped to Chalcis, and did not return to Athens till fifteen years afterwards, under the archon Philippus⁴², and died a natural death there at a good old age. He accused Demosthenes in the affair of Harpalus, as well as Polyeuctus, Lycurgus, Himeræus⁴³, etc. Those who were executed with Phocion were Hegemon, who has already been signalized as a man of worthless character⁴⁴, Nicocles, Thudippus, Pythocles⁴⁵; sentence of banishment was passed upon Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon and Charicles,

³⁸ Diod. 18. 48.

³⁹ A Dinarchus of Corinth took succours to Timoleon; Plut. Timol. 21, Demosthenes commemorates a man of this name amongst the agents of Philip in Corinth; de Falsâ Legat. 324. 14; Epist. 1491.

⁴⁰ Corsini, F. Att. 4. 75.

⁴¹ Or is this perhaps an error of Plutarch's, who was thinking of the end of Hyperides, which stood in connection with the destruction of Demosthenes? (Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 374.)

⁴² On the subject generally see Dionys. Halic. Dinarch. vol. v. p. 334, sqq.; Tauchn. and Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 378, sqq.

⁴³ Dion. Hal. ubi sup. 344.

⁴⁴ Plut. Phoc. 35.

⁴⁵ See § 77. n. 172.

during their absence⁴⁶. The most active amongst the enemies of Phocion was the sycophant Agnonides, whom he had once extricated from a very dangerous predicament⁴⁷. Pytheas, though not amongst the adherents of Demades, may nevertheless be compared with him, inasmuch as he became an orator through natural talent alone, unaided by the instructions of the schools⁴⁸; whilst even Demosthenes⁴⁹ smarted from the effects of his ready and pointed wit⁵⁰. The citizenship of Pytheas was not genuine, and he was denounced as an alien by Dinarchus⁵¹; he wavered in his political opinions; in the matter of Harpalus he was one of the accusers of Demosthenes⁵², opposed the apotheosis of Alexander⁵³, and during the Lamian war fled to Antipater⁵⁴.

Demetrius the Phalerean⁵⁵ was, under Cassander, Ol. 115. 3; 318. B. C.—Ol. 118. 2; 307. B. C., what Phocion had been under Antipater⁵⁶; his manners were less austere⁵⁷, his love for his country was equally great, and his benevolence was perhaps still more active⁵⁸. He had been instructed in political knowledge by Theophrastus⁵⁹, and exercised his talents as a writer⁶⁰, a legislator, and a statesman. When Demetrius Poliorcetes took pos-

⁴⁶ Plut. ubi sup.

⁴⁷ Plut. Phoc. 29. 33; conf. 38.

⁴⁸ Rubnk. ad Rutil. p. 40.

⁴⁹ See examples, Plut. Apopth. 6. 711; Ælian, V. H. 14. 28.

⁵⁰ He said that the Orations of Demosthenes smelt of the lamp, see Ælian, V. H. 7. 7.

⁵¹ Dionys. Hal. 5. 344. Tauchn.

⁵² Demosth. Epist. 1481. 13.

⁵³ Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 207.

⁵⁴ Plut. Demosth. 27.

⁵⁵ Compare the useful dissertation de Vita et Rebus Demetrii Phalerii by Dohrn, Kiel, 1825. § 5—18.

⁵⁶ Plut. Demet. Pol. 10.

⁵⁷ Duris, ap. Ath. 12. 542. C.

⁵⁸ Strab. 9. 398; Diod. 18. 74; Diog. Laert. 5. 75.

⁵⁹ Strab. ubi sup.; Diog. Laert. ubi sup.

⁶⁰ Dohrn, ubi sup. § 28.

session of Athens, the Phalerean fled to Crates in Thebes⁶¹, and from thence into Egypt, where he neither lost his characteristic openness and candour⁶², nor his attachment to his native country⁶³.

He was replaced by Stratocles⁶⁴, who, in a moral point of view, bore the same relation to him as Demades did to Phocion. Demetrius Poliorcetes had announced to the Athenians the restoration of their democracy; Stratocles practised his base arts during this so-called popular government, and rendered himself no less despicable by his adulation and servility to the arbitrary and oppressive restorer of that democracy, than by the profligacy and effrontery with which he pandered to the luxury and extravagance of the demus⁶⁵. The truth of the first charge is attested by his proposition for sending Theori⁶⁶ to Antigonos and Demetrius Poliorcetes, thus treating them as gods; and by the flattery and obsequiousness which characterized all the public transactions with Demetrius and his father; for though the name of Demades is not expressly mentioned in connection with the whole of these decrees, still the share he had in framing them may easily be perceived. In confirmation of the last we may refer to the accounts of the extraordinary piece of deception he played off, after the defeat of the Athenian fleet at Amorgus; he declared that a victory had been gained, ordered a two or three days' feast to be celebrated, and afterwards represented to the Athenians that they

⁶¹ Plut. Demetr. 9.

⁶² Plut. Apophth. 6. 717:—*παρῶναι τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινέειν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται.*

⁶³ Plut. de Exil. 8. 364.

⁶⁵ Plut. Demetr. 10. 11.

⁶⁴ Conf. above, § 77. n. 171.

⁶⁶ Plut. Demetr. 11.

had been the gainers by it⁶⁷. Democles⁶⁸ was the rival of Stratocles, and tried to outdo him in cringing subservience to Demetrius; the opponents of Stratocles were Demochares, whom he expelled⁶⁹, and the comedian Philippides, who wrote some satirical verses against him in the spirit of the old comedy⁷⁰. It is probable that Sophocles arose about this time⁷¹; his proposition for restraining the philosophers from giving instruction to the Athenian youth was adopted, but Phillion⁷² caused it to be repealed in the following year. After the battle of Ipsus, Lachares made an attempt to establish tyranny in Athens⁷³; he was a sacrilegious plunderer, who stripped the statue of Athene of its ornaments⁷⁴. Upon the return of Demetrius he fled, and perished in Bœotia⁷⁵.

The dependence of Athens on the Macedonian rulers was repeatedly interrupted after the expulsion of Demetrius from Macedonia; in consequence of the hostility the Athenians bore him, he granted to the younger Pyrrhus permission to sacrifice at the Acropolis⁷⁶; Athens afterwards contracted an alliance with Demetrius' son, Antigonos Gonnatas, but showed great indifference towards his successors, Demetrius and Antigonos Doson, while she was entirely hostile to the younger Philip. The name of no demagogue of importance during this period has reached us, but there

⁶⁷ Plut. ubi sup.; Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 191.

⁶⁸ Plut. Demetr. 13. 26.

⁶⁹ See above, n. 19.

⁷⁰ Plut. Demetr. 12. 26.

⁷¹ According to Petit, Larcher, Corsini Ol. 118. 3; 306. B. C.; according to Clinton, under Demetrius the Phalerean, which appears less probable.

⁷² Athen. 13. 610. E.; Diog. Laert. 5. 38.

⁷³ Plut. Demetr. 33.

⁷⁴ Paus. 1. 25. 5.

⁷⁵ Paus. ubi sup.; Polyæn. 3. 7. 1—3.

⁷⁶ Plut. Pyrrh. 12.

is little doubt that they were still sufficiently numerous⁷⁷. The last of the Athenian demagogues whose names are expressly recorded, was the above-named Athenion or Aristion, in the time of Mithridates, who induced Athens to revolt from Rome⁷⁸.

The feelings of the multitude during the period we are considering, were, as may be supposed, far more in accordance with those of the depraved than of the virtuous demagogues. Of their ancient virtues they still retained their hospitality and compassion, both of which were experienced by the Thebans⁷⁹, whilst the latter was displayed in conjunction with a regard for propriety and delicacy in their conduct towards Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, to whom they sent an embassy to express their condolence upon the death of the Molossian Alexander⁸⁰. They never wholly ceased to honour and confide in virtue, wherefore Xenocrates was selected to accompany Phocion to Antipater⁸¹; the privilege of partaking of the public meals in the Prytaneum⁸² was conferred upon the descendants of Demosthenes, and Zeno was honoured with a crown⁸³. Their delicacy of perception rendered them more fastidious from day to day as regarded their choice of expressions; the use of an improper inflection or incorrect accent in public declamation rarely passed unnoticed⁸⁴. The mobility, which, from the earliest ages, formed so prominent

⁷⁷ Liv. 34. 4:—nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam.

⁷⁸ Athen. 5. 211, sqq.; Wyttenbach ad Plut. de Sera. Num. Vindict. 71.

⁷⁹ Plut. Alex. 13.

⁸¹ Plut. Phoc. 27.

⁸³ Diog. Laert. 7. 10.

⁸⁴ Phot. Lex. θριψω. During a scarcity of money a rich Metæcus arose,

⁸⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiph. 634.

⁸² Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 380.

a feature of the Athenian character, still displayed itself in the joy with which they hailed every change that seemed favourable to democracy, in the immoderate favour which they showed to those who appeared in the character of liberators and benefactors of the state, and the suddenness with which their enthusiasm cooled as soon as they perceived their error, or the charm of novelty had passed away. No less than three hundred and sixty statues were erected to Demetrius Phalereus⁸⁵ within the space of three hundred days; these were all pulled down upon the entrance of Demetrius Poliorcetes, as were also the statues of Demades, which were moreover melted down into chamber-utensils⁸⁶. The decrees in honour of Demetrius and his father almost bordered upon insanity; besides deifying them, they set apart a whole month, Demetrium, as a Hieromenia, initiated Demetrius into the mysteries, and assigned to him as a residence the Opisthodomus of the temple of Athene, in order that he might have opportunities of familiar converse with the goddess⁸⁷, etc. Now and then they seemed to remember that they had a constitution which was at least nominally a democracy; a person who had been sentenced to pay a fine into the

λέγων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμῖν δανειῶ; a disturbance ensued on account of the use of this unusual form; the orator corrected himself by saying δανείσω, and then, and not before, he was commended, and his offer accepted. To this, it may be added, that Demosthenes was laughed at for saying Ἀσκληπίος instead of Ἀσκληπιός, Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 360. Concerning the ridicule thrown upon the actor Hegelochus, who, in reciting the verse, ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐ γαλήν' ὄρω, lost his breath and prolonged the word into γαλήν from γαλή, see Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 304, and Eurip. Orest. 279.

⁸⁵ Diog. Laert. 5. 75; Strab. 9. 398; Plin. 34. 6. etc., with some difference in the numbers.

⁸⁶ Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 365. The same thing is related of the statues of Demetrius Phalereus.

⁸⁷ Plut. Demetr. 12. 23; 26. 30; Schol. Pind. Nem. 3. 2. Two ships, Antigonis and Demetrias, were added to the Salaminia and Paralos, Phot. Lex. παραλοί.

public treasury, obtained from Demetrius a remission of the same, whereupon the demus declared that such appeals should in future be punished by fine; but it must be confessed, as soon as Demetrius had expressed his dissatisfaction with this resolution, those by whom it had been framed were either killed or banished, and it was then decreed that whatever Demetrius uttered should be regarded as consecrated⁸⁸. But after the battle of Ipsus, it was declared capital to speak of a reconciliation with him⁸⁹. The proceedings of the Athenians continued to display this alternation of disgusting servility and overbearing arrogance for some time after these transactions, though, it must be confessed, examples of the latter quality afterwards grew less frequent. As examples of the former, it is only necessary to refer to the rejoicings caused by the premature intelligence of Aratus' death⁹⁰, and the manner in which Attalus was received by the Athenians, Olymp. 145. 3; 198. B. C.⁹¹; they breathed nothing but scorn and defiance against the younger Philip, and exhausted their ingenuity in framing decrees to insult and revile him⁹². The same tendency to scurrility and the same garrulity continued to characterize them till the latest times; they gave a loose to the former in their transactions with Sylla⁹³, whilst it was

⁸⁸ Plut. Demetr. 24:—πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον. Plutarch's remark applies here: τοιαῦτα ἐπραττον Ἀθηναῖοι, φρονεῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες.

⁸⁹ Plut. Demetr. 33.

⁹⁰ Plut. Arat. 34: ἰστεφανηφόρησαν.

⁹¹ Polyb. 16. 25.

⁹² Liv. 31. 44. It will be sufficient here to give the conclusion of the plebeian hostile decree:—Si quis quid postea, quod ad notam ignominiamque Philippi pertineret, ferret, id omne populum Atheniensem jussurum; si quis contra ignominiam prove honore ejus dixisset fecissetve, qui occidisset eum, jure cæsurum.

⁹³ Plut. de Garrul. 8. 12.

owing to the latter that he discovered the weakest part of the fortifications, and thereby became master of the town⁹⁴.

The constitution itself, without reference to the alternate independence and subjection of the state, underwent various changes during this period. Through Antipater, after the Lamian war, Olymp. 114. 3; 322. B. C., admittance to the rights of citizenship was regulated according to the condition of a new valuation, by which means more than twelve thousand citizens, who did not possess the minimum assessment of ten thousand drachmas, were disfranchised; many of them went to Thrace, where land was apportioned to them by Antipater⁹⁵. But at the same time the popular tribunals, if not wholly abolished, were confined within very narrow limits, and political eloquence, if not entirely prohibited, was greatly restricted⁹⁶. The tumultuous outburst of democratic feeling upon the death of Antipater, to which Phocion fell a victim, soon subsided; Cassander made himself master of Athens, and introduced a lower census than had before existed; every one who claimed to exercise civic rights was required to possess a thousand drachmas⁹⁷. The forms of the ancient democracy were revived under Demetrius Poliorcetes⁹⁸, but out of adulatory complaisance to him, several of its institutions underwent considerable alteration; two new Phylæ, the Antigone and De-

⁹⁴ Plut. ubi sup. 11.

⁹⁵ Diod. 18. 18; Plut. Phoc. 27; Demetr. 11.

⁹⁶ Suidas Δημάδης· (Antipater)—κατέλυσε τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς ἀγῶνας.

⁹⁷ Diod. 18. 75.

⁹⁸ Plut. Demetr. 10.

metrias, were established, the number of the Buleutæ raised to six hundred⁹⁹, and a dignitary, called the priest of the preservers of Antigonus and Demetrius, was appointed in lieu¹⁰⁰ of the Archon Eponymus. All these regulations were not abolished upon the fall of Demetrius; the two new Phylæ were dedicated to Ptolemy and Attalus¹⁰¹. The Areopagus still existed, nor were its labours, even now, altogether inglorious; it conducted the investigation respecting the gold of Harpalus¹⁰²; it refrained from searching the house of Callicles, because he had recently married¹⁰³; it asked Cleanthes how he gained his livelihood, and upon discovering that he worked by night, proposed to reward him¹⁰⁴; and it exhorted Demetrius, the descendant of the Phalerean, to desist from his vicious courses¹⁰⁵. It is probable that amongst the higher offices of state, the Strategia always retained its importance¹⁰⁶; but after the time of Phocion and Leosthenes, we are only acquainted with the name of Callippus, the leader against the Celts¹⁰⁷.

Samos, whither Cleruchi had been sent, Olymp. 107. 1; 352. B. C., belonged to the Athenians till after the death of Alexander¹⁰⁸, after which it was wrested from them by Perdiccas¹⁰⁹, and again guaranteed them by Polysperchon¹¹⁰; but they could not maintain possession of it; Salamis re-

⁹⁹ Plut. ubi sup.¹⁰⁰ Plut. ubi sup.¹⁰¹ Pausan. 1. 5. 5; Steph. Byz. Ἀτταλ. and Πτολεμ. Liv. 31. 15.¹⁰² Ps. Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. 9. 364.¹⁰³ Plut. Demosth. 25; Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 243.¹⁰⁴ Diog. Laert. 7. 168.¹⁰⁵ Athen. 4. 167. E. F.¹⁰⁶ Plut. Præcept. Reipub. Gerend. 9. 240.¹⁰⁷ Pausan. 1. 4. 2.¹⁰⁸ Böckh, Pub. Econ. 1. 460. n. 535; Panofka, Res Samior. p. 97.¹⁰⁹ Diod. 18. 18.¹¹⁰ Diod. 18. 56.

volted from Athens, Olymp. 115. 3; 318. B. C., whilst she adhered to Polysperchon¹¹¹, and was not restored to the Athenians till Aratus made them a present of it about Olymp. 134; 243. B. C., whereupon the Salaminians were driven out¹¹². Lemnos, Imbros, and Delos were made over to the Athenians by the Romans, after they had subdued Perseus¹¹³.

2. SPARTA.

An extraordinary diminution had taken place in the number of the citizens¹¹⁴; there were only seven hundred of them in the middle of the third century before the Christian æra¹¹⁵. This explains the circumstances that most of the landed property was in the hands of females¹¹⁶. The departure from the spirit and customs of the olden time was still more striking than in Athens; but the Spartans were still remarkable for their scrupulous adherence to outward forms, and their conciseness and sententious brevity of expression¹¹⁷. What operated most injuriously to the nationality and constitution of Sparta, was her restless desire to enlarge her natural boundaries; and this she never ceased to display while she had strength enough to assail her neighbours, or means to purchase the aid of mercenaries. Moreover, the barrier between Laconian austerity and foreign licentiousness was entirely removed; those military adventurers who quitted their country to seek

¹¹¹ Paus. 1. 35. 2; Polyæn. 4. 11. 2.¹¹² Conf. Böckh, Thes. Inscr. p. 148.¹¹³ Polyb. 30. 18. Conf. Vitruv. 7. 7.¹¹⁴ Compare above, § 70. n. 1.¹¹⁵ Plut. Agis, 5.¹¹⁶ Ibid. 6.¹¹⁷ e. g. the *Alka* in answer to Philip, Plut. de Garrul. 8. 32.

employment as mercenaries, returned to it libertines and profligates; even kings like Acrotatus¹¹⁸ and Leonidas¹¹⁹ abandoned themselves without reserve to the most unbridled revelry. On the other hand, the women exhibited the most determined spirit of bravery¹²⁰ when Pyrrhus attacked the town, whereas, on former occasions, they had only signalized themselves by noise and clamour¹²¹. The appearance of the two kings, Agis and Cleomenes, marks an important æra in the Spartan annals: they were actuated by the noble and patriotic wish to restore the vitality and vigour of their native state; whereas Athens, though possessed in a much greater degree than Sparta of all the elements of nationality, suffered herself to be influenced by external causes alone.

Agis III., the son of Eudamidas¹²², ascended the throne about Olymp. 134; 244. B. C. The ancient discipline was still observed in the education of youth, and Agis himself had been trained up in it¹²³. He was deeply grieved to behold the radical decay of the national institutions—riches in the hands of the few, grinding poverty the lot of the many, the women possessed of unbounded power in consequence of their wealth¹²⁴, and the Ephors, though destitute of the civil virtue of their predecessors, nevertheless asserting despotic authority. The mother and grandmother of Agis, who both possessed extensive property¹²⁵, were inspired by the same sentiments,

¹¹⁸ Diod. 19. 71.¹²⁰ Plut. Pyrrh. 26.¹²² See his genealogy, Plut. Agis, 3.¹²³ Plut. Agis, 4.¹²⁵ Plut. Agis, 4.¹¹⁹ Plut. Agis, 3.¹²¹ See above, § 70. n. 4.¹²⁴ Plut. Agis, 7.

whilst he was supported by the young men who gladly hailed the prospect of innovation¹²⁶. His mother's brother, Agesilaus, promised to co-operate with him in framing a new constitution, or rather in restoring that of Lycurgus¹²⁷; but his conduct proved that he was not sincere in his professions. The plan contemplated by Agis was to remit all debts, to make a new distribution of land, to admit Perioeci and aliens as new citizens, and to suffer them to possess landed property, and finally to restore the Syssitia and other ancient ordinances in general. All these points were embodied in a rhetra, and submitted to the Gerontes. Agis gave up his own hereditary estates to be distributed with the rest¹²⁸. The preliminary steps were taken for carrying those measures into effect, when Leonidas, the degenerate colleague of Agis, had the baseness and effrontery to endeavour to defeat them; though he was assisted in this disgraceful attempt by the wealthier orders, he was soon obliged to seek safety in flight¹²⁹. But sound and healthful seed could not thrive in this exhausted soil. Agis was obliged to undertake a campaign, Olymp. 135. 1; 240. B. C.¹³⁰, but did not obtain that glory which he had hoped would prove a support to his work at home; and meanwhile the execution of his project fell into improper hands. Agesilaus, actuated by a sordid love of money, grossly abused the powers confided to him¹³¹. Leonidas was recalled

¹²⁶ Plut. Agis, 6.¹²⁸ Plut. 8. 9.¹²⁷ Plut. ubi sup.¹²⁹ Plut. 10—12.¹³⁰ Manso, 3. 2. 259; Plut. Agis, 14. 15. Concerning the accounts in Pausanias (8. 8. 6; 8. 10. 4; 8. 27. 9), of a war which Agis carried on against the Achæans, the taking of Pellene, and the defeat and death of Agis at Mantinea, see Manso, 3. 2. 123, sqq.¹³¹ Plut. Agis, 16.

by the adversaries of Agis, and the latter, upon his return, fell a sacrifice to an infamous cabal, Olymp. 135. 1; 240. B. C.¹³²

Cleomenes III., the son and successor of Leonidas, Olymp. 136. 1; 236. B. C., who reigned alone as his father had done, after the murder of Agis, was, both by the boldness of his character and the energy of his proceedings, better qualified to remodel the constitution than the unfortunate Agis had been. He began his work ten years after his accession, when the successes he had obtained in the wars with the Achæans, had secured him the esteem and confidence of the people, Olymp. 138. 3; 226. B. C. His first step was to rid himself of the Ephors¹³³, and the measures which followed were for the most part a repetition of what Agis had attempted to effect; land was distributed, including the private property of Cleomenes; Pericæci were admitted to the citizenship, and all Helots who were able to raise five minæ were enfranchised¹³⁴. Patronomi were appointed instead of the Geronia¹³⁵; Cleomenes chose his brother Eucleidas to reign with him¹³⁶. The restoration of the ancient abuses after the defeat of Cleomenes at Sellasia, and his flight over the sea, Olymp. 139. 2; 222. B. C.¹³⁷, may be compared with the guarantee of the anarchy of Poland by the neighbouring powers in the eighteenth century. But the Ephors and Gerontes of the Achæan party were slain directly after the departure of Antigonus¹³⁸.

¹³² Plut. Agis, 17, sqq.

¹³⁴ Plut. Cleom. 11.

¹³⁶ Plut. Cleom. 11.

¹³⁸ Polyb. 4. 35.

¹³³ Plut. Cleom. 8.

¹³⁵ Paus. 2. 9. 1.

¹³⁷ Plut. Cleom. 28, sqq.

Only one more Heraclid king, Agesipolis III., occupied the throne after Cleomenes; and during his reign Lycurgus, who was not of royal descent, contrived, by bribing the Ephors, to make himself king, Olymp. 139. 4; 221. B. C.¹³⁹. But violent convulsions ensued. Chilon, who was of noble and perhaps of Heraclid descent, attempted to overthrow Lycurgus, and killed the Ephors who were devoted to his interest, Olymp. 140. 2; 219. B. C.; but being overpowered, he was forced to seek safety in flight¹⁴⁰. Both Lycurgus¹⁴¹ and Agesipolis¹⁴² were also compelled to fly, and remained absent for some time; meanwhile the attacks of Philip of Macedon¹⁴³ served to increase the confusion. Upon the death of Lycurgus, Machanidas took possession of the government¹⁴⁴. He was the first tyrant of Sparta, and by him the town was first surrounded with walls¹⁴⁵; he was defeated and killed by Philopœmen, Olymp. 143. 2; 207. B. C.¹⁴⁶. Nabis was still more despotic; his covetousness was notorious¹⁴⁷; in proof of his cruelty it is recorded that he invented a murderous instrument in a human form¹⁴⁸; and finally, he endeavoured to root out the last remains of the ancient Laconian manners¹⁴⁹. Philopœmen, who occupied Sparta after the assassination of Nabis, was adverse to the institutions of Lycurgus, and in order to assimilate the Spartans to the Achæans, to whose league he was

¹³⁹ Polyb. 4. 35.

¹⁴¹ Polyb. 5. 29. 8, sqq.

¹⁴³ Polyb. 5. 18, sqq.

¹⁴⁵ Liv. 34. 33. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Diod. Fragm. v. ix. 374. Bipont; Polyb. 13. 6; 17. 16; Liv. 32. 38, sqq.

¹⁴⁹ Polyb. and Diod. ubi sup.

¹⁴⁰ Polyb. 4. 81.

¹⁴² Polyb. 24. 11. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Liv. 27. 29.

¹⁴⁶ Polyb. 11. 9—18; Plut. Philop. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Polyb. 13. 7.

desirous of uniting them, he abolished those few Lycurgic ordinances which still survived¹⁵⁰. Not long afterwards the Lycurgic constitution was restored by the Romans, who had previously received an application from the Spartans to that effect¹⁵¹. There were, in the time of Augustus, Eleutherolacones, who had formerly been Helots, and who had either been declared free by Augustus, or by the Roman people before him¹⁵². Dicæarchus' treatise on the constitution of Sparta was, till a very late period, read once in every year¹⁵³. The severe discipline of the Ephebi was still kept up in the time of Plutarch; he himself saw several of them scourged to death upon the altar of Artemis Orthia¹⁵⁴.

3. THE OTHER STATES OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

These present but scanty materials for consideration. Domestic tyrants supported by foreign force, or the lieutenants of Macedonian despots, suspended or wholly arrested the internal development in most of these communities. The Arcadians, collectively considered, continued to form the most important state in the Peloponnesus after Sparta, and the chief of its individual members was Megalopolis. At the time of Polysperchon, the able-bodied citizens, slaves, and aliens of Megalopolis, amounted to fifteen thousand persons¹⁵⁵. The tyrants Aristodemus and Lydiades, at a later period, were good and brave men; the former was

¹⁵⁰ Plut. Philop. 16; Paus. 8. 51. 1; Liv. 38. 34.

¹⁵¹ Plut. ubi sup.

¹⁵² Suidas, Δικαίαντος.

¹⁵³ Diod. 18. 70.

¹⁵⁴ Strab. 8. 366; Pausan. 3. 21. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Plut. Lyc. 18.

surnamed Χρηστός¹⁵⁶, the latter abdicated at the instigation of Aratus¹⁵⁷. Aristodemus was opposed by Ecdemus and Demophanes, pupils of the philosopher Arcesilaus and the guardians of Philopœmen; they subsequently assisted Aratus in overthrowing the Sicyonian tyrant Nicocles, and regulated the political institutions of Cyrene¹⁵⁸. During the age of Aratus, and from that period till the final extinction of Grecian independence, no state in Greece could boast of a brighter array of able statesmen and generals than Megalopolis. Cercidas¹⁵⁹ and the peripatetic Prytanis are recorded as eminent legislators¹⁶⁰; Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Polybius, the last heroes and statesmen of Greece, would have been ornaments to any age or country. In the time of Cleomenes, besides Megalopolis, mention is also made of Tegea, Orchomenus, and Mantinea¹⁶¹; but the most important record that has been preserved of Mantinea, is at the same time the most melancholy one, viz., the account of its destruction by Antigonus¹⁶². Concerning the rough Cynæthi, with the exception of the statement of Polybius, that they were even insensible to the charms of music¹⁶³, we only know that they had Polemarchs¹⁶⁴. Messenia was compelled, by the command of Alexander, once more to receive the children of the tyrant Phylides¹⁶⁵; but it is very doubtful whether they really succeeded to the tyranny or not. Messenia was afterwards a re-

¹⁵⁶ Pausan. 8. 27. 8; 8. 36. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Polyb. 2. 44; Plut. Philop. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Polyb. 10. 25; Plut. Philop. 1.

¹⁵⁹ Conf. § 78. n. 29. Polyb. 2. 48, where Nicophanes is mentioned as his colleague.

¹⁶⁰ Polyb. 5. 93.

¹⁶¹ Plut. Cleom. 4, et pass.

¹⁶² Pausan. 8. 8. 6.

¹⁶³ Polyb. 4. 20.

¹⁶⁴ Polyb. 4. 18.

¹⁶⁵ Ps. Demosth. de Fœd. Alex. 212. 25.

public, and its most important magistracy an Ephoralty¹⁶⁶. The decline of Messenia was powerfully promoted by the proceedings of the younger Philip¹⁶⁷. Elis was still convulsed by the feuds of the upper orders and the demus during the life of Alexander¹⁶⁸; after his death one party relied upon the help of Sparta, the other upon that of Messenia, and the Messenians succeeded in obtaining possession of the town by a stratagem¹⁶⁹. In the time of Antigonus (Gonnatas?) there was a barbarous tyrant called Aristotimus¹⁷⁰. Triphylia belonged to Elis during the social war¹⁷¹. Argos was successively governed by the following tyrants: Archinus, who obtained the tyranny by supplying the people with arms¹⁷²; Aristomachus, the contemporary of Aratus, who forbade any one of the citizens to possess a sword¹⁷³; Aristippus, Agis, and a younger Aristomachus¹⁷⁴. Hereupon Argos became, for a time, the residence of the barbarous Nabis and his impious wife¹⁷⁵. The single states of Achaia, Corinth, and Sicyon, have already been spoken of; with the exception of the mention of a tyrant called Cleonymus¹⁷⁶, history is silent on the subject of Phlius. Megara boasted that it had conferred its citizenship upon the Macedonian Alexander, an honour which it had never granted to any one before¹⁷⁷; all the slaves of this little district were

¹⁶⁶ Polyb. 4. 4. 2. 3; 4. 31. 2; 4. 32. 1.¹⁶⁷ Plut. Arat. 49.¹⁶⁸ Pausan. 3. 8. 2.¹⁶⁹ Pausan. 4. 28. 3.¹⁷⁰ Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. 7. 27, sqq.¹⁷¹ Polyb. 4. 77.¹⁷² Polyæn. 3. 8.¹⁷³ Plut. Arat. 25.¹⁷⁴ Plut. Arat. 25. 29.¹⁷⁵ Polyb. 17. 17; Liv. 39. 25, sqq.¹⁷⁶ Polyb. 2. 44. 6.¹⁷⁷ Plut. de Monarch, etc. 9. 285. Compare, on the subject of their former refusal to give the freedom of their city to Lysander's steersman, after the battle of Ægos Potamoi, at the recommendation of Sparta, Demosth. in Arist. 691. 4.

dispersed by Demetrius Poliorcetes¹⁷⁸, after which its name scarcely occurs again. On the island of Eubœa, Chalcis and Eretria were occupied by Macedonian garrisons till Philip was conquered by Flaminius; Eretria enjoyed independence more frequently and for longer periods of time; Strategi and Probuli were its chief magistrates¹⁷⁹; the philosopher Mendemus was once charged with an embassy¹⁸⁰.

Bœotia. When Alexander took Thebes six thousand of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the rest of the population, to the number of thirty thousand, sold into slavery¹⁸¹. The Bœotian league was continued by the other states, amongst which we must again reckon Plataeæ and Orchomenus. The restoration of Thebes by Cassander produced but little change in the condition of the country; Thebes was soon afterwards twice taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes¹⁸², and was unable to recover from the effects of these shocks. As soon as the Romans set foot upon Grecian ground, violent party dissensions arose in Bœotia; the Romans did every thing in their power to foment these disturbances, and to promote the ruin and misery they occasioned; so that it was not long before the condition of Bœotia was as deplorable as that of Ætolia¹⁸³. Nevertheless the Bœotian league still continued in existence¹⁸⁴.

Thessaly, which under Philip and Alexander had been almost a Macedonian province, showed

¹⁷⁸ Plut. Demetr. 9.¹⁷⁹ Diog. Laert. 2. 142.¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 2. 140. 142.¹⁸¹ Plut. Alex. 11.¹⁸² Plut. Demetr. 39. 40.¹⁸³ Polyb. 20. 6; 23. 7; 27. 1. 2; Liv. 36. 6; 42. 38. 43.¹⁸⁴ Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 702.

some signs of reviving ardour in the cause of freedom during the Lamian war. Menon, who was undoubtedly descended from the noble house of Pharsalus¹⁸⁵, and brother-in-law to the Molossian king Æacides, who had married his sister, and consequently uncle to Pyrrhus, the issue of that marriage¹⁸⁶, distinguished himself as one of the generals of the Grecian league in that war¹⁸⁷. Thessaly again fell for a time under the yoke of Macedonia; the Ætolians subsequently obtained possession of several fortified places¹⁸⁸, and, like the Threspotian Thessalians of the olden time, the Athamans now pressed forward over the Pindus¹⁸⁹ from Epirus. Unbounded confusion ensued; still till the latest times we constantly read of assemblies of the Thessalians¹⁹⁰, of Strategi¹⁹¹, etc. The proclamation of Flaminius for restoring freedom to the Thessalians and several of the adjacent mountain peoples came too late¹⁹²; they could no longer enjoy it. Honourable mention occurs of the Acarnanians, whose capital was Leucas¹⁹³; but their internal condition never attained to true political culture and civilization, and it was moreover greatly endangered by the attacks of the Ætolians, against whom they still nourished their ancient enmity¹⁹⁴, as well as by the Macedonian-Roman wars.

¹⁸⁵ See above, § 62. n. 53.

¹⁸⁷ Plut. ubi sup. and Phoc. 25; Diod. 18. 15. 17. 39.

¹⁸⁸ § 79. n. 78. 79.

¹⁸⁹ Liv. 36. 13.

¹⁹⁰ Tittmann, Griech. Staatsv. 702.

¹⁹¹ Compare with Eusebius, who gives a list of them, Niebuhr on the Armenian translation of Euseb., Abhandl. d. Hist. Philol. Cl. der Berl. Akad. 1820. 1821. p. 76, sqq.

¹⁹³ Liv. 33. 17; 36. 11.

¹⁹² § 79. n. 159.

¹⁹⁴ Diod. 16. 67.

9. THE STATES ON THE EASTERN ISLANDS AND COASTS.

The first place amongst these belongs to Rhodes¹⁹⁵, whether we regard the degree of independence which it asserted during the Macedonian-Roman age, and the length of time it retained that independence, its external power and authority, or the solidity and strength of its nationality, and the excellence of its political regulations. The life of the Rhodians was simple; their disposition composed and serious, yet active and enterprising¹⁹⁶; they seem to have possessed at once the taciturnity and the alertness of northern mariners. Their honesty and liberality are attested by the law enacting, that children should pay the debts of their parents, even though they did not inherit their property¹⁹⁷, and by that imposing upon the wealthier class, which was in possession of the chief power, besides its other obligations, the charge of providing for the indigent, a noble manner of employing the superfluities of the rich¹⁹⁸. Hence though the constitution was not democratic, (for oratory, which was introduced into Rhodes by Æschines¹⁹⁹, did not become an engine of demagoguery,) still the demus was tranquil and contented. But the Rhodian government was very oppressive in those maritime parts of Asia Minor, situate opposite to the island, which belonged to the Rhodians from the overthrow of Antiochus till that of Perseus²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁵ See besides Meursii Rhodus, the excellent treatise of Paulsen on the subject of Rhodes in the time of the Romans (Gött. Preisschr. 1818), and Rost's Rhodes, an Histor. Archæol. Fragm. 1824.

¹⁹⁶ Dion. Chrys. Orat. 31; conf. Meurs. Rhod. 1, cap. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Meurs. ubi sup. cap. 21.

¹⁹⁸ Strab. 14. 653.

¹⁹⁹ Meurs. ubi sup. cap. 11.

²⁰⁰ Liv. 41. 6.

The chief officers of state were Prytanes and Navarchs. Two Prytanes were chosen annually, and officiated six months each²⁰¹. The Navarch²⁰² was entitled to conclude treaties without special instructions to that effect²⁰², and amongst his other duties, was probably charged with the superintendence of the harbours, which it was forbidden to show to a foreigner, upon pain of death²⁰³. The Rhodian maritime laws were so excellent, that they were even adopted by the Romans²⁰⁴. The Buleutæ were entitled *Μάστροι*²⁰⁵, from their office of examining.

Crete, on the contrary, was agitated by intestine dissensions; its inhabitants were notorious as mercenaries and pirates, and were, moreover, distinguished by their vicious and malignant cunning²⁰⁶. Gortys, Gnossus, and Lyctus, were engaged in continual hostilities with each other²⁰⁷, and these contests assumed a more ferocious character as soon as the Romans began to interfere in them²⁰⁸. Some inscriptions appear to have been preserved from the second century before Christ, relating to treaties between single states, the grant of rights and honours, etc.²⁰⁹ The constitutions of the single states seem to have been oligarchical, and Cosmi were their chief magistrates till the revolution, which happened a little before Polybius' time; this led to the establishment of democracy²¹⁰.

²⁰¹ Polyb. 27. 6. 2.²⁰² Polyb. 30. 5. 5.²⁰³ Strab. 14. 653.²⁰⁴ Meurs. Rhod. 1. cap. 21; conf. Pastoret: Quelle a été l'influence des lois maritimes des Rhodiens sur la marine des Grecs et de Romains? 1785.²⁰⁵ Hesych. and Harpocr. *Μάστροι*.²⁰⁶ Polyb. 4. 47. 53; 6. 56; Plut. Philop. 13; Diod. Fragm. ix. p. 374. Bipont.²⁰⁷ Polyb. 23. 15; 27. 16.²⁰⁸ Particularly in Chishull, Antiquitat. Asiat. See the particulars in Tittmann, Gr. Staatsvf. 414. n. 19; conf. 734. n. 14.²¹⁰ Polyb. 6. 46. 3.

Byzantium successfully maintained its independence, which it probably was enabled to do by the mutual jealousy of the neighbouring kings, who were all desirous of adding to their dominions a town so remarkable for the beauty of its situation; besides which its prosperity was promoted by the very considerable revenue it derived from the sound dues²¹¹. Nothing of importance has been transmitted concerning the character and constitution of the Byzantines, after the time of the elder Philip.

Cyrene was violently distracted by the quarrels of Thimbron and his party at the beginning of the Macedonian age²¹², and these, it is not improbable facilitated the conquest of the country by the first Ptolemy. Ophellas, who is recorded as the ruler of Cyrene²¹³, was at first the lieutenant of Ptolemy, but afterwards raised himself to independence. After his death, in Olymp. 118. 1; 308. B. C.²¹⁴, Cyrene again fell under the yoke of Egypt; about Olymp. 120., Magas, the son of the first Ptolemy, was sent there as governor²¹⁵. He also became independent; he died fifteen years afterwards, whereupon his widow Arsinoe, gave her daughter Berenice in marriage to Demetrius the Fair, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and at the same time resigned the government into his hands²¹⁶. He was murdered, and soon afterwards mention again occurs of the establishment of a constitution in Cyrene. This was framed by the Megalopolitans, Ecdemus, and Demophanes²¹⁷.

²¹¹ Polyb. 4. 46.²¹² Diod. 18. 19, sqq.²¹³ Diod. ubi sup. 20. 40. 44; Plut. Demetr. 14.²¹⁴ Diod. 20. 42.²¹⁵ Niebuhr üb. die armenische Uebers. des Euseb. p. 72.²¹⁶ Justin. 26. 3; Agatharcid. ap. Athen. 12. 550. B.²¹⁷ Plut. Arat. 1; Polyb. 10. 25.

Their labours remind us of those of the Mantinean Demonax. The Cyrenæans made war upon Ptolemy Physcon, Olymp. 154. 2; 163. B. C., under the command of an Ætolian called Lycopus, who thereupon assumed the tyranny²¹⁸. As late as the time of Mithridates, a monster in human form, called Nicocrates, was tyrant in Cyrene²¹⁹.

In the states on the Pontus tyranny still prevailed in Heraclea, where it had existed from the time of Philip; Dionysius, the tyrant of Heraclea, died in Olymp. 118. 3; 306. B. C.²²⁰, and was succeeded by his sons Clearchus and Oxathres, who reigned seventeen years²²¹, after which Lysimachus proclaimed the liberty of Heraclea; but it could not be effectually asserted²²². The kingship continued to exist amongst the Bosphorans, where the dynasty of the Leuconidæ was immediately succeeded by that of Mithridates. Amisus and Sinope, on the other hand, remained free from domestic tyranny, and it was not till after the Pontic kingdom had increased in power and extent that they fell under a foreign yoke²²³.

5. THE WESTERN STATES.

The tyranny and internal distractions of Syracuse have already been described; the system which there prevailed as little deserved the name of a constitution as it presented indications of pure and genuine nationality. Polydorus²²⁴ framed

²¹⁸ Polyæn. 8. 64.

²¹⁹ Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. 7. 44, sqq.

²²⁰ Diod. 20. 67. He was also surnamed *χρηστός*, Memnon, cap. 4.

²²¹ Memnon, cap. 5. Diod. ubi sup. has the name of Zathras.

²²² Memnon, cap. 6, sqq. The reinstatement of the exiles without the effusion of blood, related by Memnon, cap. 6, was very honourable.

²²³ Strab. 12. 546. 547.

²²⁴ Diod. 13. 35.

laws under Hiero, or rather he was commissioned by that ruler, to interpret the code of Diocles, which was no longer generally intelligible. The last outburst of democratic enthusiasm after the assassination of Hieronymus, was too tumultuous in itself, and was too quickly followed by the oppressions of the Romans, to lead to any substantial and lasting advantages: still Syracuse, in the moment of her fall, presents a nobler spectacle than the states of the mother-country, and her great citizen Archimedes is justly entitled to rank by the side of Philopœmen.

The democracy of Tarentum stirred up the last dregs of popular depravity²²⁵. Still this state, debased and enfeebled as it was, fell under no other tyranny than that of Pyrrhus. After Tarentum had been deprived of its liberties, Tarentines are frequently mentioned as serving in the armies of the mother-country; e. g. in the history of Demetrius Poliorcetes²²⁶, under the Achæans²²⁷, Cleomenes²²⁸, Philip the younger²²⁹, etc.; perhaps these were emigrants, unless we suppose them to have been a species of light-armed troops²³⁰.

If we once more cast a glance at the condition of Greece under the sway of the Romans, we cannot but be astonished to perceive, that though her nationality was endangered by the worst effects of degeneracy and corruption within, and by the violent inroads of barbarism from without—though

²²⁵ See above, § 79. n. 229. Conf. Plut. Pyrrh. 16.

²²⁶ Polyæn. 3. 7. 1.

²²⁷ Plut. Philop. 10.

²²⁸ Plut. Cleom. 6.

²²⁹ Polyb. 4. 77.

²³⁰ Acontistæ in Plut. Philop. 10. However, in Polyæn. ubi sup., horsemen are spoken of.

she had been stripped of those fair ornaments in which painting and sculpture had arrayed her—though her sanctuaries had been profaned—her inhabitants transplanted—and her ancient cities made desolate, still she not only preserved that nationality pure from external admixture in itself, but disseminated the humanizing influence of her civilization over the wide regions of the east, through the realms of the Macedonian Diadochi and Epigoni, as far as the barren steppes of central Asia and the sandy deserts of Africa, imparting a Grecian colouring to political institutions, religion, language, science, and art. Still it cannot be denied that certain genuine Greek states exhibit premature evidences of degeneracy. The deputation of the Italian Cumæans to Rome, U. C. 574; 180. B. C., for permission to make use of the Latin language in proclamations and public proceedings has attained a melancholy celebrity²³¹. Tarentum, Rhégium, and Naples were the only towns of the Italiots that had retained their Grecian manners and customs²³² in the time of Strabo; whilst the institutes of Crete were almost exclusively Roman²³³. On the other hand, we are surprised to behold the characteristics of Grecian life still existing after the birth of Christ at Olbiopolis on the Dnieper²³⁴. Though it is but too true that the Greeks had become divested of all greatness and dignity, that the consequences of that ruin which they had brought upon themselves, as well as of the unheard-of misuse and oppression they afterwards endured from others, had contracted and de-

²³¹ Liv. 40. 42.²³³ Strab. 10. 484.²³² Strab. 6. 253.²³⁴ Tittmann, Gr. Staatsv. 403.

based their feelings, and that the restless activity and excitability which could never be entirely eradicated from their nature, now exerted themselves upon worthless and contemptible objects²³⁵; still is there any one who does not exclaim against the ruthless and bloodstained Romans, who reproached them with their debasement, and yet did every thing in their power to promote and perpetuate it. And when, at length, after another two thousand years of wrong and suffering, spent beneath the scourge of foreign and domestic misrule and oppression, their descendants have arisen to reclaim the holiest rights of man—rights which God bestowed upon them, and the iniquity of Asiatic despots has too long withheld from them, is it for us to taunt them because they call up with pride the glorious remembrance of their illustrious ancestors, though they may be unable to equal them in virtue and in greatness? And if that discord, to which they would almost appear to have been foredoomed, has unrelentingly pursued them from their earliest appearance in history till the present moment, should we not rather pity than condemn them, and strive to extinguish rather than fan this unhallowed flame?

²³⁵ See, for example, Ath. 1. 19. B—E.

A P P E N D I X.

I.

On the use of the expression προστάτης τοῦ δήμου and other political appellations.

§ 54. n. 19. 20.

BEFORE the political phraseology of the schools of the philosophers, and more particularly that of Aristotle, attained scientific fixity and precision, there arose among the writers of the democratic period, and especially among the Attic historians, orators, and poets, a method of employing words which may be regarded as a practical introduction to the scientific vocabulary of the schools, and which imparted to certain political designations of common and constant occurrence, a definite and specific character in lieu of the more vague and general one they had till that time borne. Most important in this respect were, after Pindar and Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, the tragedians, Aristophanes, Lysias, Andocides, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Æschines, and Lycurgus. It must, however, be remarked of these appellations in general, that they were for the most part borrowed from actually-existing institutions: but, on the other side, it sometimes happened that a word, which had maintained itself in common use without immediate reference to a political object in real being, was afterwards employed to designate some individual and determinate object, and thereby attained a narrower and more precise signification. Both these observations hold good of the expression προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and the cognate participles. Not to mention the very general signification of presiding over, being at the head of, a party for instance, Herod. 1. 59, τῶν μὲν προεστῶτος Μεγακλέους, etc.; Thuc. 3. 82, οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες,

in which sense it was applied to democratic as well as to aristocratic party-leaders—the appellation *προστάτης* τοῦ δήμου appears to have originated in an extension of the meaning of that peculiar word which was originally used to express the person who officiated as the patron and legal representative of a *Metœcus*, as was customary in Athens and other places. As the *Prostates* defended the interests of a *Metœcus*, so it was the duty of the *προστάτης* τοῦ δήμου to act as the representative of the *demus*. The king, in the *Supplices* of Euripides, 964, calls himself *προστάτης* as the sovereign of the country. Speaking of Sparta, Herod. i. 69, says with still greater latitude of meaning, *προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος*; Xenoph. Hell. 5. 1. 36, *προσάται γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης*. Hence its leading signification was, in this stage of development, a person charged with the duties of a patron, guardian, advocate, representative, and, upon the whole, it rather conveyed the notion of business than of official rank and station. *Προστάτης* τοῦ δήμου attained in substance the sense of *δημαγωγός* in the larger and better signification of the term, as the administrator, the agent, (Thucydides, 1. 127, describes Pericles as *ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν*), who probably not unfrequently acted as a legally-elected officer. The word *προστάτης*, and the participle *προεστηκώς*, *προεστεώς*, *προεστώς*, occur most frequently in this sense. Aristoph. Ran. 569, —*τὸν προσάτην Κλέωνα*. Eccles. 176, *ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτὴν (τὴν πόλιν) προσάταισι χρωμένην ἀεὶ πονηροῖς*. Plutos 920, *πονηρόν γ' ἄρα προσάτην ἔχει*. Thuc. 8. 89. of Samos, *ἡγωνίζετο οὖν εἰς ἕκαστος—αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι*. Thuc. 8. 65, —*Ἀνδροκλέα—τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προεστεῶτα*. Ibid. 6. 28, *τοῦ δήμου προεστάναι*, alluding to the adversaries of Alcibiades. Xenoph. Hell. 6. 4. 6, *τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες* (Epaminondas), conf. 3. 5. 3; Xen. H. 3. 5; 1. 4. Timocrates is to give money, *τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν τοῖς πόλεσιν*. Conf. Memorabil. Socr. 2. 8. 4, *προστατεύοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν*. It is also found in the later writers, as Plut. Dion, 32, *πρὸς ἐτέρους ἤδη προστάτας ἀπέβλεπον*.

Diod. Fragm. 10. 181. Bipont., *προστάτης τῆς συγκλήτου*. Hence then conversely *δημαγωγός* was used in the sense of *προστάτης*. Steph. Byz. *δήμος· δημαγωγός· ὁ προεστηκώς δήμου*. Conf. Pollux 3. 34, where the Rhetorician (the Demagogue) is called *προστάτης τῶν νόμων, φύλαξ τῆς ἐλευθερίας*. Together with a notion of the representation of the people, we may occasionally discern a secondary meaning in reference to some particular direction or tendency connected with the same, e. g. the opposition to oligarchy: thus in Thucyd. 3. 82, *δήμου προσάται* and *ὀλίγοι* are opposed to each other; thus in 4. 66, *οἱ τοῦ δήμου προσάται* in Megara is used of the chiefs of the democratic party in contradistinction to the oligarchical fugitives. In the same manner, Plut. Arat. 49, *στρατηγοί* (as officers of democratic sentiments) and *τῶν πολλῶν προεστῶτες* are opposed to each other.

From this general signification a definite one, viz. that of an office, a magistracy, gradually evolved itself. The word *δημιουργός* is analogous. It cannot be determined with accuracy whether, and in what states *προστάτης* τοῦ δήμου was the title of a regular officer; in the age of the matured democracy those writers who were either unacquainted with the exact titles of the superior officers of a democracy, or purposely avoided naming them, could hardly have found a more convenient or appropriate designation; in this respect it may be compared with *τὰ τέλη*, *οἱ ἐν τέλει*, which occur so very frequently in the writers of that age, particularly in Xenophon, and which are never used as regular titles. *Προεστῶτες*, in the above-quoted passage of Xenophon, Hell. 6. 4. 6, is applied to the magistrates in Thebes; and already in Herod. 6. 74, *Κλεομένης—τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων*. In the last passage it possibly had a more precise signification, and was perhaps a regular official title. Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 3, speaking of Mantinea says, *τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας*. Conf. 5. 2. 6, and 7. 4. 33.—*ἀνεκαλοῦντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν*. The expression seems to have a less definite meaning in Thuc. in alluding to Corcyra, 3. 70, *Πειθίας—τοῦ δήμου προει-*

στήκει; 3. 75, οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται; (ap. Diod. 12. 57: —τοὺς δημαγωγεῖν εἰωθότας καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους προϊστασθαι. Conf. Müller, Dor. 2. 153. n. 6.) with reference to Syracuse, Thuc. 6. 35, Ἀθηναγόρας, ὃς δήμου προστάτης ἦν. On the other hand, Æn. Poliorc. 11, speaking of Argos, says that ὁ τοῦ δήμου προστάτης, convokes an assembly, (in opposition to which indeed Plut. Alc. 14, τοῖς προεστώσι τοῦ δήμου (in Argos) is manifestly used in a general sense;) lastly, in a Calymnian decree, Chandler (conf. Müll. Dor. 1. 165), occur the words, ἐδοξε τὰ βουλα καὶ τῷ δαμῷ γνώμα προσταταν. The two last passages seem to refer to official duties; still I cannot entirely coincide with Müller (Dor. 2. 144.) in the opinion that the προστάται τοῦ δήμου were officers; the name rather appears to me to have been applied to demagogues, no matter whether regular officers or not, or to regular officers with a specific title, which was concealed beneath the favourite word προστάτης. It may, very probably, as Müller conjectures, 2. 141, have been sometimes used for the Demiurgi.

Amongst the expressions by which the state was most frequently designated must be classed τὰ πράγματα. Thucyd. 1. 74, ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα; 8. 72, τὰ ξύμπαντα πράγματα; Lysias in Polyst. 669, τὰ πράγματα καταπροδιδόναι; 675—παραδοῦναι. It also denoted the political authorities; Herod. 3. 80, ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα; 4. 164, ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πραγμάτων; 6. 39, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πράγματα; 6. 83, οἱ δούλοι (in Argos) ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα. Xenoph. Hell. 2. 3. 18, μετέχειν τῶν πραγμάτων; Thuc. 3. 72, and Xenoph. Hell. 1. 6. 13, οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα, the sovereign people; Thuc. 3. 28, οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι; also Aristot. Pol. 5. 6. 8; Demosth. Phil. 3. 125. 7; Aristoph. Lysistr. 32, τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα are in the hands of females; conf. Eccles. 107. Heracl. Pont. 36, after the murder of Phalaris, Ἀλκμάνης παρέλαβε τὰ πράγματα. It likewise expressed the power of the state with reference to its external operations; Thuc. 1. 74, ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο.

II.

The Constitution of Epidamnus according to Aristotle's Politics, 5. 1. 6.

§ 59. n. 7.

Aristotle is treating of changes in constitutions. After stating that a constitution might, without undergoing a thorough and radical change, be modified in one of its parts (κατὰ μέρος), which might bear oppressively upon some portion of the citizens, and be unpopular as an ἀνίσον, he brings forward the example of Epidamnus, where a Bule was instituted in lieu of the Phylarchs. Here follows the much-controverted passage (most recently commented upon by Osann ad Aristot. Pol. p. 391), εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλιαίαν ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἔτι τῶν ἐν τῷ (thus altered by Casaubon from τῷ αὐτῷ) πολιτεύματι βαδίζειν τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐπιψηφίζηται ἀρχή τις. Ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀρχῶν ὁ εἰς ἦν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἀνίσον ἢ στάσις κ. τ. λ. It is evident, that Aristotle places those parts of the constitution which had remained oligarchical after that which had assumed a democratic character; the καί before ὁ ἀρχῶν marks the construction which is to be put upon the preceding clause. For this also describes something oligarchical; it must not be understood as though the magistrates belonging to the class which was eligible to the government (τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι) had been obliged to appear in the popular assembly (ἡλιαία); but the words τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι must be made to follow ἡλιαίαν, the latter word being regarded either as the customary title of the governing assembly in Epidamnus, or as employed by Aristotle, from the analogy of Athenian institutions, for a judicial assembly in general. Supposing this interpretation of the word to be correct, and that the words ἡλιαίαν τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι are to be taken together, then ἀρχάς as well as the following ἀρχή τις must be taken absolutely; it is unnecessary, with Kortüm (Gesch. hell. Staatsverf. 118. n.) to

transpose the words in the text. Ἐπιψηφίζεται must not be looked upon as simply equivalent to κελεύη; the words ὅταν ἐπιψηφίζεται ἀρχή τις appear to me to imply, that when the magistrates differed on a question, and one of them made a motion on the subject, the Heliaea of the governing class was the court of appeal legally empowered to decide upon the matter. The before-named remnants of the oligarchy, which had only yielded to the will of the multitude in one particular, namely, the establishment of a Bule, were still in existence in the time of Aristotle, as is evident from ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν and from 3. 11. 1: καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἓνα κύριον τῆς διοικήσεως· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἀρχή τις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον. The correctness of the ἦν in the above passage, ἀρχων ὁ εἷς ἦν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταυτῇ, is exceedingly questionable, as Müller, Dor. 2. 156, also remarks. Finally, it is necessary to add, that although the oligarchical institutions which Aristotle describes as existing in his time were suspended during the exile of the chief men of the state, they were revived a short time before the Peloponnesian war, after the restoration of the refugees, by the Corcyraeans, as may be inferred from their existence at a subsequent period.

III.

The appellations of the Oligarchs during the meridian of Democracy.

§ 60. n. 7.

Although Kortüm has, in his history of the Grecian constitutions, already made a collection of words by which the holders of power under the popular and aristocratic governments were respectively designated, a second attempt of the same nature does not appear to me to be superfluous. The illustrious quality of the ancient nobility is expressed by ἐπιφανείς; Herod. 8. 125, with reference to Timodemus, an opponent of Themistocles, says, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν. Compare Hesych., Καπήτιοι οἱ περιφανείς τῆς Κυρήνης. Βαθυχαῖος, (from χαοί, an-

cestors, Theocr. 7. 5. and Schol.), Æschyl. Suppl. 855; (Aristoph. Lysistr. 90, παῖς—χαῖα, and 1157, οὐπα γυναικ' ὅπωπα χαῖωτέραν, must be explained from the Læconian χαός, i. e. brave; (Schol. Theocr. ubi sup., conf. Hesych. χαά). To the same class belongs σεμνός, an epithet expressive of a noble and lofty bearing, so frequent amongst the Attic writers (see above, p. 42); πλουτοῦντες καὶ πάνυ σεμνοί, Aristoph. Ran. 627.—The notion of that refinement of manners which was peculiar to the upper classes is conveyed by χαρίεντες, Aristot. Nicom. Eth. 1. 13; Plut. Phoc. 29, τοὺς ἀστείους καὶ χαρίεντας. Conf. Dion. 28. Χαρίεστατοι, in Diod. 11. 86. 87, are the patriotic friends of order (καλοὶ κἀγαθοί). Allied with this is ἐπιεικεῖς, Aristot. Pol. 2. 9. 4, of the partisans of Cimon; as well as γνώριμοι (see above, p. 128), those who stand high in public opinion, or who have a high opinion of themselves). Γνώριμοι and χαρίεντες, Plut. Dion. 28, πλούσιοι καὶ γνώριμοι, Plut. Nic. 2. Conf. Dion. Chrys. 2. 32. Δόκιμος, Herod. 3. 143, and λόγιμος, Herod. 9. 16, must be referred to the same class.—The most usual epithets for persons of distinction were taken from their riches, πλούσιοι, πλουτοῦντες; with these must be classed οἱ ἔχοντες, Soph. Ajax, 157, see the comment.; their fulness of wealth appears to have led to the use of παχύς, Herod. 5. 30; ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων, conf. 5. 77; 6. 91; 7. 156. Aristoph. Pac. 639, παχεῖς καὶ πλουσίους. Hence jestingly in Aristoph. Vesp. 853, ἄνδρες μεγάλοι καὶ τετραπήχεις (they are called, οἱ πλατεῖς and εὐρύνωτοι, Sophocl. Ajax, 1237).—Καλός κἀγαθός, does not so much convey the notion of honourable extraction, ancient citizenship, as of integrity, consequently the contrary to πονηρός, as in Aristoph. Equit. 186. 87, μὲν ἐκ καλῶν εἰ κἀγαθῶν; εἰμ' ἐκ πονηρῶν—a person of purely patriotic way of thinking, legality and moral conduct (conf. above, p. 58); so far καλοὶ κἀγαθοί are opposed to the populace, as in Aristoph. Ran. 719. 728; or to the demagogues, as in Plut. Demetr. 24. On the one hand, indeed, it is probable that the notion of oligarchical rank became associated

with it, as the *καλοὶ καγαθοὶ* were always less numerous than the *πλήθος*, as in Plut. Pericl. 11. Thucydides, the opponent of Pericles, assembles *τοὺς καλοὺς καγαθοὺς καλουμένους ἄνδρας* (compare above, p. 58. n., the passage from Thuc. 8. 84, and Plut. Pericl. 7. 8; but concerning Pericles see Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 10. 396, where Cleon's *ἀνωγογία* and Pericles' *καλοκαγαθία* are contrasted with one another). But on the other side, it was also used to signify a man of cultivated manners in general, and was in this sense applied to foreigners, and equivalent to 'gentleman,' *honnête homme*: thus Aristophanes calls the Carystians *ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε καγαθοὺς*.—The case is wholly different with the words *ἄριστοι*, *βέλτιστοι*; with these, it will almost invariably be found, that the intrinsic meaning of the words themselves was less regarded than the political position of the persons to whom they were applied. For example; Alcibiades, ap. Thuc. 8. 47, sends to the *δυνατωτάτους* of the Athenians, who were in the fleet, ὥστε μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι ἐπ' ὀλιγαρχία βούληται ξυμπολιτεύειν. *Βέλτιστοι* is the favourite expression of Xenophon, Hell. 7. 3. 4, *στασιασάντων ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου*. Compare, on the subject of Corinth, 4. 4. 3. (to which belongs the Laconian-oligarchical varnish, 4. 4. 6; speaking of Mantinea, 5. 2. 6; comp. Sturzlex. Xenoph. βέλτιστος, n. 2. and ἄριστος, n. 4. and 5. The Homeric *ἀριστῆες* continued in use; Eurip. Phœn. 1260. *ἀριστεῖς* and *ἄκροι* are classed together. The word *κάλλιστοι* is also given by Hesych., in v. *ἀριστοκρατούμενοι* (see above, p. 23) as an adulatory epithet belonging to the same class. To this may be added *σοφοί*, Pindar, P. 2. 159. 160.—*παρὰ τυραννίδι, χῶπόνταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός, χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι*. From the words already enumerated must be distinguished those which imply eminence of rank or power, without any secondary meaning. Such are *ὑπείροχοι*, Herod. 5. 92. 7; *δυνατοί*, Thuc. 5. 4, and 5. 31, in contradistinction to the *δῆμος*; *δύνασται* (comp. above, p. 128, and 315. n. 15. on *δυναστεία*); Herod. 2. 32, *ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβρι-*

στάς, besides *δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας*, 9. 2; 6. 39, and 6. 66; conf. *ἐδυνάστευε*, 6. 35, of Miltiades the elder, whereas Pisistratus, *εἶχε—τὸ πᾶν κράτος*. Thucydides only uses *δυναστεία*, e. g. speaking of Syracuse, 6. 38, *τυραννίδας καὶ δυναστείας ἀδίκους*; of Thessaly, 4. 78, of Thebes, 3. 62. (Conf. Kortüm, ubi sup. 19. n. 36).—The coming together and combining for anti-democratic purposes, (*ξυνιστάναι*, Thuc. 8. 48; conf. 8. 66: *τὸ ξυνεστηκός*, the conspirators. Lys. in Nicom. 847. Conf. Demosth. in Eubulid. 1316. 28.) constituted a *ἐταιρεία* (see p. 198. n. 129.) Thuc. 3. 82; Xenoph. Hell. 5. 2. 25; Lys. in Eratosth. 412, *ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἐταίρων* (after the battle of Ægos Potami).

IV.

On the restriction of the comic freedom by popular decrees and by circumstances.

§ 64. n. 221.

This subject has already been discussed by Petit, de Legib. Attic. 150, sqq. ed. Wessel.; Böckh, Public Economy of the Athenians, 1. 345. n.; Kanngiesser, the ancient Comic Stage in Athens, 467, sqq.; Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, Introd. xxxviii. sqq.; Meineke, Quæstion. Scen. 1. 34. n. In the observations I am about to make, I merely propose to glance over the statements in the ancient writers upon the above subject, and have no higher object in view than to furnish a collection of the passages in question. Nor am I even certain that that will be complete.

1. That the attacks of comedy upon well-known and distinguished living characters were in the first instance not only permitted but encouraged by the people, results from the statement of the Scholiast before Aristoph., Küster's edition, p. xi.: *τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδικοῦμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν νυκτὸς ἀπῆρχοντο παρὰ*

τὸν δῆμον ἐκείνον, ἔνθα ὁ ἀδικήσας ἦν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἔστι τις ἐνταῦθα ποιῶν εἰς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τάδε· καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ὑπεχώτουν λέγοντες καὶ τοῦνομα. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ὁ δράσας ἐξητάζετο καὶ οὕτω αἰσχυνόμενος ἀνεστέλλετο τοῦ ἀδικεῖν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ πολῖται τοῦτο χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀδικίας ἀποτρεπτιρόν, ἐκέλευσαν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἐπὶ μέσης ἀγορᾶς τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας κωμωδεῖν. οἱ δὲ δεδιότες αὐτοὺς ὥς τε πλουσίους, πῆλφ χρίοντες καὶ τρυγία ἐπὶ μέσης ἀγορᾶς τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐκωμῶδουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλη ἡ πόλις ὠφελείτο ἐκ τούτου, ποιητὰς ἔταξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ (lege τῷ) κωμωδεῖν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται ἀκωλύτως. It is obvious that this account represents the first appointment of comic poets as too exclusively the result of intention and design. A more probable origin is assigned to the comic licence by Platonius, who says that it was the natural and spontaneous offspring of the humour of the people; Præf. Aristot. ed. Kuster. x., τῆς ἰσηγορίας οὖν πάσης ὑπαρχούσης, ἅδειαν οἱ τὰς κωμωδίας συγγράφοντες εἶχον τοῦ σκώπτειν καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ δικαστὰς τοὺς κακῶς δικάζοντας καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τινάς, ἢ φιλαργύρους, ἢ συζωντας ἀσελγεία. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος—ἐξήρει τὸν φόβον τῶν κωμωδούντων, φιλοτίμως τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτους βλασφημούντων ἀκούων· ἴσμεν γὰρ ὡς ἀντίκειται φύσει τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ταῖς δυσπραγίαις αὐτῶν ἥδεται.

2. That it was unlawful to ridicule the people at large is stated by Xenophon (?) de Repub. Ath., κωμωδεῖν δ' αὐ καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν δῆμον οὐκ ἐώσιν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀκούωσι κακῶς· ἰδίᾳ δὲ, κ. τ. λ. That this is erroneous is evident from the foregoing examples in the text.

3. A popular decree, prohibiting the comic satire, is said to have been passed in the archonship of Morychides Olymp. 85. 1), but to have remained in force only three years, viz. till the archonship of Euthymenes. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67, Οὗτος ὁ ἄρχων (Εὐθυμένης), ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κωμωδεῖν, γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου· καὶ ἴσχυσεν ἐκείνόν τε τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ δύο τοὺς ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ Γλαυκίδου τε (sic lege pro Ἐπιγίνου τε) καὶ

Θεωδόρου, μεθ' οὗς ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους (Olymp. 85. 4.) κατελύθη. The μὴ κωμωδεῖν seems to have been construed into a total suspension of comic exhibitions; Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, Ann. 440. Olymp. 85.) brings forward, from former references, two pieces, which were said to have been performed at the time that the prohibition in question was in force, and endeavours thence, as Larcher has done before him, to prove a contravention of the law; but this can scarcely have meant that the exhibition of comedy was wholly prohibited: it is more probable that τινὰ must be understood after τοῦ μὴ κωμωδεῖν, therefore that the satirizing of individuals only was forbidden; e. g., the Schol. Av. 1298: δοκεῖ δὲ (a certain Συρακούσιος, whom Aristophanes compares with a magpie) καὶ ψήφισμα τεθεικέναι μὴ κωμωδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστί τινά κ. τ. λ., and in the passage quoted below, n. 6. But the Scholiast does not inform us who this Syracusan was; his proposal for restricting the comic licence was not adopted, as is proved by the Birds of Aristophanes.

4. Callias, the son of Hipponicus, was the author of a law, τὸν ἄρχοντα μὴ φανερώς κωμωδεῖν. Comp. besides, Schol. Arist. Nub. 31. Petit. de Legib. Att. 150. It has also been already shown in the text that this law was not very strictly observed by the comic poets.

5. The psephism of Antimachus, Schol. Arist. Acharn. 1149,—ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι, μὴ δεῖν κωμωδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. Conf. Suidas, Ἀντίμαχος, and Diogen. Prov. 8. 71. This sounds very much like the account of the Συρακούσιος. No exact particulars can apparently be found respecting it; Petit places the popular decree in Olymp. 97; but he only reasons from the character of the Plutus which has reached us, and this very piece disproves his assumption, for persons are ridiculed in it by name, see below, n. 8.

6. Without specifying time or person, Horace speaks of a restrictive enactment; ad Pison. 283.

—lex est accepta, chorusque

Turpiter obticuit sublato jure nocendi.

Epist. ad August. 150, sq.,

—doluere cruento

Dente lacesiti; fuit intactis quoque cura

Conditione super communi, quin etiam lex

Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam describi.

Further the biography of Aristophanes, ed. Küst. xiv., ψηφίσματος γὰρ γενομένου χορηγοῦ (lege χορηγικοῦ), ὥστε μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν τινα, καὶ τῶν χορηγῶν οὐκ ἀντεχόντων πρὸς τὸ χορηγεῖν καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλελοιπύλας τῆς ὑλῆς τῶν κωμῶδιῶν (αἴτιον γὰρ κωμῶδίας τὸ σκώπτειν τινάς) κ. τ. λ. Also Hermogenes (περὶ στάσεων) p. 75. (as quoted by Petit) ὀνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν ὁ νόμος ἐκώλυσεν.

It is probably safer to refer both these statements to the psephism of Antimachus.

7. The parabasis, the chief element of the old comedy, appears to have ceased at the end of the Peloponnesian war, it is true: but this must not be ascribed to a decree of the people, or even to the oligarchy of the year 411: it rather appears to have resulted from the unfavourableness of circumstances, which incapacitated the Choregi from providing for the exigencies of the Liturgy, and eventually led to the omission of the chorus. Platon. Præf. Aristoph. ed. Küst. xi.:—τῶν χορηγῶν οὐκ ἔχόντων τὰς τροφάς, ὑπεξηρέθη τῆς κωμῶδίας τὰ χορευτῶν μέλη κ. τ. λ. However, it cannot be denied that the influence of the oligarchy is also adverted to in a former passage.

8. Meanwhile pieces with the character of the middle and new comedy were brought upon the stage, such as the Cocalus of Aristophanes, etc. See Platon. ubi sup. p. xi., and the Life of Aristophanes, p. xiv.; but the liberty of ridiculing persons by name continued unrestricted till the time of the Macedonians, as well as of imitating them on the masks. (Comp. Kanngiesser die alte Kom. Bühne, 128, sqq.) Examples of attacks upon individuals by name are Aristophanes, Plut. 84. 174. 176. 177. 179. 303. 319. Anaxandrides, Alexis, and Anaxilas,

who had attacked Plato by name, Diog. Laert. 3. 26. 27. 28. Isocrat. de Pac. 5. 161. D. W. remarks, οὐ ἔστι παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν (in the popular assembly) τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις—ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμῶδιδασκάλοις. This was in Olymp. 106. 356. B. C. The invectives of Antiphanes against Demosthenes ap. Plut. Demosth. 4. 9; conf. Ath. 6. 223. E. Anaxandrides against Polyeuctus, Athen. 4. 166. D., Philetairus against Hyperides, Athen. 8. 342. A.; Timocles against those who had been bribed by Harpalus, Athen. 8. 341. F. sqq.

Even Stratocles was attacked as late as the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Philippides, Plut. Demetr. 12. Here indeed it is necessary, as Clinton justly remarks (xli.), to distinguish between an occasional attack upon an individual, as sometimes takes place upon the modern stage, and the holding a particular person up to ridicule through the whole piece, as Cleon in the Knights, Socrates in the Clouds, etc.; and in the case of such exhibitions as these, it is very possible that the law μὴ κωμῶδειν asserted its full force.—The latter practice fell into disuse from the fear of giving umbrage to the Macedonians, in consequence of which the masks which had hitherto been used were discontinued, and caricatures began to be employed. Platon. xi.,—ἐπίτηδες τὰ προσωπεῖα πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον ἐδημιούργησαν δεδοικότες τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς οὐ πηρητμένους ἐξ ἐκείνων φόβους, ἵνα μὴδε ἐκ τύχης τινὸς ὁμοιότης προσώπου συμπέσῃ τινὶ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι, κ. τ. λ.—The custom of attacking persons by name terminated of itself as soon as comedy ceased to draw her subjects from public life, and began to turn her attention to the delineation of family scenes.

V.

The order in which the Informations were laid in the prosecution of the Hermocopidæ.

§ 65. n. 88.

Thucydides and Andocides differ in their account of the commencement of this affair: Thucydides states that

just as every thing was prepared for the departure of the armament (*καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν*, 6. 26,) the *Hermæ* were found mutilated; whereas Andocides relates that in the assembly which was convened by the three generals Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, Pythonicus arose, and accused Alcibiades of having profaned the mysteries. But these two statements are by no means irreconcilable. Thucydides goes further back, and prefaces his account with a description of the circumstance which gave the first cause for suspicion and alarm; Andocides begins with the first judicial proceeding against Alcibiades. Plutarch and Thucydides explain why the affair of the *Hermæ* was not mentioned, together with the profanation of the mysteries, upon that occasion. As soon as it was discovered that the *Hermæ* had been mutilated, the council immediately assembled, several meetings of the popular assembly took place (Plut. Alcib. 18, — *ἅπασαν ἐξήταζον ὑπόνοιαν πικρῶς ἢ τε βουλή συνιοῦσα περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις*), and proclamations were issued for the disclosure of other acts of impiety (Thuc. 6. 27, — *μεγάλαις μηνύτροις δημοσίᾳ οὔτοί τε (the Hermocoridæ) ἐζητοῦντο, καὶ προσέτι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἴτις ἄλλο τι οἶδεν ἀσέβημα γεγενημένον, μηνύειν ἀδεῶς τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων*). The meeting for the Strategia was now held. Meanwhile nothing had been elicited respecting the mutilation of the *Hermæ*; but the enemies of Alcibiades had prepared themselves to charge him with another grave offence, namely, with the profanation of the mysteries; and in the sitting of the assembly in question, Pythonicus laid an *Eisangelia* against him, while his most inveterate enemy Androcles brought forward witnesses. The order of the several accusations I consider to have been as follows:

1. The *Eisangelia* of Pythonicus in the popular assembly, that Alcibiades and his associates had given mimic celebrations of the mysteries in their houses, Andoc. de Mys. 6. 7: the person to whose testimony he appealed was Andromachus, the slave of Alcibiades. It

is, however, probable that Androcles brought forward his charge at this time (Plut. Alcib. 19, *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους προήγαγεν Ἀνδροκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς κ. τ. λ.*), or at least he did so before the departure of Alcibiades.

2. The information (*μήνυσις*) of the slave, and the request of Alcibiades that the affair might be enquired into without delay; this was resisted by his enemies, who dreaded the soldiery, and by his friends, who probably feared that he might be deprived of the command; the affair was broken off, and the fleet set sail. Compare here Isocrat. de Big. 605.

3. The enquiry is resumed; the council entrusted with plenary powers (Andoc. 8, *ἦν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ*). To this period must apparently be referred the *Eisangelia* of Thessalus, a son of Cimon's. We learn from Plutarch, Alc. 19, that this embodied the depositions which had been made subsequently to Pythonicus' *Eisangelia* in the popular assembly, and this second *Eisangelia* must consequently be regarded as a more violent attack than the preceding one. Now followed

4. The *μήνυσις* of Teucer, Agariste, and Lydus, whom Androcles and Thessalus possibly had some share in bringing forward.

5. The information of Diocles, occasioned by the other Alcibiades and by Amias.

6. The information of Andocides. It was apparently at this juncture that the Peloponnesian army crossed the Isthmus; this added to the consternation and rage of the people, whereupon the Salaminian trireme was sent to fetch back Alcibiades.

VI.

On the relation in which Diocles stood towards the Italian legislators.

§ 67. n. 73.

It was remarked above that the narrative of Diodorus respecting Diocles exhibits traces of a transference from

the history of Charondas, and that Diocles probably borrowed many of his regulations from the legislation of Zaleucus and Charondas, and perhaps from certain of the institutions of Pythagoras. Besides the history of his voluntary martyrdom, in honour of the law, see the account which Diodorus gives of Diocles, 13. 35, δίκαιος δ', ἐκ τοῦ περιττότερον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστω τὸ ἐπιτίμιον ὑπάρξαι· πραγματικὸς δὲ καὶ πολὺπείρος ἐκ τοῦ πᾶν ἐγκλημά τε καὶ πρᾶγμα δημόσιόν τε καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν ἀμφισβητούμενον ὀρισμένης ἀξιῶσαι τιμωρίας. Compare what Ephorus ap. Strab. 6. 260. relates of Zaleucus —καινίσαι τοῦτον τὸν Ζάλευκον, ὅτι, τῶν πρότερον τὰς ζημίας τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐπιτρεψάντων, ὀρίζειν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν, ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διώρισεν, κ. τ. λ. The ἀκρίβεια τῶν νόμων is commended by Aristotle, Polit. 2. 9. 8, also in speaking of Charondas. The succeeding statements leave it doubtful whether this transference is to be ascribed to Diocles himself (as Wesseling ad Diodor. 12. 21. conjectures) or to the writers who have treated of his life and actions. Phylarchus apud Athen. 12. 521. B. says, ὅτι παρὰ Συρακοσίοις νόμος ἦν τὰς γυναικας μὴ κοσμεῖσθαι χρυσῷ, μηδ' ἀνθινὰ φορεῖν, μηδ' ἐσθῆτας ἔχειν πορφύρας ἐχούσας παρυφάς, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτῶν συγχωρῇ ἐταῖρα εἶναι κοινή. καὶ ὅτι ἄλλος ἦν νόμος τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ καλλωπίζεσθαι, μηδ' ἐσθῆτι περιέργῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλλαττούσῃ, ἐὰν μὴ ὁμολογῇ μοιχεύειν ἢ κίναϊδος εἶναι. καὶ τὴν ἐλευθέραν μὴ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἡλίου δεδυκότος, ἐὰν μὴ μοιχευθῇσιν. Conf. Diod. 12. 21. on Zaleucus, γυναικὶ ἐλευθέρα μὴ πλείω ἀκολουθεῖν μιᾷ θεραπαινίδος, ἐὰν μὴ μεθύῃ· μηδὲ ἐξίεναι νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ μὴ μοιχευομένην· μηδὲ περιτίθεσθαι χρυσία, μηδὲ ἐσθῆτα παρυφασμένην (conf. Suidas, Ζάλευκος) ἐὰν μὴ ἐταῖραν· μηδὲ τὸν ἄνδρα φορεῖν δακτύλιον ὑπόχρυσον, μηδὲ ἱμάτιον ἰσομιλήσιον (respecting this suspicious word see Wesseling and Heyne Opusc. 2. 34. n.), ἐὰν μὴ ἐταιρεύηται ἢ μοιχεύηται.

VII.

Remarks illustrative of the notion of the Greeks with regard to the independence of a State.

§ 68. n. 80.

The notion attached to the term Isonomia, and others allied with it, was treated of above, page 26: the word Isonomia to designate the position of the citizen within the state of which he was a member; Autonomia concerned the people at large, and their relation to other states. The word ἐλευθερία was nearly synonymous: but the Greeks more frequently employed the more precise and expressive term Autonomia, which denoted the possession of the most important privilege of freedom; and they comprehended under it every thing that, according to the principles of international law, was essential to absolute independence upon the commands of another state. They however made use of various supplementary additions, periphrases, and synonymes, to express this favourite idea still more fully. The phrase by which the notion of liberty and equality was conveyed, and which more particularly designated the relation of individuals to the laws within their own states (e. g. Thuc. 4. 105. of Amphipolis, after its capture by Brasidas: τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας μετέχοντα, μένειν; Plut. Timol. 23, Κορίνθιοι—καλοῦσι—τὸν βουλόμενον οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐπ' ἴσοις καὶ δίκαιοις τὴν χώραν διαλαχόντας), was likewise employed to express agreements and the equitable adjustment of differences between various states: Thuc. 5. 27, πόλεις ἥτις αὐτόνομός τε ἐστὶ καὶ δίκας ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας δίδωσι; 5. 79, the Spartans and Argives contracted an alliance, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις δίκας δίδοντας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, and afterwards ταὶ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις—κατὰ πάτρια δίκας δίδόντες τὰς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας. In another place αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις are classed together, with which corresponds αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἢ τῶν Κο-

ρινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, Xenoph. Hell. 5. 1. 34, in opposition to συμπολιτεύειν, Xen. Hell. 5. 2. 12.—Thuc. 5. 18. the Delphians are to be αὐτονόμους—καὶ αὐτοτελείς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐαυτῶν, on which the Scholium remarks,—ἔχειν αὐτοτελείς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἄλλοις συντελούντας· αὐτόδικοι ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν διαφορὰν δίκην λύοντες, καὶ μὴ μετάγοντες αὐτὴν εἰς ὑπερορίους ἀνθρώπους.—Αὐτοκράτωρ, generally used of the offices of a state, is applied to Thebes in Thucyd. 3. 62; ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐσα ἐαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεν. Αὐτάρκης—ἡ πόλις· τὸ δὲ δούλον οὐκ ἀνταρκές, Aristot. Polit. 4. 5. 11, must be included in the same class.

VIII.

The passages of the Orators in which the names of Aristophon the Azenian and Aristophon the Colyttian occur.

§ 71. n. 101.

(Compare Ruhnken. Hist. Or. Gr. XLV.—XLVII.

An Aristophon was Archon Eponymus Olymp. 112. 2. (Diodor. 17. 49); we are destitute of exact particulars respecting him as well as a sycophant called Aristophon, mentioned by Demosthenes in Zanothem. 885. 9. Both appear to have been different persons from the Azenian and the Colyttian. Besides the passages cited in the text the following seem to refer to Aristophon the Azenian; Demosth. in Polycl. 1208. 8, where the archonship of Molon, Olymp. 104. 3; 362. B. C. is treated of; Dem. de Coron. 301. 18. 19. where Callistratus, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, are mentioned with Aristophon. Dem. in Eubulid. 1308. 12, where allusion is made to a psephism of Aristophon, apparently from the time of the restoration of democracy, prohibiting strangers from carrying on business in the market at Athens: Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. 436. 13, where Aristophon is named with Callistratus and Diophantus, and the word γεγόνασιν

implies that he was no longer living. Demosth. in Timocr. 703. 10. (conf. Argum. 646. 8.) Concerning a psephism framed by Aristophon during the social war, for instituting an enquiry concerning debtors to the state, Demosth. de Trierarch. 1230. 15. 20, where allusion is made to a sea-fight which had been lost against Alexander. This could have been no other than Alexander of Pheræ. Jason already had triremes, Xen. Hell. 6. 4. 21. Alexander was ἄδικος ληστής καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, Ibid. 6. 4. 35. His undertakings against Athens, the conquest of Tenos (Dem. in Polycl. 1207. 13,) fall about the time of the battle of Mantinea, before which he was the ally of Thebes, (Plut. Pelop. 34). Diodor. (15. 95.) gives an account of a predatory expedition of Alexander to the Cyclades, Olymp. 104. 4; Demosthenes (ubi sup.) mentions Molon's archonship; this was in Olymp. 104. 3; this expedition was probably fitted out at the beginning of the year 361. The Colyttian is probably alluded to, Demosth. in Mid. 554. 12, where Aristophon appears as the contemporary of Midias, and Dem. de Coron. 248. 8, where he is mentioned with Eubulus and Diopithes, demagogues of the age of Philip, as he is with Eubulus 281. 17, and with Chares and Diopithes—de Cherson. 97. 13. He is called the antagonist of Eubulus in the Oration de Falsâ Legat. 43. 4.

IX.

The sentence of the Amphictyons against the Phocians.

§ 76. n. 99.

The sentence of the Amphictyons is preserved to us in Diodor. 16. 60, but neither in its original form nor free from obscurities. Amongst the latter must be classed the inexplicable contradiction in the two passages: τῶν δ' ἐν Φωκεύσι τριῶν πόλεων περιελεῖν τὰ τείχη, and afterwards, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀπάσας τῶν Φωκέων κατασκάψαι καὶ μετοικίσαι εἰς κώμας. Wesseling states that Barbeyrac proposes to remove the difficulty by understanding *muni-*

tiones; Plotho adds τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων to τριῶν πόλεων; Wesseling himself asks whether such a reading τῶν δ' ἐν Φωκεύσι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεων, etc., cannot be found. All the towns of Phocis were in fact destroyed, according to Pausan. (9. 3. 2), who mentions them by name: Lilæa, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamioi, Panopeus, Daulis, Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tithronium, Drymæa, Elatea, Thracis (Θρακίς τε καὶ Φωκική), or according to Strabo 9. 423, Trachis (do not both forms remind us of the mythical Thracians? Conf. Müller, Orchom. 86. 381), distinguished by the epithet Phocian from the place of the same name on mount Cæta; Medeon, Echedamea, Ambrysus, Ledon, Phlygonium, Sterris. Acæ was spared. But when the whole of them were demolished, which is attested by Demosth. (de Falsâ Legat. 361. 20, sqq.), what means the separate resolution for demolishing the walls of the *three* cities? And why is the article used? What three cities are to be considered as best known, and called κατ' ἐξοχήν, the three cities? Not those in particular which were fortified; for they were all fortified (Demosth. ubi sup. 379. 7). Does it perhaps mean three principal towns of the Phocian league, possibly Elatea, Hyampolis, and Panopeus, whose walls it was proposed to demolish first, as a striking preparation for what was to follow?

END OF VOL. II.

OXFORD: PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS.

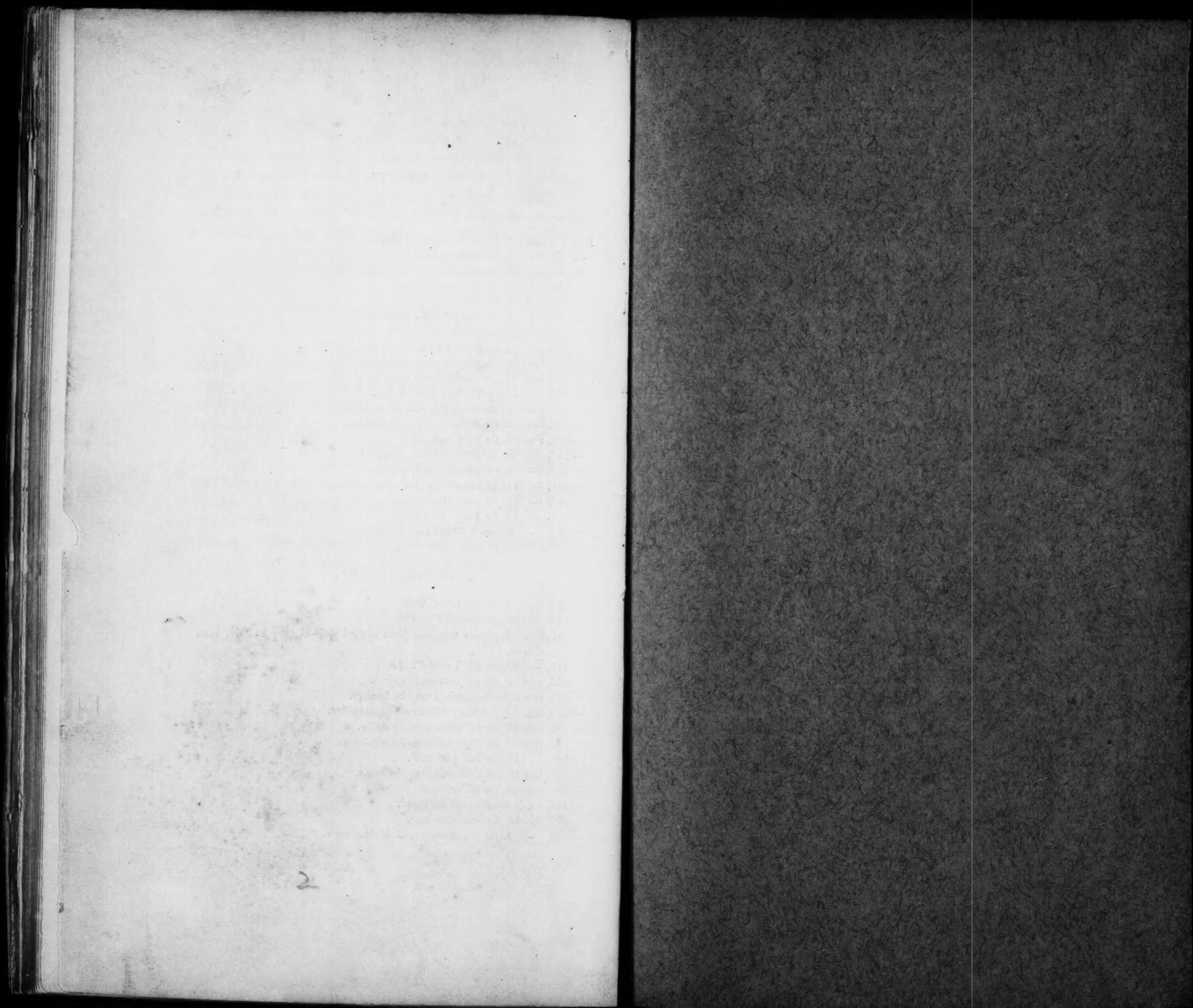
ERRATA.

FIRST VOLUME.

- Page 11, line 3, for Phænicus read Phœnicus.
 — 16, — 2, for wash read washes.
 — 37, — 7, for population; in Ion read population in Ion.
 — 41, note 9, for thus read that.
 — 81, line 8, for marts read mart.
 — 83, — 1, for harbours read harbour.
 — 116, — 24, for flights read flight.
 — 149, — 25, for perverted read prevented.
 — 151, note 19, for primitæ read primitiæ.
 — 158, line 19, for Lacidia read Lacinia.
 — 159, — 10, for Cleiton, read Cleitor.
 — 181, note 5, for ὁποδοχῆς read ὑποδοχῆς.
 — 192, line 1, for Antheden read Anthedon.
 — 192, note 34, for term read town.
 — 194, line 24, for dissolved read devolved.
 — 213, — 4, for provoked read provoke.
 — 215, — 12, for adventures read adventurers.
 — 277, — 15, for order read orders.
 — 349, — 31, for Phylæ read Phyle.
 — 381, — 3, for Prytanies read Prytanæ.

SECOND VOLUME.

- 16, line 7, for Acti read Actè.
 — 16, note 46, for Herod. 7 read 6.
 — 41, line 6, for as they had been altered read as they had not been altered.
 — 146, — 29, for 82. 1 read 82. 2.
 — 152, note 5, for subjects read subject.
 — 221, line 3, for brickerings read bickerings.
 — 226, line 7, for Merychides read Morychides.
 — 236, note 45, for ὑφ' ἡμῶν read ὑφ' ὑμῶν.
 — 241, note 77, for ἀνθρώπων read ἀνθρώπων.
 — 259, — 177, for οὐτ' read οὐδ'.
 — 260, line 16, for Entioneia read Eetioneia.
 — 389, note 50, for eff. read aff.
 — 447, for dockyards read dockyard.
 — 471, line 13, for were read was.
 — 555, — 1, for phraseology read nomenclature.



AUG 11 1925

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



0032207077

886

W11₂

Wachsmuth

Historical Antiquities of the
Greeks

11363223

